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THE  
AMERICAN  
CATHOLIC QUARTERLY  
REVIEW.

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Bonum est homini ut eum veritas vincat volentem, quia malum est homini ut eum veritas vincat invitum. Nam ipsa vincat necesse est, sive negantem sive confitentem.

S. AUG. EPIST. ccxxxviii. AD PASCENT.

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CARDINAL LAVIGERIE.

LE CARDINAL LAVIGERIE. Par *Mgr. Baunard*. Two Volumes, with Portraits and Maps. Paris: Ch. Poussielgue. 1896.

**M**ONTALEMBERT, speaking of the great influence of St. Wilfrid over the men of his times, says it was due, above all, to his noble, manly, firm spirit on fire with enthusiasm; to an energy that never flagged; to his knowing when to wait, when to act; to his never losing heart nor feeling fear; to his having a soul that soared to heights which attract the eyes of the multitude as well as the fury of the thunder-storm. Then, after speaking of St. Wilfrid's eloquence, his love for learning and for Christian architecture, the great historian of the "Monks of the West" goes on to say that the saint rose superior to all trials, that he was consumed with love of justice, and that it was these things that made him tower above his fellows and riveted their attention and admiration even when they did not share his convictions. "There was always something generous, warm-hearted, grand in him which commanded the sympathy of all true hearts; then, when adverse fortune, violence and ingratitude triumphed over him and stamped him with the seal of sacrifice nobly and holily borne, sympathy redoubled, and all that was least loveable or explicable in his conduct was forgotten."<sup>1</sup> This description, written by Montalembert of St. Wilfrid, seems quite applicable to the late Cardinal Lavigerie. There was much in common in the character and career of the early English saint of the seventh and of the great African cardinal of the nineteenth century; and after reading Mgr. Bau-

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<sup>1</sup> *Les Moines d'Occident*, t. iv., p. 388.



nard's intensely interesting life of the Apostle of Africa, nobody would hesitate to admit the fittingness of Montalembert's words.

But there was another thing which the saint and the cardinal had in common: it was their deep love for the See of Peter. Thrice did St. Wilfrid hasten across seas and mountains to seek help, comfort and counsel from the Holy Father. Thirty and more times did Lavigerie, living in times when steam has made travel easier, imitate the saint's example. During the twenty-nine years of his episcopal life not a year passed that he did not visit Rome. France his country, Africa the land of his adoption, were alike dear to his great heart, but Rome held there the first place; for to Rome, to the Holy See, he looked to save both Africa and France from discord and darkness.

Charles Martial Lavigerie was born at Bayonne, on October 31, 1825. His mother was daughter of the director of the mint at Bayonne before the Revolution; it was from her that Lavigerie inherited the hot blood of the south that sometimes showed itself in his character. His father was from Auvergne, and held a respectable position in the customs. His parents seem to have been good, honest folk, enjoying life in their provincial town, or in the little country-house they owned outside it, or during their short yearly summer sojourn at Biarritz—worldly people in the best sense, striving to advance themselves and their children in life. So when Charles, first in his childhood by his loving to play at being a priest, in his boyhood and early manhood by his expressed wishes, sought to become a priest, his parents, far from fostering, discouraged his desires. They even formed projects for settling him in the matrimonial state. The good seed was sown by other hands than those of his parents. There were two old maid-servants in the household; these taught the future cardinal his prayers, his catechism, and took him with them to church. He loved to acknowledge all he owed to these good souls, and, wearing the red robes of a prince of the Church, he spoke thus to an assembly of priests: "Brethren, if I am what I am to-day, I owe it to those two good women. See how important it is to place good Christians in charge of children."

There are, however, one or two anecdotes of his childhood to show that the seed had fallen on good soil. He, who was one day to preach the crusade against slavery in the great capitals of Europe, delighted as a child to preach sermons in the family circle; nor would he suffer his little audience to break up before his discourse was ended, even when the dinner was getting cold on the table! It is also related how the future apostle of Africa showed his early zeal by catching the children of Jews—of whom there



were many in Bayonne—and forcibly baptizing them at the nearest fountain, consoling them for their ducking with the gift of a *sou* or two! After he had made his first communion and been confirmed, his desire to study for the Church became so strong and serious that his father took him to the Bishop of Bayonne, where, in answer to the prelate's questions, the young Lavigerie insisted on his great wish to become one day a parish priest in the country. After studying humanities at the college of his own diocese, he went to Paris at the age of fifteen, and for two years continued his college course under the celebrated Abbé Dupanloup, afterwards Bishop of Orleans. In October, 1843, he entered the seminary of St. Sulpice. The class to which he belonged on beginning his theological studies is still remembered as "the class of bishops," for no less than thirty of its members became bishops; of these, several became cardinals. Lavigerie was remembered at school as being always first in class and on the playground—a high-spirited lad, a bit unruly and pugnacious. At Christmas, 1847, he became sub-deacon. Two months later a revolution replaced the monarchy of Louis Philippe by a republic. Two of the students went out in secular dress to see the revolutionists at work, and were compelled to help in destroying a sentry-box. These two students, of whom Lavigerie was one, were both destined to become cardinals.

Although he was ordained priest in 1848, his public life did not, as his biographer remarks, really begin then. The next thirteen years were, in some sort, still years of preparation. He completed his intellectual training by taking his degree of doctor of theology and in teaching as professor of the Sorbonne.

But a wider sphere of action than a lecture room afforded was soon offered to the young priest. After the Crimean war, a number of Frenchmen of light and leading, among whom may be named the learned Baron Cauchy, Montalembert, Bosquet, a hero of the Russian war, the artist Flandrin and the saintly Ozanam, had founded an association for starting and maintaining schools in the East. Illustrious as was the patronage under which the work began, it seemed likely to be still-born. The work depended for its life on the alms of the faithful, so it was felt that a priest should be asked to be its manager. Father de Ravignan, the great Jesuit, was asked to obtain the services of Lavigerie. "If you think it is the will of God," answered the latter, "that I should accept the post, I am ready." "I believe it is," replied the Jesuit, and the matter was settled. The first thing was to make the *Œuvre des Écoles d'Orient* known, and to find resources to carry on the work. During the next three years Lavigerie visited all the great towns of France, preaching in each on behalf of the schools of the East, with the result that while the money collected in 1857 was less

than sixteen thousand francs, in 1859 it already exceeded sixty thousand.

In the following year the massacres in the Lebanon and at Damascus, in which more than nineteen thousand Christians were slain, which destroyed the homes of some seventy thousand, and in which numberless schools, convents, charitable institutions and chapels perished, and a vast territory was devastated, called on the work of the *Écoles d'Orient* to make a supreme effort. Europe had charged the French government to restore order, to carry official aid to the distressed population of the Lebanon. But this still left a wide field for charity to exercise itself. An appeal was made, and was nobly responded to by France, England, Ireland, Germany and Italy. Nearly two millions and a half of *francs* were subscribed and sent to the East. With these alms went the Abbé Lavigerie to see to their distribution. His mission lasted three months. It was then that he first came in touch with infidels; it was then, as he himself declared, that he discovered his real vocation.

On his return from Syria, he was received in audience by Pius IX., who was so struck by the clear information the young priest gave his Holiness concerning Oriental affairs, that it led the Pope, shortly afterwards, to call Lavigerie to Rome to hold the high office of Auditor of the Rota. As such, Monsignor Lavigerie spent sixteen months in Rome and obtained that knowledge of Roman life that was of no small use to him afterwards. At Rome he continued to aid the work of the *Écoles d'Orient*. One day, preaching on its behalf, he mentioned a fact worth recalling, in these terms: "Do you know, brethren, how many Christians there were between Aleppo and Gaza at the time of the Mohammedan invasion? How many in the plains and mountains of Palestine and Syria? Eighteen millions. And now after ten centuries of persecution? Not half a million!"

The position of Auditor of the Rota, that of an ecclesiastical diplomatist, was little suited to the active, bold character of Monsignor Lavigerie, specially when he had to be the mouthpiece of the crafty, Judas-like policy of the third Napoleon in regard to the Holy See. "I have too much to suffer here, Holy Father," he said, in one of these intimate conversations he was allowed often to hold with Pius IX. "I was not born to be a diplomatist, but a priest." His desire, too, became known in France, and the government nominated him to the See of Nancy. Ill-health alone prevented the Pope from personally consecrating, on March 22, 1863, the youthful bishop—he was only thirty-seven years old—and the Cardinal Villecourt replaced the Holy Father at this sacred function, in which he was assisted by the late Cardinal

Hohenlohe and by the Pope's Sacristan, Mgr. Marinelli, in presence of the French ambassador and a large gathering of Roman prelates and princes.

The new Bishop of Nancy was the junior in years of all the French bishops. *Caritas* was the device he took for his armorial bearings. But the youthful energy with which he set to work to rule his diocese made it seem at times as if he forgot his motto. He made sweeping reforms with bold, soldierly hands, and as his biographer shows, he often made mistakes and unintentionally inflicted wounds through his hasty zeal. He reorganized ecclesiastical studies; he insisted that teachers in convent schools should obtain a certificate proving that they were as competent to teach as the mistresses of official schools; he adopted the Roman Cereimonial in his cathedral, beautified the edifice, and carried out the functions with great grandeur; these, and many other measures excellent in themselves, caused no small friction by the almost imperious manner in which they were carried out. An iron will, an exaggerated sense of his duty, an apparent carelessness for what others felt or thought, added to want of experience, led the bishop to commit many mistakes in the government of his first diocese: yet it is to him that Nancy owes its great reputation for the godliness and learning of its clergy. And at this epoch of his life there is one episode that takes us aback when we consider how, ever after, Mgr. Lavigerie lovingly heeded the slightest wish that came from the Holy See. He received with a cold reserve the Encyclical *Quanta curâ* and the Syllabus. But he had been the pupil of Mgr. Dupanloup, the friend of Mgr. Maret, and a professor of the Sorbonne; he was still deluded by Liberalism.

Monsignor Lavigerie had not yet found the true field for his labors. His ideal was to be a missionary bishop as was St. Martin whom the bishop had called in his pastoral on the Saint, "a model conqueror of souls." Now it fell out that shortly after this, the bishop, being at Tours, had a dream in which he saw himself carried into a far land, where there came to him a mighty multitude of dusky or dark black men speaking strange tongues. It chanced that four days later, Mgr. Pavy, Bishop of Algiers, died. Marshal MacMahon, then Governor of Algeria, offered to propose Lavigerie to the emperor for the vacant see: the bishop of Nancy accepted without a moment's hesitation what to many would have been a sacrifice. "I was only following," he said, "the attraction a missionary life had ever had for me and I obeyed God's call."

The readiness with which the bishop accepted the nomination puzzled the marshal, and it perplexed him greatly when he found that Lavigerie had accepted the post in order to work for the con-



version of Mahommedans. This was against the traditional policy of the French government in Africa, which favored the infidels and allowed the Church no freedom to carry out her mission among them. The marshal informed the emperor that he did not want the bishop in his province. The emperor sent for Lavigerie and offered him the right of succession to an archiepiscopal see in France if he would give up Algiers. "Sire, since I have been nominated to the see, I wish and I must go thither." And nothing would make the bishop yield. The Pope approved his transfer from Nancy to Algiers, which meanwhile had been made into an archiepiscopal see, the two dioceses of Constantine and Oran being detached from its territory. On April 8, 1867, he took leave of his old diocese amid the regret of all. Long after they continued to speak of him there as "le grand Charles."

The new archbishop set out for Algiers with a mind determined as to the work he meant to do there. He had explained to his friends what we can only call a plan of his African campaign. He proposed first, in the colony itself, to bring the influence of the Church and of civilization to bear on the natives whom official France had left to their barbarism and their Koran; this he deemed would be possible by means of works of charity and French schools. And secondly, since Algiers was a way into the dark continent peopled by two hundred millions of infidels and pagans, it was his duty and that of his clergy to carry the light of the Gospel to those who sat in darkness. The plan was noble; its execution was nobler still, and proved truly that what the great Napoleon was among the conquerors of men, that Lavigerie was among the conquerors of souls.

The story of Mgr. Lavigerie's life from the moment of his becoming Archbishop of Algiers to his death, fills over eleven hundred closely printed pages in the two volumes before us. Yet there is not a redundant word in any one of them. So vast were the works he undertook for the Church and for civilization that to give in detail an account of them and of their author, no less space was necessary. Even to give a mere outline of them will require all the space at our disposal. These works fall mainly under three heads. First, for the conversion of Africa; secondly, those for the regeneration of France; and thirdly, those for the abolition of African slavery. Any one of these three divisions required the zeal, energy and courage of a great Christian hero for its direction, yet he alone sufficed to give the impulsion to all, to guide them all, if not to entire success, at least on the high road thereto.

The diocese of Algiers was, in its archbishop's plan, to be the base of his operations for the conversion of Africa. He began by asserting his authority. To one of the Vicars-Capitular, who had

told him of some abuses among the Algerian clergy, he said: "Tell them they will find me severe." An incident, trifling in itself, showed that he would keep his word if necessary. As he was entering his archiepiscopal city, through crowded streets lined by all the troops of the garrison, amid the roar of artillery and the strains of military bands, and accompanied by his clergy and the civil and military authorities, when he came in sight of his episcopal palace, he beheld its windows filled with gaily-dressed dames and damsels—the wives and daughters of the authorities of the city. He halted the procession and would not enter his palace until the last of these ladies had left it. "If ever you bring a lady up the staircase of this palace," he said that evening to his hall-porter, "mind, you will be the first to go down it, never to return." This act showed the manner of man his clergy and laity had got for their pastor.

They soon learned that if he could be severe, he could also be self-sacrificing for their temporal and spiritual welfare. He who only a few weeks before had hired a special train to fly from Rome before the cholera, when the epidemic broke out in his diocese, hastened back there, visiting the stricken in its hospitals at a time when fifteen hundred natives were dying daily. Sixty thousand victims fell before the disease, and in the same year, 1867, the locusts and a drought brought on a terrible famine in the land. The archbishop in his letters describes with the pen of a De Foe all the horrors of the famine. But even out of such evil good comes. It gave him the occasion he sought of attracting the natives to him by the exercise of Christian charity. In his own country-house and in his seminary for junior church students, he gave shelter to some seventeen hundred starving orphans whose parents had died by cholera or from starvation. His entire wardrobe, even to his violet cassock, went to clothe the starvelings. His efforts were well seconded by the government of Algiers and by none more warmly than by the wife of Marshal MacMahon. But this was not enough, and the archbishop had to take the journey to Paris, to become a beggar—happily a successful beggar—for his sorely-trying flock. But he looked higher for their salvation: he established on a better basis the Association of Notre Dame d'Afrique and of St. Augustine, an association of prayer for the conversion of Africa.

The archbishop's crusade by charity and prayer was not to proceed without let or hindrance. A government that called itself Christian opposed it. It was hostile to the Church, and the enemies of the Church are alike all the world over, whether in Bandon or in Algeria. Turk, Jew, or anything, rather than Papist is their war-cry. In Algeria, they placed Islam and Christianity on the

same footing, and even went so far as to impose the Koran on the mountaineers of Kabylia, who, if they had lost, had never renounced the faith. The municipal authorities of Algiers objected to schools taught by Christian brothers or by nuns. "Suffer little children to come unto Me," is perhaps the precept God's enemies like least. Then the honest, brave old Marshal MacMahon, bred unfortunately in the worst bureaucratic traditions of the French colony, set himself in opposition to the archbishop. In his short-sightedness, he failed to see that in Christianizing and civilizing the Arab, France would be the gainer. The watchword the marshal had received was: "The Gospel for the colonists; the Koran for the natives." He did not see that with the Koran the natives could never be won over, that, as the archbishop said, now or a thousand years hence the Koran would always teach them that it was a holy and wholesome thing to cast us "dogs of Christians" into the sea. And, added the archbishop, France must preach or allow the Gospel to be preached to the Arabs or else drive them into the desert afar from all civilization.

Inspired by evil counsellors; egged on by irreligious journalists, the honest marshal penned a letter to the archbishop charging him with wishing to convert the Arabs by force, with putting himself in opposition to the government, in painting the situation of the colony in too sombre tints. It was the old cry, "Thou art not Cæsar's friend!" It was in this letter that MacMahon tried to palliate the acts of cannibalism done in Algeria during the famine, by alleging that in like circumstances similar acts had been committed in Catholic Ireland. This unfounded statement drew from Cardinal Cullen a severe and well-merited reprimand. The marshal should never have signed a letter containing such a false charge against the land of his forefathers. The letter too quickly received a very strong reply from the archbishop. The marshal had appealed to Cæsar; so did the archbishop; both wrote and both took the road to Paris. Lavigerie boldly demanded that, in the interest of the colony itself, the Church there should be free to fulfil its mission. Napoleon III. replied: "You have two hundred thousand Catholic colonists to evangelize; leave the Arabs to the marshal to discipline."

This reply did not defeat the valiant archbishop; he wrote again to the emperor and demanded for the Church in Algeria the freedom she enjoyed in Turkey. At the same time he sought to have audience of the emperor; twice he was foiled. The emperor having gone to Biarritz, Lavigerie followed him there and was admitted to see him alone. The emperor, more weak than wicked, was soon gained over, convinced by the archbishop's manly and apostolic words. The emperor ordered that the conflict between



his governor and the archbishop should cease; that his Minister of War should write him a public letter in which it was said: "The government never intended to restrict your rights as a bishop," and in which it was promised that the archbishop's works in the colony would be respected and might go on. After thirty years of conflict between the Church and the State in Algeria, the Church had secured freedom to carry out her divine mission. This was Lavigerie's first, perhaps his greatest, victory in his conquest of Africa, for it was a victory that made all others possible.

No conqueror can march without troops, and most march with a picked corps. Napoleon had his "Old Guard"; La Moricière, the conqueror of Abd-el-Kader, his African "Zouaves." Archbishop Lavigerie, for his spiritual conquests, had his "White Fathers." Some words of the aged Lazarist Father Girard, superior of the Seminary of Algiers, inspired three of his students to offer themselves for missionary work to their archbishop. The institute began. Its members were to lead a hardy, active life; they were to familiarize themselves with the ways and language of the Arabs; they were so to identify themselves with the people among whom they were to labor, as to adopt their white dress and red fez. The institute rapidly prospered, and soon from its novitiate at Maison-Carrée, went forth its first missionaries. Only twenty-seven years have passed since the institute was begun, and now? Unroll the map of Catholic missions in Africa. Throughout Algeria and Tunis, the missions of the White Fathers are scattered broadcast; away into the Sahara; along the Congo; round the great African lakes and even in Madagascar they are at work together, in many places, with the Missionary Sisters of Notre Dame d'Afrique. Uganda, no longer theirs, owes the introduction of Christianity to their zeal. They have now houses in Rome, Jerusalem, Paris, in Belgium, Holland and Tyrol. They have prospered with the blessing of the Holy See whose devoted sons they are; they have prospered because they have already been blessed with the blood of their martyrs. We read in history of how the monks civilized so much of Europe; we read of the coming of the friars with their holy poverty; we read of the rise of the Society of Jesus with its apostles carrying the Gospel around the world. We are apt to think that these things are of the past. No, they are of the present; they are realities; and the history of "the White Fathers" of Cardinal Lavigerie is a history of our own times—of the last quarter of this nineteenth century. The Church has lost none of its glorious life-giving powers.

Soon after the first steps had been taken to form a body of missionaries, their founder was called to Rome to take part in the Vatican Council. There he was, as he said he would be, "ever on

the side of Peter." Then came the war in France and the proclamation of the republic, which gave rise to troubles in Algiers in which the archbishop was so menaced that he had to seek refuge at Maison-Carrée. Rome too had been taken from Pius IX.; a short strong letter of protest was penned by the archbishop against the usurpation. Keenly did he feel the catastrophes that overwhelmed his country. He was at table with some civil and military authorities when news came of the fall of Metz. In sign of sorrow, he cut the dinner short and went on board the steamer that was to take him to Constantine. "Gentlemen," he said to the officers and crew that stood on deck to receive him, "Metz with its hundred thousand men has capitulated; France is lost—let us pray for her." And he fell on his knees, as did the others. It was a heartrending spectacle.

At this time he was called on to administer the diocese of Constantine—a difficult task, and that at a moment when his own diocese and its works were in dire distress, the war having put a stop to the alms coming from France. Insurrection, too, had broken out in Kabylia. Happily, this led the President of the French Republic, M. Thiers, to send Admiral Comte de Gueydon to rule Algeria. He was a man after the archbishop's own heart. A committee of revolutionists had made government in Algiers impossible. On his arrival the admiral, who was without troops, landed a party of thirty armed sailors to occupy government house. As soon as he himself came there, the delegates of the committee came to try to intimidate the new governor. He met them in the courtyard of the palace. "Gentlemen, you asked to see me. Here I am; what do you want? The state of siege? No. Then if it is not that, I don't know what else you can want. Begone." The delegates took the hint, backed, as it was, by the rifles and cutlasses of the sailors. The admiral saved Algeria, and with it the works of its archbishop, to whom he proved a staunch friend. Although the archbishop had many difficulties and trials still to face, such as the refusal of the home government to continue its grants to his diocese, the law against religious congregations, and that which compelled his church students, and even his younger priests, to serve in the army, his diocese and his missions grew and flourished. As early as 1877 the Holy See had been anxious to confer on him a signal mark of its favor, and to create the first African, as it had recently created the first American, cardinal. But Mgr. Lavigerie opposed the Holy Father's desire so long as Marshal MacMahon was President of the French Republic, to whom the question of the archbishop's entry into the Sacred College would have had to be submitted. Nevertheless, the downfall of the marshal did not make matters easier, for it brought into



office men hostile to the Church, before whom Mgr. Lavigerie would not bow his head, even to put on a cardinal's hat. Not that he did not covet the honor, not indeed for himself, but because it would better enable him to promote the interests of his missions. At Rome, his elevation to the cardinalate was anxiously desired by Leo. XIII. and many leading cardinals; at Paris, even the government wished it, though it was its suppression of the salaries its predecessors paid to the French cardinals that delayed the Pope in making any new cardinals in France. The difficulty, however, was got over, and on March 19, 1882, Mgr. Lavigerie received notice from the cardinal secretary of state of his having been chosen to enter the Sacred College.

It was in Tunis, at his residence of St. Louis, almost on the spot where the holy King of France had breathed his last, amid the ruins of Carthage, that the new prince of the Church received the noble guard who brought the pontifical letters instituting him Cardinal of the Holy Roman Church. A few days later, surrounded by his clergy, by the officers of the French Army in Tunis, and by the French resident and other consular authorities, he received from the same noble guard the scarlet skull-cap of cardinal. In replying to the papal envoy's speech, the cardinal said that, as the oldest of the French archbishops, he had been pointed out to the Holy Father for the high honor conferred on him; that very soon the purple must become his winding-sheet. But, he added, it was not my humble person, but Africa, hitherto the only quarter of the globe not represented in the Sacred College, which Leo XIII. desired to honor. There was a strange tinge of melancholy in the cardinal's speech, especially when he referred to the ruins around him of that ancient Carthage which told with such eloquent silence of human greatness and its hollowness. But the lone hills around were undyingly linked with much Christian glory; this was reviving. He bade the Pope's envoy tell Leo XIII. that the cross now crowned the summit of the citadel of Carthage, and that there rose a house of prayer in memory of France's royal saint. "And you will tell the Holy Father," he concluded, "that you have seen around me this day representatives of all the nations of Europe, and that in his name I preach to them charity, union and peace."

The cardinal was, as we have now seen, a great prelate; he was also a great patriot. There was in his patriotism none of that "chauvinism" of the *café-chantant*, none of that "jingoism" of the music-hall. His patriotism was enlightened. While he worked to place his own country in the van of Christian civilization, he could appreciate the merits of other countries, he could sympathize in their sorrows and in their joys. For instance, he had a *Te*

*Deum* sung in his cathedral for the escape of Queen Victoria from assassination. He could rejoice at the freedom the Maltese enjoyed under British rule. Even when British Protestantism was ruining his flourishing mission in Uganda, he did not rail at England; he only appealed through Cardinal Manning to the British premier to right his wrongs. His patriotism never led to his meddling in mere party politics. As Bishop of Nancy he kept himself and his priests aloof from such politics, bidding them do no more than use their electoral rights as citizens. Once, indeed, he sought, with the approval of Pius IX., parliamentary honors, and offered himself for a seat in the French Assembly after the war with Germany. He came forward "as a Frenchman who would save his country's honor from the hands of the enemy and from anarchy; as a bishop, to defend the rights of the Church and the truths of the Gospel; as an Algerian, to tell France what she might expect from her colony and her colony from her." He was not, however, elected.

If he was never a gladiator in party politics, he did not hesitate to intervene in political matters when he could, or thought he could, attain some great good thereby. He was the prime mover in the French occupation of Tunis, because he believed it was for the good of his country, of civilization and of the Church. The same motives made him desire, especially after two interviews he had with the Comte de Chambord at Carlsbad, to see that son of St. Louis mount the French throne. It was on the feast of St. Louis, in 1874, immediately after these interviews, that Mgr. Lavigerie wrote his famous letter to the count. It was a strong appeal to the count to come to France, and France would accept him as her king. It was nothing more nor less than a *coup d'état* which the archbishop proposed. The plan was bold and perilous; it would have delighted a Henry of Navarre. At Frohsdorf, more timid counsels prevailed. Royalty forgot that

"There is a tide in the affairs of men,  
Which, taken at the flood, leads on to fortune;  
Omitted, all the voyage of their life  
Is bound in shallows and in miseries."

Cardinal Lavigerie must have felt more and more that royalty had let slip its chance, and that when its Orleanist representative had stooped to seek the aid of a military charlatan its cause was lost. What was left for Catholics but to rally to the republic? A letter to his flock, dated February 3, 1890, recommended French Catholics to "accept the national form of government; to unite themselves for the more energetic defence, in parliament and in the press, of the cause and rights of religion; to hold aloof from party

quarrels, passions and schemes purely political; and, above all, to implore God's help for France and for the Church." This, too, he felt was what Leo XIII. desired.

Being on his way to Rome about this time, the cardinal had an interview with President Carnot at Fontainebleau. He never revealed fully what then passed between him and the president. It is almost certain that the chief question then discussed was that of rallying French Catholics to the republic. Already, at Rome, Leo XIII. was disposed to recommend this policy, as he had been deeply impressed by M. Grévy and M. Freycinet having attributed the persecution the Church in France suffered to "the belligerent attitude" of French Catholics towards the republic. It was at this psychological moment, to use a Bismarckian phrase, that Cardinal Lavigerie had audience of the Holy Father to give an account of his anti-slavery crusade. Leo XIII. suddenly changed the subject of conversation to ask about the political state of France and the desirability of Catholics uniting, on constitutional grounds, to fight for their rights. Finding the cardinal's views in agreement with his own, Leo XIII. asked the cardinal to be the exponent of his wishes that Catholics should rally to the republic in France. The cardinal, having consulted two of the superiors of his "White Fathers," then in Rome, consented. The act which the Pope asked from the cardinal was one that jeopardized the work of his "White Fathers," for their resources came largely from French monarchists of different shades. But it was the will of the Pope, so no matter the cost, said the cardinal and his advisers.

The cardinal returned to Africa. For some days he pondered how best he might perform the great act Leo XIII. required of him, speaking, however, to no man of what he was about to do. The French Mediterranean fleet was at anchor in Algiers roads; the cardinal resolved to invite its chief officers to meet at his table the civil and military authorities of Algiers; and there was more reason to do this, as, in the absence of the governor-general, the cardinal was the Frenchman of highest rank in the colony. It was on Thursday, November 12, 1890. "At the end of the banquet," wrote the cardinal afterwards, "the moment had come to do the most dreaded act of my life." He was excessively nervous about making a short speech which he had carefully made ready beforehand. He felt that every Frenchman was listening to words destined, perhaps, to begin a fresh chapter in the history of his country. He rose and drank to the health of the French Navy. He spoke of the union of soldiers, sailors and civilians around the table of an aged archbishop, all in the service of France, as typical of the union the Church and its pastors desired to see in France.



Then followed a brief and brilliant appeal to all to cease opposing and to support the form of government which the will of the nation had given France. "Unless we resign ourselves to this, unless we accept this patriotically, it is impossible to keep order and peace, to save the world from social dangers, to save even religion itself, of which we are the ministers."

The cardinal's auditors were stricken dumb by his speech; he had even to remind the admiral that he had not replied to the toast. Admiral Duperré, perhaps at heart a Royalist, rose and simply said: "I drink to the health of his Eminence and of the clergy of Algiers." As the guests departed, the band of music of the cardinal's students struck up, as it had done on similar occasions before, the *Marseillaise*. That evening when the newspapers brought to Leo XIII. the account of the toast, he said to those about him: "Why should not French Catholics imitate the Primate of Africa?" And when the *Marseillaise* incident was mentioned, the Pope added, with a smile: "Ah, I didn't ask his Eminence for that."

The speech was received in France with a howl of execration from all the Royalist, Imperialist, and Radical papers; with joy by the moderate Republican journals; with guarded courtesy by the Catholic organs. The latter, with the "Univers" at their head, have now loyally accepted the Republic. The storm, however, aroused by the cardinal's words had not died out at his death. He had, however, the consolation of having done his duty to his country and to the Holy Father, though at cost of mental suffering that undoubtedly hastened his end.

Sufficient time has not elapsed as yet to tell how far French Catholics have listened to the advice which Cardinal Lavigerie gave them in the toast that caused so much wild excitement. Since then Leo XIII. has publicly endorsed with dignified approval that advice, and it may be hoped that its adoption will bring forth good fruits. But of the fruits of his crusade against African slavery there can be no doubts. When England, in 1838, had given freedom to nearly a million slaves in her colonies; when the French Republic, in 1848, had done likewise to another quarter of million of slaves; when in 1863, Abraham Lincoln proclaimed free the four millions of slaves in the United States; when, lastly, Dom Pedro, in 1888, had determined that the two millions of slaves in his empire of Brazil should be set free, the world might believe that slavery had vanished from its surface. Cardinal Lavigerie soon undeceived the world. He only knew too well from the reports of his missionaries that what Livingstone and other explorers had reported was only too true; that in a quarter of a century ten millions of human beings perished on

their way from Central Africa to those slave-markets kept open to provide the followers of Mahomet with slaves to do their work or to fill their harems.

Cardinal Lavigerie who, ever since he had been in Africa, had in all his letters to his flock never ceased protesting against this traffic, now wrote to the Holy Father. He in turn in his Encyclical *in plurimis* embodied in it, almost word for word, what the cardinal had written to him about African slavery. Two days after the Pope's letter had been issued, Cardinal Lavigerie presented a large body of pilgrims from Lyons and from Africa to the Pope. Among these pilgrims were twelve negroes redeemed from slavery. Pointing them out to the Holy Father, and having spoken of what they had suffered and how they had been rescued, the cardinal added: "But, Holy Father, in the heart of our immense continent they have left behind them a whole people—their people, doomed to such a dire fate as they have escaped—a hundred million of men, women and children condemned to such a life or to such a death."

The Pope's reply to the cardinal's address was virtually an order to begin an anti-slavery crusade. The cardinal did not allow the grass to grow under his feet before fulfilling the Pope's order. He hurried to Paris, where the President and the leading members of the French government promised their support to the crusade. He began preaching it from the pulpit of Saint-Sulpice, on July 1, 1888, in the same church where, half a century earlier, he had begun his sacerdotal life. His sermon lasted an hour and a half; five thousand people crushed into the church to hear it. Next day the press scattered the cardinal's words all over France and they found an echo in every true heart. But he had resolved that his crusade should not be preached to France alone; wherever he could make his voice heard, thither would he go. On July 31, he spoke in Princess's Hall, London, supported by Cardinal Manning and Lord Granville, with the pick of London society for his audience. Those present that evening have not forgotten the deep impression the cardinal's words made on them. Fifteen days later, on the feast of the Assumption, he preached the crusade from the pulpit of Sainte-Gudule at Brussels with such success that the Belgian Anti-Slavery Society was forthwith founded and a thousand pounds there and then subscribed for its wants. A similar society had begun to operate in France; a kindred one in Spain. Thither, as well as to Germany, the cardinal would have gone had not the efforts already made over fatigued him. He could only write letters and send printed copies of his speeches to his friends in the two countries. The Germans had taken up the matter warmly and were happy enough to draw from Prince Bis-

mark the news that Germany and England were negotiating to bring all the nations interested in Africa to take action in common to stop the slave-trade. Before the year was out English and German ships were blockading the east coast of Africa to stop the Arab slave-trade. This was the first great result of the cardinal's crusade. The cardinal did not, encouraged by the Holy Father, cease his efforts. Rome—where the Masonic newspapers did their worst to ruin his work against slavery—Naples, and Milan heard his eloquent words, and Italy was united in the great anti-slavery movement which had spread itself, like some great tidal wave, over all western Europe. In the summer of 1889, it was proposed to hold an international congress at Lucerne of representatives of all the anti-slavery societies of the world. But on the very eve of the meeting, it was found that their electoral duties at home prevented most of the French delegates from coming to the congress, so the cardinal saw fit to prorogue it until the following spring. This was a bitter disappointment to many, to none more so than to the cardinal. Finally, the congress met in Paris on August 3, 1890, but it had lost much of its importance, for the powers had met in conference at Brussels and passed their famous act for the suppression of African slavery and slave-trade. The congress had but to approve that act; it had already largely won the approbation of Cardinal Lavigerie and the Holy Father Leo XIII., the two first promoters of the anti-slavery crusade which the powers interested in Africa had now solemnly bound themselves to carry out.

Such, in general outlines, was the life-work of Cardinal Lavigerie—work often done amid intense physical, and hardly less intense moral, sufferings. That tall, imposing, stalwart frame was weakened by the multitude of labors it had undergone; that flame of life, which the doctors said might have burned on beyond man's ordinary span of existence had it burned less fiercely, began to flicker. He had never ceased to labor except when illness compelled him to desist. Rising at five, and often even earlier, his Mass and devotions over, he would cast a quick glance through the newspapers, then busy himself and his hardworked secretaries with his correspondence, which was world-wide. He read only a few books and those chiefly that dealt in some way with Africa. His recreation in Africa was a walk to one or other of his religious establishments; in the afternoon he had business to transact with many visitors; to none did he seem hurried by his work. Nevertheless that work was constantly prolonged far into the night. In his habits he continued as simple as if he had been no more than the humble priest he had desired to be in his youth. He loved, indeed, for God's greater glory, to appear in



great splendor on occasion of any great ecclesiastical function, or when he had to represent the Church as its archbishop or as its cardinal. If he had to give a public entertainment, it was splendid; his own daily fare was of the simplest. He was of course a great traveller by land and sea, but on the latter he suffered severely, if the sea was rough. He never wore the purple on his journeys, so that he was constantly mistaken for a simple missionary. "Ah, you are from Algiers," one would ask. "Then you know Lavigerie?" It was thus that on one occasion a priest from Nancy criticised his late bishop to his face. Lavigerie listened calmly and replied, as they were parting: "All you have said about Lavigerie is quite true, M. l'Abbé, except what you said of his wish that you should become his vicar-general. This I certainly never dreamed of." He often wished to appear and even was severe, and would sometimes storm at others; but these moments of terrible excitement quickly passed; an occasionally rough exterior hid a grateful heart, full of the milk of human kindness.

And when that great heart ceased to throb on November 23, 1892, there died one whose name will go down with honor to posterity in the annals of France, of Africa, and of the Church. The cardinal's body was taken from Algiers to Carthage, of which see he had become the first archbishop. There, in the primatial Church he founded, the mortal remains of the great cardinal were laid to rest. He is dead; not so his works. They survive and are hastening that day he so desired when the dark continent shall become a land bright with Christian civilization.

WILFRID C. ROBINSON.

BRUGES, BELGIUM.

THE CHIPPEWAS AND OTTAWAS: FATHER  
BARAGA'S BOOKS IN THEIR LANGUAGE.<sup>1</sup>

IN Colonial times, before the American Revolution, the domain of the Iroquoian Confederacy extended as far west as the Cuyahoga River, where the city of Cleveland now stands; but the Senecas, who were the guardians of the "Western Door" of the "Long House," claimed jurisdiction along the shore of Lake Erie as far up as Sandusky. The domain proper of the Chippewas and their allies, the Hurons, the Ottawas, and the Pottawotomis, commenced at the Cuyahoga River, and extended 60 miles inland, including portions of Ohio, Pennsylvania, Indiana, Michigan, and part of Wisconsin, the shores of Lake Michigan, and the littoral of Lakes Huron, Michigan, and the Georgian Bay. Here the joint control of the territory ended. Among the people of the Huron, the Ottawa, and the Pottawotomi nations the Chippewa dialect was spoken and understood, although the Huron language differed in its roots and gutturals from that of the Chippewas.

Without regard to the national boundaries subsequently outlined, the Chippewa domain extended from St. Mary's River around both shores of Lake Superior to its head-waters at Fond du Lac, and thence away around to the Mississippi and beyond to the shores of Hudson Bay and further westward. After the American Revolution the Federal Government found the nations mentioned more or less under the influence of the British Indian Department at Quebec. It became necessary to bring them under American control, and this was effected by the treaty of Fort McIntosh, in 1785, where a treaty of peace was concluded between the United States and the Ohio Delawares, the Chippewas, the Hurons, the Ottawas, and the Pottawotomis. The country bordering on Lake Erie, as far up as Toledo—60 miles back of the lake shore—was ceded to the United States, with certain reservations of lands occupied at the time by communities of the Indian Nations who were parties in the negotiation of this treaty. The post of Detroit, with 12 square miles in its surroundings, the island of Michilimacinac and its dependencies, and 12 miles square

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<sup>1</sup> See "Frederick Baraga Among the Ottawas," *AMERICAN CATHOLIC QUARTERLY REVIEW*, January, 1896; "The Chippewas of Lake Superior," *AMERICAN CATHOLIC QUARTERLY REVIEW*, April, 1896; "Father Baraga Among the Chippewas," *AMERICAN CATHOLIC QUARTERLY REVIEW*, July, 1896.



on the mainland, were also ceded at this treaty. Here, then, commenced the American control of Chippewa, Ottawa, Huron, and Pottawotomi domain over the territory bordering on the shores of Lake Erie and the *Detroit*, and the river St. Clair.

In 1789 General St. Clair concluded a treaty with the same nations at Fort Harmer, when other important cessions were made.

In 1789 General Wayne negotiated at Greenville the most important Indian treaty hitherto made with the same Indian nations, as also the Miamis and several Illinois nations, at which was ceded much of the territory unceded in Ohio, Indiana, Michigan, Illinois, including the site of Chicago, and the littoral as well as the islands of Lakes St. Clair, Huron, and Michigan, with certain reservations which were acquired in part by subsequent treaties, held in 1805, 1807 and 1808. Then occurred the war of 1812. In 1815 General Harrison negotiated at Springwells, now Detroit, a treaty with the Chippewas, the Hurons, and Pottawotomis, at which peace was assured to those nations, who acknowledged on their part and ratified the treaty of Greenville, which effectually ceded control of the Northwest Territory to the United States.

This important treaty was followed by that of St. Louis, in 1816, when much of Illinois was ceded; and in 1817 by General Cass' treaty at the Miami Rapids, when reservations were ceded; and again by General Cass at Saginaw, Michigan, in 1819, between the Chippewas and the Government, in which important cessions of land were made on the littoral of Lake Michigan, subject to certain reservations. In 1820 General Cass negotiated a treaty with the Chippewas at Sault St. Marie, at which they ceded all the land on the River St. Mary, reserving the right to camp on the shores and to fish in the rapids in perpetuity. This was the first cession by the Chippewas of territory in their home country proper. In 1821, at a treaty made at Chicago, the Chippewas, Ottawas and Pottawotomis made extensive cessions of territory on the south shore of Lake Michigan and on the St. Joseph River. In 1825 General Cass negotiated the famous treaty of Prairie du Chien, where the Sacs and Foxes, the Iowas, other nations of the Missouri and the Mississippi, the Sioux, and the Chippewas were represented. At this treaty the war between the Chippewas and the Sioux, which, according to General Cass, had existed for 200 years, was happily ended, and the territorial boundaries of each nation were permanently defined. Peace was also made between the Sioux and the other Indian nations represented. This treaty, by which the Indian wars between the Western and Southwestern Indian nations was ended, was probably the most important of the Indian treaties negotiated by General Cass.

In 1826 General Cass had this treaty ratified by the Chippewa chiefs of the head waters of Lake Superior and westward, who were not present at Prairie du Chien in 1825, at Fond du Lac.<sup>1</sup>

This treaty was followed by that of Butte des Morts, negotiated by General Cass and Colonel McKenney, in 1827, when the southern boundary line of the Chippewa domain in Wisconsin was defined and established.

In 1828 General Cass and Louis Ménard negotiated a treaty with the Chippewas, the Ottawas, the Pottawotomis, the Sac and Fox, and the Winnebagos, defining the boundaries of the Chippewa domain in Illinois and Wisconsin, and in relation to the relinquishment of the titles of these nations to the lands in which were the lead mines in Illinois. This brings us down to the time when the Pottawotomis, the Ottawas, and the Chippewas ceded their lands on the western shore of Lake Michigan and in Wisconsin, and, besides money and other considerations, were assigned five million acres of land west of the Mississippi. This treaty was negotiated at Chicago, September 26, 1833, by Governor Porter, of Michigan, and two other commissioners. Its results were unfortunate for the Pottawotomis, nearly all of whom were Catholic, who were removed by force of arms from their reservations on the St. Joseph River and shore of Lake Michigan to the territory assigned them west of the Mississippi; and to the Ottawa tribes on the littoral of Lake Michigan, as well as those in the Grand River Valley, who had been evangelized by Father Baraga, who were obliged to follow the Pottawotomis to the unknown west. Such of the Chippewa tribes as had been domiciled in the lower peninsula of Michigan, in Illinois, and in part of Wisconsin, who had been parties to this treaty, shared the fate of their allies, the Ottawas and Pottawotomis, and were removed from their ancient homes. Henry R. Schoolcraft negotiated at Washington, March 28, 1836, an important treaty, by which extensive cessions of their reservations were made by the Chippewas, in consideration of a large sum of money and permanent reservations for the use of those of this nation living north of the Straits of Mackinac, at Point au Barbe and Mille Coquin River, where there were fisheries; the Beaver Islands, Round Island, near Michilimackinac; the Chenaux Islands, and a part of the adjacent north coast of Lake Huron; Sugar Island, with its islets in the River St. Mary; 640 acres at the Mission of the Little Rapids, a tract on the Lake Superior shore south of Point Iroquois, including islets and fishing grounds in the vicinity; 640 acres on Grand Island, and 2000 acres on the

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<sup>1</sup> See "Frederick Baraga among the Ottawas," *AM. CATH. QUAR. REVIEW*, vol. xxi., No. 81, January, 1896, p. 109.

main land south of it; and two sections on the northern extremity of Green Bay. By a subsequent treaty, made by Mr. Schoolcraft at Washington, May 9, 1836, further cessions were made by the Chippewas of lands in the vicinity of River St. Clair near Lake Huron, Michigan, for which government was to pay to the residents on the land ceded a certain annuity during ten years, and to provide them with 8320 acres for new homes west of the Mississippi. At a treaty negotiated at Detroit by Mr. Schoolcraft, January 14, 1837, the Chippewas of the Lower Peninsula of Michigan ceded large tracts of land on the Au Sable, the Rifle River, the Kawkawling River, the Flint River, the Cass River, an island containing 1000 acres in the Saginaw Bay, 2000 acres on the Saginaw River, another tract of 1000 acres on the east side of the same river, 640 acres at Great Bend on Cass River, another tract of 1000 acres on the same river, 10,000 acres on the Shiawassee River, 6000 acres on the Titabewassing River, 6000 more acres at Birds Town on the same river, and one tract of 40,000 acres on the Saginaw River—in all, 102,400 acres. The Indians on certain of the tracts sold were allowed to remain in their homes five years before removing west of the Mississippi. By an agreement made at this treaty, the government was to sell the lands ceded, and to pay the net proceeds in annuities to the tribes ceding, the proceeds of sales, less expenses, to be funded, and to advance funds to enable the Indians to remove to their new homes when the same should be satisfactorily located. It is to be remarked, in connection with this treaty, that most of the tracts ceded were pine lands in demand; these the government proposed to sell for money at the established price; the number of Indians interested were not many, only twenty-seven chiefs and head men were parties to the treaty, while only three of the tracts were actually occupied by Indian families.

The treaty made in 1837, at St. Peter's, by Governor Dodge and the Chippewas of Leech Lake, Gull Lake, St. Croix River, Lake Court d'Oreille, Lac du Flambeau, La Pointe, Mille Lac, Sandy Lake, Snake River, Fond du Lac, Red Cedar Lake, Red Lake, all of whom were constituents of Father Baraga, who at the time was absent in Europe, was in regard to the cession of lands very important, taking into consideration the impoverished condition of the people of the respective localities at the time.

The territory ceded comprised about a fifth of the State of Minnesota, as at present constituted; a large part of Wisconsin, and extended from the head-waters of Lake Superior to the Mississippi. In consideration, the government was to pay in money and goods to the value of \$35,000 annually for twenty years—besides a sum of \$100,000 to the half-breeds in the tribes negotiating the



treaty, in one sum. A further sum of \$70,000 was to be paid in settlement of claims held against these Indians. The privilege of hunting, etc., on the lands ceded was granted during the pleasure of the President. A treaty made at Flint River, Michigan, by Mr. Schoolcraft, December 20, 1837, provides for the expenses of the removal of the Chippewas interested in the Saginaw treaty, and in the lower portions of the Lower Peninsula of Michigan, to a reservation to be selected for them at the head-waters of the Osage River, west of the Mississippi.

On January 23, 1838, Mr. Schoolcraft negotiated another treaty with the Chippewas at Saginaw, Michigan, providing for their expatriation to the West. October 4, 1842, Robert Stuart negotiated at La Pointe a treaty with the Chippewas of Lake Superior and the Mississippi, at which all the valuable mineral lands in Minnesota, Wisconsin and the Upper Peninsula of Michigan remaining uncaded were ceded to the government. At the treaties of 1846, 1847, 1848, two in 1855, four in 1856, of 1860, 1863, 1864, 1865, two in 1866 and of 1867, important cessions of land were made in the Lower and Upper Peninsulas of Michigan, in Minnesota and Wisconsin. In some, provision was made for the expatriation of the Chippewas to the country west of the Mississippi; in others reservations were assigned by government to the tribes who did not emigrate, including those tributary to La Pointe, at L'Anse, Beaver Island, Cross Village, Arbre Croche, Grand River and Grand Traverse, as well as of the Swan Creek and Saginaw tribes.<sup>1</sup> All the evangelized communities within the lake circuit of Father Baraga's missionary work among the Chippewas of Lake Superior and those on the Lower Peninsula of Michigan were, by his influence, secured permanent reservations near their ancient homes.

At L'Anse, where fifty years ago Father Baraga built his missionary chapel and gathered around him a colony of his neophytes, there are at the present day over 700 Chippewas who lead Christian lives; there is a resident missionary, a church and school. Few full-blood Chippewas are to be found among the people of this locality; they dress like white men—most of the men speak English, but the Chippewa dialect is universally spoken in their homes. They are not under the care of the Government Indian Bureau at Washington. There are probably 1000 living in the territory tributary to Sault Ste Marie, and 2000 more around and south of the Straits of Mackinac. The religious welfare of the Chippewas of L'Anse and of the 3000 above mentioned is supervised by the Bishop of Marquette. In the Lower Peninsula of

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<sup>1</sup> For the official copies of all the treaties mentioned above, see *United States Statutes at Large*, "Indian Treaties," by Richard Peters; Boston edition.

Michigan, according to the United States Census of 1890, there are probably 3000 Chippewas living on their respective reservations, whose populations vary from 50 to 200, who dress like white people, and among whom the Chippewa dialect is exclusively used; they mingle but little with their white neighbors. They are mostly Catholic; their religious welfare is in charge of the Bishop of Grand Rapids; during the past fifty years several eminent Catholic missionaries have labored among the Indian communities of the Lower Peninsula of Michigan.

It will be remembered that Father Baraga's missionary labors among the Chippewas commenced under adverse circumstances sixty-one years ago at La Pointe, an island in the head-waters of Lake Superior, which at the present time is within the boundaries of the State of Wisconsin.

It is the headquarters of the United States Indian Agency at La Pointe, which for some years has been in charge of Lieutenant W. A. Mercer, an army officer detailed for this special service.

The La Pointe Agency includes a series of reservations aggregating over half a million acres. Four of these reservations are in Wisconsin and three in Minnesota,<sup>1</sup> viz.:

	Acres.	Population.
Red Cliff, Bayfield County, Wis., . . . . .	11,457	555
Bad River, Ashland County, Wis., . . . . .	124,333	655
Lac Court d'Oreilles, Sawyer County, Wis., . . . . .	66,136	1116
Lac du Flambeau, Oneida County, Wis., . . . . .	69,824	794
Fond du Lac, Carleton County, Minn., . . . . .	92,346	759
Vermillion Lake, St. Louis County, Minn., . . . . .	131,629	760
Grand Portage, Cook County, Minn., . . . . .	51,840	324

These are all familiar names of localities where Father Baraga starved and shivered during the first decade of his apostolate among the Chippewa Indians, 1835-1845.

The aggregate population is nearly 5000, and is probably greater at present than it was during Father Baraga's apostolate.

Most of the Chippewa families are living on allotted lands, which they cultivate; and they live fairly well. The timber industries in Lac du Flambeau and Bad River Reservations are worked to advantage on the contract system.

The religious welfare of the Chippewas of the La Pointe Agency, most of whom have preserved the faith, is under charge of the Bishop of La Crosse. It will be remembered that the Franciscan fathers succeeded Father Baraga in missionary work in this locality; they now have many churches and missionary stations, the former with resident pastors, who make regular visits to the latter.

<sup>1</sup> *Report of Lieut. W. A. Mercer to U. S. Com. Indian Affairs, 1894, pp. 331-335.*

The education of the children is in excellent hands; the Franciscan Sisters conduct the Catholic schools. Lieutenant Mercer reports that "the boarding and day schools under the charge of the Catholic Church are efficiently managed and doing much good."<sup>1</sup> It is evident that the seed of Christianity, sown with so much labor and personal privation by Father Baraga, upon the soil inhabited by the Chippewas of the littoral of the head-waters of Lake Superior, more than half a century ago, took such deep root that it yielded and continues to yield an abundant harvest of Christian souls. Congress, in 1889, appropriated \$165,000 for the Chippewas of this reservation, for the promotion of civilization generally; which included the cost of the erection of houses, the purchase of agricultural implements, stock and seeds, breaking and fencing of land, *for payment of expenses of delegations of Chippewa Indians to visit the White Earth Reservation* (west of the Mississippi), for educational purposes, surveys, etc.

This money was an advance made by Government, for the purposes stated, from the interest fund of these Chippewa Indians.<sup>2</sup>

West of the Mississippi, White Earth Indian Agency consists of three reservations: White Earth, Becker County, Minn.; Leech Lake, Cass County, Minn.; and Red Lake, Beltrami County, Minn.; having a total of nearly four and a half million acres. On these reservations are:

	Population.
White Earth Mississippi Chippewas, . . . . .	1287
White Oak Mississippi Chippewas, . . . . .	702
Gull Lake Mississippi Chippewas, . . . . .	316
Mille Lac Mississippi Chippewas, . . . . .	976
Red Lake Chippewas, . . . . .	1276
Pembina Chippewas, . . . . .	311
Leech Lake Pillager Chippewas, . . . . .	1141
Cass and Winnebagoishish Chippewas, . . . . .	421
Otter Tail Pillager Chippewas, . . . . .	702
Making a total population of, . . . . .	7132

White Earth, the headquarters of the agency, is 22 miles distant from Detroit City, on the line of the Northern Pacific Railroad, which is the nearest railroad point. Leech Lake is 105 miles, and Red Lake 100 miles from headquarters. The former is 45 miles northeast of Park Rapids, on the Great Northern Railroad, and the latter 60 miles from Fosston, on the line of the same railroad.

The tribes comprising this population are descended from those represented by their chiefs at the treaty of Fond du Lac, at the

<sup>1</sup> U. S. Com. Indian Affairs' Report, 1894, p. 333.

<sup>2</sup> Report of the Com. of Indian Affairs for 1894, p. 439.



head-waters of Lake Superior, negotiated by General Cass and Colonel McKenney in 1826, seventy years ago.

In his report for 1894, Robert M. Allen, United States Indian Agent, says:

"They are composed of nine distinct bands, scattered over 200 miles of territory, and some of these bands have little or no communication or relation with each other. All now wear citizen dress and live in houses of some character. When free from whiskey they are generally peaceable and not hard to manage, but aside from living in houses and wearing clothes I cannot see wherein the *full-bloods* have made much advancement. They are constitutionally opposed to work and refuse to do it, and it is simply a question whether the Government will furnish them with supplies or allow them and their families to half starve.

It is evident, from Agent Allen's report, that the full-blood Chippewa of 1894 has not degenerated from that high standard and that supreme disgust of labor for which his father and grandfather were distinguished sixty or more years ago. The Agent continues:

"During the long years of residence of these tribes in this locality a great many whites have settled among them and married Indian women, and their offspring now comprise a large portion of the population, and especially is this true of the White Earth Reservation. These mixed-bloods are the prosperous Indians, who do most of the work and furnish the best examples of thrift, making the good showing upon this agency in gardening, farming and stock-raising now to be seen. Here and there a full-blood can be found who is educated, trying to live right, and prospering. But this is the exception, as most all of the pure-bloods remain in idleness and show little disposition to engage in labor of any kind, all the roseate and sentimental reports to the contrary notwithstanding."

From the further details of this report it is painfully evident that but little progress has been made in agriculture; this may be owing to the indifference of former Indian Agents, for Mr. Allen states that corn, the greatest economic factor of an Indian's household, can be raised, at least some varieties which grow quickly, but no attention has been paid to its cultivation, apparently, by his predecessors. He proposes to introduce and distribute among the Indians seed corn of the variety best adapted to the climate.

The production of corn will be followed by the raising of pork, and both will greatly conduce to the comfort of the Indian families. In such a large area of territory one would suppose game would be plenty. It was formerly, and was of great advantage to the Indians in its food and in the product of its furs; but the loud whistle of the locomotive and the rattle of the wheels of railroad trains on the steel rails of the great lines of railroads traversing the territory, and the cutting of timber, have long since alarmed the more valuable species of wild animals and they have fled far beyond the hunter's range.

Climatic effect or some other causes have operated adversely to the natural sources of support, which in former years were available to the Chippewa women and children of the White Earth Agency. Wild rice, blueberries, cranberries and snake root were gathered in considerable quantities in former years, and added materially to the means of support.

But these are now rarely to be found. Maple sugar was formerly made in considerable quantities, but the maple forests were cut down and the timber sold. "The lakes, where rice grew so abundantly in former years, have become almost barren, and this is largely true of the cranberry marshes, so that these small industries have gone."<sup>1</sup> As an evidence, both of the indifference of former Indian Agents to the Indian's welfare and of the shiftlessness of the Indian himself, it is stated there are thousands of acres of wild prairie grass on the White Earth Agency that makes the best of hay. So small a portion of this grass has been cut in former years that much of the stock of the Indians has starved during the long winters for want of food, an abundance of which might have been procured from the prolific source described.

Although the country is adapted to the raising of wheat, oats, roots and other vegetables, a mere fraction, less than 10,000 acres, of this vast area is under cultivation, but little more than an acre per capita. We are inclined to believe that, although the climate of the White Earth Agency may be severe, during the winters especially, its soil will richly repay agricultural labor, as appears from competent and reliable evidence. This agency furnishes a scandalous example of Government neglect of the Chippewa people who had been removed from their homes and colonized at this locality.

That this neglect has resulted from laziness, indifference, or cupidity, or from a combination of these vices, operating through Government Indian Agents, is but too evident from the condition of the people of this agency as described by Mr. Allen, the present Indian Agent in his report to the Indian Bureau at Washington.

The White Earth Agency offers a good example of what little progress a large colony composed exclusively of Chippewa people, will make, when given the opportunity to labor and become prosperous, when this people are permitted to be guided by the traditional instincts of their unfortunate race.

The religious welfare of the Chippewa Catholics of the White Earth Agency, of which there are probably 4000 souls, of whom 1200 are communicants, has of late years fallen under the direction of the Bishop of Duluth.

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<sup>1</sup> *Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs*, p. 150.

The headquarters of missionary work is at White Earth Agency, where the Benedictine father, Aloysius Hermannitz, has a church, boarding school and orphan asylum; the two latter institutions are conducted by Benedictine sisters.

There are churches at Cass Lake, Leech Lake and Red Lake, the latter in charge of the Benedictine father, Thomas Boryerding. The fathers of the same order make regular visits to missionary stations established elsewhere in this extensive Chippewa Agency.

In 1875, the government granted a tract of 171 acres to the Roman Catholic Mission of White Earth. In 1889 another grant of 160 acres was made for a Catholic school, and in 1894 a grant of 80 acres for mission and school in this agency. Special grants were made in 1889 for church, presbytery and school at Red Lake.<sup>1</sup>

The Protestant Episcopal denomination directs the most active non-Catholic missionary work in the White Earth Agency; while they have 8 churches, 6 schools, 7 parsonages in the agency, and a hospital at White Earth, 1 white and 8 Indian missionaries, the total number of their members is given at only 300.<sup>2</sup>

Over 600 acres have been granted by Government to the respective missionary establishments of the Protestant Episcopal Church in this agency.

In North Dakota, at Turtle Mountain Agency, there are about 2000 Chippewa Indians, of whom nearly 300 are full blood. This agency is located in Rolette County, near the boundary line of the Dominion of Canada; it includes 46,000 acres of land, 15,000 being tillable.

Besides the enrolled Chippewas of the agency, 60 families of mixed blood aggregating 250 souls, reside on the reservation.

It is officially reported, that this reservation is not a proper place to locate Indians or mixed bloods with the expectation of building them up to the standard which the Government expects and civilization demands. It is too small and too near towns; moreover, it is not a country where farming can be made successful.<sup>3</sup>

Year after year, crops have been to a great extent destroyed by excessive cold or heat; while, what the elements may have spared, the gophers have destroyed.

The best disposed among those seeking support by agriculture, have become discouraged by repeated total or partial failure of

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<sup>1</sup> *Report of the Com. of Indian Affairs for 1894*, p. 481.

<sup>2</sup> Report of Robert M. Allen, U. S. Indian Agent White Earth, in *Com. Rep.*, 1894, who also states that the Catholics have large and substantial brick buildings for school and church purposes, page 152.

<sup>3</sup> *Report of the Com. of Indian Affairs*, "E. W. Brenner's Report to Indian Agent, 1894," page 219.



their crops and have turned their attention in other directions to provide the means of support.<sup>1</sup>

The agent has this to say of the Chippewas of pure blood : " This report would be incomplete did I not call attention to the condition of our full blood Chippewa Indians—the Turtle Mountain Chippewas—287 individuals, out of the 2000 who make up the census."

They should receive the attention of the Government, but they have been overlooked.

They have gradually removed from the reservation, selling out what little improvements they had made, and two-thirds of them are now located outside its jurisdiction.

They cultivate on an average half-acre patches.<sup>2</sup>

They have gathered near the town of Dunseith, where they are exposed to many temptations ; they are retrograding and have nearly reached the limit of worthlessness.

So far as the welfare and progressive improvement of the Chippewas of the Turtle Mountain Agency is considered, the operations of the Government in this direction have been a failure.<sup>3</sup>

It is well known that more than twenty years ago missionary work in North and South Dakota was begun and continued by the late Bishop Marty ; this venerable prelate was the apostle of the Indians colonized in these states as at present constituted.

However unfortunate the temporal condition of the Indians may have been heretofore, and as at present described, their religious interests have been well cared for by Benedictine fathers, and the education of the children by Benedictine sisters. The result is, that to-day the great majority of the Chippewas of the Turtle Mountain Agency are Catholics. North Dakota now comprises the diocese of Jamestown, with Fargo as the residence of the bishop. The Sisters of Mercy and the Gray Nuns have been associated with the Benedictine Sisters in the education of Indian children.

In the Dominion of Canada, beginning at the river Thames, which flows into Lake St. Clair, there are settled on both banks of this stream 442 Chippewas who cultivate the soil to advantage ; they are solidly Protestant. Not far distant, on Walpole Island, in the river St. Clair, there are 649, 10 of whom are Catholics and 6 pagan. These Indians are all farmers, they have good

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<sup>1</sup> 3800 acres were cultivated in 1894, mostly by mixed bloods ; wheat, oats, barley, roots and vegetables were sown, the seed for all of which was furnished by the Government.

<sup>2</sup> The labor required is most probably performed by the women.

<sup>3</sup> Seed for each yearly planting has been furnished gratuitously. In 1894 30,000 pounds of beef, 100,000 pounds of flour, 20,000 pounds of pork, 1000 pounds of rice, 2000 pounds of sugar and 200 pounds of tea were given as rations.

houses, barns, stock, etc., and are prosperous; they are all of mixed blood, as also those on the Thames, and dress like white people, speaking exclusively the Chippewa dialect. In the vicinity of Sarnia, on the shore of Lake Huron, there are 479, nearly all Protestant; on Snake Island there are 124, not a Catholic among them; at Rama, further up the Lake Huron shore, there are 226, of whom 13 are Catholics; at Saugeen, 379, 21 of whom are Catholics; at Narvash, 396, of whom 124 are Catholics; at Beau-soleil, 357, of whom 142 are Catholics.<sup>1</sup> On the upper coast of Lake Huron, at Thessalon River, 172; at Maganetewan, 169; at Spanish River, 566; at White Fish Lake, 143; at Mississauga River, 153; at Oncwaiegoes, 50; at Serpent River, 100; at French River, 94; at Tahgaiewenewe, 149; at White Fish River, 79; at Parry Island, 82; at Shawanaga, 119; at Henry's Inlet, 187; at Lake Nipissing, 163; at Temogamingue, 87; at Dokis, 61; at Garden River, 441; and at Batchewana Bay, 368, making an aggregate of Lake Huron coast Chippewa population of 3,183. The people of most of the places named in this aggregate are solidly Catholic, the total number of Protestants being 583, and pagans 112.<sup>2</sup> Round the head-waters of Lake Huron near the Georgian Bay, on the Manitoulin and Cockburn Islands, there are nine Indian villages, containing about 1000 Chippewas, solidly Catholic. These tribes were among those visited by Father Baraga, and their ancestors had occupied the soil for several centuries. They are prosperous and exceptional to the general characteristics of the people of this race, being industrious and thrifty.

On the north shore of Lake Superior there are 371 Chippewas at Fort William, 201 on Helen Island, 52 at Pays Plat, 520 at Lake Nepigon, 260 at Pic River, 328 at Long Lake, and 319 at Michipicoton; the aggregate in these villages is 2051—all solidly Catholic, except 53 at the last named village.

These localities are all in the province of Ontario.<sup>3</sup> The social condition, dress, language, industry and thrift of the Chippewas included in the above details, according to the reports of the Dominion officials, correspond with what we have stated.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Jesuit Fathers look after the religious welfare of Catholic Indians in the villages named above.

<sup>2</sup> The Jesuit Fathers conduct the missions among the 3,183 Chippewas; their lay brothers teach the Indian boys, while Sisters of the Immaculate Heart of Mary teach the Indian girls.

<sup>3</sup> *Report of the Department of Indian Affairs for the Dominion of Canada for 1892*, pp. 308-9.

<sup>4</sup> The religious welfare of the Indian Catholics in the Chippewa and Ottawa tribes on Cockburn and Manitoulin Islands is supervised by the Bishop of Peterborough.

The Jesuit Fathers have churches and mission stations, the number of fathers doing missionary work being 12. Lay brothers of this order conduct free schools, indus-

Nearly all the Chippewas we have mentioned above are classed as "treaty Indians;" all, with the exception of those living in the villages on the south side of Manitoulin Island, having ceded their lands to the Dominion Government, retaining reservations on which they are now living, and receiving in compensation annuities paid the heads of families in the respective tribes. We do not believe that the Chippewa communities in the Dominion, who are living on the shores of the Thames, on Walpole Island, at Sarnia and up the coast of Lake Huron as far as Beausoleil, are the descendants of the people of this nation who were evangelized by Father Baraga, fifty or more years ago. As a rule, the descendants of his converts, wherever they may be found at the present day, have remained, with few exceptions, steadfast in the Catholic faith. In the Province of Manitoba, on the northern borders of Minnesota and North Dakota are many communities of Chippewa Indians living more or less under the tribal system. These are grouped by the Dominion Government with the Cree Indians under the designation of Treaty Nos. 1, 2, 3, and 5. These may be called "wild tribes."

Treaty No. 1 includes seven villages of Chippewas and Crees, having a population of 2605, of whom 1339 are stated to be Protestant; 682 Catholic, and 584 pagan. Treaty No. 2, having six villages, 694, of whom 351 are stated to be Protestant, 198 Catholic, and 145 pagan. Treaty No. 3 comprises thirty-one villages, with an aggregate population of 2871 Chippewas and Salteux, of whom 570 are stated to be Protestant, 296 Catholic, and 2005 pagan.

In twelve villages, forming part of Treaty No. 5, there is a population of Chippewas and Salteux of 2129, of whom 1564 are Protestant, 57 Catholic, and 508 pagan. How many Chippewas are included in the above census of these "wild tribes" of Manitoba Province we are unable to say; none of their ancestors were probably ever evangelized by Father Baraga. Nor are we able to determine whether the respective numbers of Catholics stated comprise Chippewas to any extent.

It may be interesting to know, that in the northwest territories of the Dominion of Canada, in the Athabaska and McKenzie River District, comprising nineteen villages, there is an aggregate population of 5589, all solidly Catholic, no Protestant or pagan statistics being given; while the Peace River District, comprising twelve villages, contains 1725, all solidly Catholic, no statistics of Protestant

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trial schools, and boarding schools for Indian boys. The Sisters of St. Joseph and of the Immaculate Heart of Mary have similar schools for Indian girls.

The Jesuit Fathers have charge of missionary work on the main shore below and above Sault Ste. Marie, under the same supervision.



or pagan being given. In the Nelson and Churchill Rivers Districts there are in five villages 852, the entire population, all of whom are reported Catholic, no other statistics given. But we believe there are no Chippewas included in the thirty-six villages referred to in the northwest territories. "The Census Returns of Resident and Nomadic Indians," in all the Dominion of Canada, shows a total Indian population of 109,205.<sup>1</sup>

The religious welfare of the Catholic Chippewas of Manitoba, and of the solidly Catholic Indian population in the northwest territory is supervised by the Archbishop of St. Boniface.

The missionary labor among the Indians inhabiting the extensive regions comprised within the limits of the Dominion Provinces of Manitoba and of the Northwest Territory, has for many years been performed by the Oblate Fathers, who are all of French or French-Canadian nationality.

Associated with the Oblates in the work of education are the Brothers of the Congregation of Mary, who teach Indian boys; the Gray Nuns, the Sisters of the Holy Names of Jesus and Mary, and of other communities, conduct schools of different grades for Indian girls.

There are, in all, fourteen Indian schools. This is as far as we feel disposed to follow the wild Chippewas of the north-west in the Dominion of Canada.

What of the race of warriors whose castle, during the French régime, on the south shore of the beautiful bay which is at the head of the *Détroit*, dominated that romantic vicinity for nearly a century, until their greatest chief, Pontiac, baffled by British power in his attempt to establish Indian supremacy over the territory west of the Ohio River, retired, defeated and disheartened, with the tribes of the Ottawas to their ancient homes on the littoral of Lakes Huron, Michigan, and the Georgian Bay?

They were the grandchildren of the Ottawas of Pontiac's time, whom Frederick Baraga evangelized during the fourth decade of the present century, and for whose spiritual welfare he wrote and had published the religious books in the Ottawa language, which we shall endeavor to describe. It may interest our readers to know the destiny of the generations succeeding the Ottawa Christians of Arbre Croche, its vicinity, and the Grand River valley.

Pontiac had no successor. White civilization made necessary the removal of his race from their homes in Michigan to the territory assigned them west of the Mississippi. This ostracism was the coup de grace of the autonomy of the Ottawa nation; as such, it has been literally wiped out of existence.

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<sup>1</sup> *Dominion of Canada Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs for 1892*, pp. 308-309, 316, 317, and 322.

Although the territory assigned the exiles was all that a nomadic people could wish for, with mild and genial climate, and fine hunting ranges, they did not take kindly to their new homes. It was not the land wherein the bones and ashes of kindred generations reposed; the American Indian, of all others of the human race, has probably the greatest love for the soil in which his kindred have been buried. Very many of the exiles straggled back to Michigan soil so dear to them in filial associations.

One generation at least, although scattered, acquired homes and lived fairly well; other stragglers found their way to Canada and became mixed with other Indian nationalities. But the second generation, almost entirely denationalized, and at present living in Michigan, have, as a rule, become impoverished and are fading out of existence, victims of surrounding white demoralization.<sup>1</sup>

In the northwest corner of the Indian Territory, with Kansas on the north, Missouri on the east, and the Cherokee nation on the south and west, is located the United States Government Indian Quapaw Agency. It has an area of about 213,000 acres. Under the management of its agent, the welfare of the remnants of eight American Indian nations, who were more or less prominent in American Indian history, is supervised under direct control of the Government at Washington. These nations are the Hurons or Wyandottes, the Miamis, the Modocs, the Ottawas, the Peorias, the Quapaws, the Senecas, and the eastern Shawnees.<sup>2</sup>

The total population of the eight nationalities is only 1334, the Hurons, Miamis and Senecas having the largest number, from two to three hundred each.

Among all these so-called Indians, tribal and national government as formerly existing is unknown. George S. Doane, U. S. Indian Agent,<sup>3</sup> reports that this agency is favorably located; 800 feet above the level of the sea; the winters are short and mild, and the climate salubrious. Stock requires very little feeding; the country is well watered by rivers and streams. The soil and climate favor the most diversified culture; the two extremes of Northern and Southern products, corn and cotton can be grown to advantage; while wheat, oats, rye, flax, tobacco, hemp, tame grasses, castor beans, roots and vegetables of all kinds, and fruits of all varieties, are among the annual productions of this prolific region. Climatic diseases are unknown and sickness results only from hereditary maladies. The enterprising town of Seneca, Mo., is

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<sup>1</sup> It is estimated there are 3000 Ottawas of mixed blood living in a semi-civilized state in the Lower Peninsula of Michigan.

<sup>2</sup> The Hurons, the Miamis, and the Ottawas are Michigan tribes.

<sup>3</sup> *Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs*, 1894, p. 134.

five miles from the agency, whose people stand high in the estimation of the merchants and traders of this town.

In this favored locality reside 160 Ottawas, officially known as such to the government, and this is all of the people of this once great nation to be found in the official records of the Indian Bureau at Washington at the present day! The Ottawa reservation comprises 14,860 acres, of which 8,000 acres are fenced.

Heads of families have been allotted land in severalty and 27 families are now living upon and cultivating such allotments. Very little of the Ottawa type remains; all dress in citizens' clothing; the once bright copper color of the race has given place to a yellow shaded white, while only a few aged men and women are of pure Ottawa blood.<sup>1</sup> It would appear from the report of Rev. W. H. Ketcham, Roman Catholic Missionary to the Cherokees and Creeks, who makes monthly visits to the Quapaw Agency, of whose Catholic missions he has temporary charge, that there are 400 Catholics in the agency, in which there are promising mission stations among the Senecas, the Hurons, the Miamis, the Ottawas, and the Quapaws, which are visited monthly, while religious services are held elsewhere.

The members of the Quapaw nation, which is affiliated with the Osage, are nearly all Catholics, and the same may be said of the Ottawas. The former people have built a church and presbytery and will soon have a resident priest, who will attend to all the Catholics in this agency. A large school-house and a residence for sisters who will conduct a school, are in process of completion.<sup>2</sup> This is all the more necessary not only for the spiritual welfare of all, but especially of the Ottawa Catholics. The Quakers have been very active and have 16 places of worship in this agency; the Methodists have 2 and the Baptists 2. Mr. Doane, however, remarks in this connection: "The Catholics are making great strides in Christianizing the Indians."<sup>3</sup>

The greatest number of Ottawa Indians in the Dominion of Canada are to be found on the Great Manitoulin and Cockburn Islands in Lake Huron near the Georgian Bay.<sup>4</sup>

On these Islands there are nearly 1900 Indians of the Chippewa and Ottawa nations, probably an equal number of each living in tribal relationship; intermarriages between the people of the two

<sup>1</sup> No government rations are issued to these Ottawas. Hunting and fishing are no factors in their means of support. They stand 100 in the ratio of self-support by labor. The Ottawa language is used exclusively in social life, and most of them can read and speak English.

<sup>2</sup> "Report of Rev. W. H. Ketcham, Church of the Assumption, Muscogee; Creek Nation, Ind. Ter., July 25, 1894," in *Report of Com. of Ind. Affairs*, 1894, p. 139.

<sup>3</sup> "Report of U. S. Indian Agent, Quapaw, etc. for 1894," p. 136 in *Com. Rep.*

<sup>4</sup> "Dominion of Canada," *Rep. Dep. of Indian Affairs*, 1892, pp. xiv and 308.



nations have been frequent, as also with Canadians; the lines of descent are however traced from the maternal side and the nationality remains distinct; while a child may have a Chippewa father, if his mother be an Ottawa, the child is known as of the nationality of his mother and *vice versa*. At Sucker Creek there are 110 of these Indians, of whom 94 are Protestant; at Sheguindah there are 153, all Protestant, the remaining 1653 are solidly Catholic. Besides these aggregates, the little village of Obidgewong has a population of 22 Chippewas, all of whom are Pagan.

The chief dependence of these Indians is agriculture and fishing. On the southern portion of Manitoulin Island, however, the land has not been ceded to the Dominion, and the sale and cutting of timber adds materially to the means of support.

Many of these Indians, the Dominion Chief Secretary states, derive profitable employment in the open season from acting as boatmen and guides for sportsmen; some of them likewise work in saw-mills and on steamers as deck-hands. Their situation as a rule is satisfactory; the Dominion Government provides missionaries and teachers and most rigidly enforces the laws prohibiting the sale of intoxicants. The population on these islands is gradually increasing.

Small bands of Ottawas are found farther north in the vicinity of Sault Ste. Marie; these are Catholic, who receive missionary care.

Whatever may ultimately become of the Ottawa race, whose people in time will probably lose their identity, the name can never disappear in the Dominion of Canada, whose capital is named Ottawa, from the noble river which flows past this city toward the St. Lawrence.

Although the Ottawa Indian tribes evangelized by Father Baraga during the first years of his missionary work on the littoral of the waters of Lake Michigan and in the Grand River valley have been removed from Michigan soil, the renown of this fine race of Indian warriors will remain in the history of the American Indian nations who were prominent in the great Algonquin confederation of the East, West and Northwest.

But the name of Frederick Baraga has become for all time indissolubly identified with the history and fate of the Ottawas of Michigan, and the perpetuation of their language by the printed works in the Ottawa vernacular, which he has contributed to the bibliographical collections of American Indian languages in the libraries of America and Europe.

While yet a young man, comparatively speaking, Father Baraga became interested in philological study; we have seen that at the time of his ordination to the priesthood, being then in his twenty-

sixth year, he could speak fluently his native Slavonic, the French, German, Italian, Latin and Greek languages; so it may be claimed for him that when he was admitted to the sacerdotal state he was to some extent a linguist. During the seven years of his young sacerdotal life, while pastor at Smartna, in his native province, literary work occupied the few leisure hours at his disposal, and became to some extent his solace and his recreation.

It was at this period that he undertook the difficult task of the reconstruction of his native Slavonic language, which had degenerated, and which he redeemed from the hybrid condition into which the dialect had fallen.

This was probably the first philological work accomplished by Father Baraga, but it was to him, perhaps, at the time, a labor of love.<sup>1</sup>

We have no description, as heretofore stated, of the works he wrote and had printed during his pastorate at Smartna, but we recall the attention of our readers to the fact that those of a devotional character are still used by the people for whom they were written; while others have been republished in the original text, and extensively in translations.

It will be remembered that when Father Baraga arrived at Cincinnati, in January, 1831, he was welcomed by the amiable and pious Dominican, Dr. Edward Fenwick, first bishop of Cincinnati, whose episcopal control extended over the Territory of Michigan and the littoral of the Northwestern Lakes.

During the months he was detained at Cincinnati he acquired a knowledge of the English language. It happened that a young Ottawa was at the same time a member of the bishop's household; this young man had been selected as a candidate for the priesthood, and was pursuing a preparatory course before being sent to the Propaganda College at Rome.

Father Baraga's first knowledge of the Ottawa language was derived from this young Indian in the bishop's house at Cincinnati. He continued the study of the roots and gutturals, and soon acquired a practical knowledge of the Ottawa dialect.

When, finally, he was enabled to make the journey to Detroit from which city he was to go, by way of Mackinac, to Arbre Croche, Bishop Fenwick, in order to facilitate the work of the young missionary, arranged with Father Richard to provide an interpreter who would repeat the words Father Baraga delivered to the Indians in the French language, in the Ottawa dialect. Father Richard selected for this purpose a Detroit lady, whom

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See *Frederick Baraga among the Ottawas*, AM. CATH. QUAR. REVIEW, vol. xxi., January, 1896, p. 114.

he had educated, and who, with two other young ladies, in 1804, he had placed in charge of his seminary for the higher education of young ladies in her native city. This lady's name was Miss Angelique Campau. She spoke the Ottawa and other local Indian dialects fluently. She was probably at the time in her fiftieth year, while her zeal and great piety were remarkable.

But after a few weeks' experience, Father Baraga, who had zealously pursued the study of the Ottawa language, found he could preach and instruct in the local dialect sufficiently well to be understood.

Miss Campau was not required to interpret his words, but she was assigned by the missionary to the special work of instructing the children of his neophytes.

How she had lived while at Arbre Croche we do not know, but probably she had made her home with some Ottawa widow; her father, Barnabé Campau, was a wealthy merchant of Detroit, and she had ample means of her own. She had probably volunteered for the work, but when she had found Father Baraga proficient in the language of the Indians, she returned to Mackinac during the summer, and thence to her home in Detroit.

In our article, "Frederick Baraga Among the Ottawas,"<sup>1</sup> we attempted to outline the missionary work accomplished by Father Baraga among the tribes of this nation in the territory of Michigan; we have directed attention to the preliminary pages of this outline to illustrate the wonderful capacity of this devoted missionary for Indian philological work.

Thirteen months after his arrival at Arbre Croche he had written and prepared for the press his first work in the Ottawa language and the first of the series of Indian books destined to make his name celebrated as one of the greatest philologists of the Algonquian languages. He came to Detroit in August, 1832, at a time when the Ottawas of his mission had gone to Drummond's Island to receive their annuities from the British Indian Agent, and placed his manuscript in the hands of George L. Whitney, who at the time was the publisher of the "Detroit Daily Advertiser."<sup>2</sup> This was not the first Catholic prayer-book which this gentleman had printed. In 1830 he published for Father Augustine Dejean, a French missionary under Father Gabriel Richard, an Ottawa prayer-book and catechism combined, 108 pages 18mo.<sup>3</sup>

At the time Father Baraga came to Detroit, in 1832, to supervise the printing of his Ottawa prayer-book the Asiatic cholera was

<sup>1</sup> AMERICAN CATHOLIC QUARTERLY REVIEW, vol. xxi., 1896. No. 81, p. 106.

<sup>2</sup> This paper was the political organ of the "Whigs."

<sup>3</sup> Anichanibek amisinahaniwa kichean ameatchik, Catolic, Ottawak wakanakessi, Dejean Macate okonoye. Wyastenong: George L. Whitney, manda, etc., 1830.



epidemical in the city. Mr. Whitney's staff had been weakened to some extent by the scourge, but he was courageous and energetic. The office and typographical plant of the "Detroit Daily Advertiser" was on the fourth floor of a building on the corner of Jefferson and Woodward Avenues, about three squares from the pastoral residence of Father Richards, which was the home of Father Baraga while in Detroit. Few compositors would care to set up solid Ottawa copy; Mr. Whitney's probably did their best; but it is not unlikely that each square of proof contained Indian words unintelligible to Father Baraga or to anybody.

Whenever the missionary had to interview his publisher, and this was necessary for the ordeal of proof-reading many times each week, he had to climb three flights of steep stairs in dark halls, which to him, who, for more than a year, had been living in a cabin, was harder work than marching in the woods or on the ice. But the little book was in time printed and bound, and in such a shape as was highly creditable to its publisher. Although purely and simply Ottawa, it is printed in pica type, which was evidently new, on good, clear white paper, and with good ink. Compared with the prayer-books in the English, French and German languages in use during the "thirties" and "forties," Father Baraga's Ottawa prayer-book is superior to most in typographical work and in stock, while good taste is evident in the manner in which the headings, many of them long Indian words, are arranged:

A copy in the library of the Boston Athenæum is described as follows:

" OTTAWA  
ANAMIE MISINAIGAN.  
(Two lines quotation.)  
WYASTENONG.<sup>1</sup>

Nin Frederick Baraga.

George L. Whitney, Ogimisinakisan manda misiriaigan. 1832."

Text entirely Ottawa, pp. 205; index in Ottawa, pp. 206-207. Like ordinary prayer-books it contains devotional prayers, litanies, etc., 57 pages; hymns, 83 pages; with catechism, 58 pages. This book is 4½ inches square. This prayer-book was intended for the use as well as for the doctrinal instruction of Christian Ottawas, but more especially for those attending divine service in the respective mission chapels. To make it available, Father Baraga taught a certain number of his converts the rudimentary parts of their printed dialect, and when these were able to read and understand they in turn taught others. So that while the Holy Sacrifice was being offered these Ottawa Catholics, with prayer-book in hand, intelligently assisted, and when necessary joined in the

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<sup>1</sup> The Ottawa name of Detroit.

responses. At vespers the congregation chanted the Gregorian strains adapted to the psalms appropriate to the evening service and benediction of the Blessed Sacrament.

It may be claimed that this was the perfection of Indian missionary work among the people of the Ottawa nation.

While in Europe in 1837, Father Baraga had printed a more extensive Indian prayer-book; a copy in the library of the Boston Athenæum is thus described:

"OTTAWA.  
ANAMIE-MISINAIGAN,  
gwaiaikossing anamiewin ejitwadjig,  
mi sa Katolik-enamiadjig gewabandangig.  
PARIS, (France, Europe.)  
E. J. Bailly, sgimisinakisan manda misinaigan. 1837."

A brief literal translation would be: Ottawa praying book, that which is right religion they who profess, that is, Catholic praying ones, they shall read, etc.

The Ottawa preface is signed Nin Frederick Baraga, after which is given in English and French the approbation of † Frederick Résé, Bishop of Detroit.

This book contains 297 pages of Ottawa text, and an index of 3 pages; 300 in all. 16mo. Many of the hymns have French headings, which induces us to believe that this book was not intended, like the Detroit edition of 1832, for the particular use of Ottawa Indian Catholics, but more for the convenience of French missionaries in their initial work.

The binding of this book is somewhat superior to that of the Detroit edition, but in typographical work and stock, although printed in Paris, it is inferior.

By the same publisher, while in Europe in 1837, Father Baraga had printed a life of Jesus—in the Ottawa language. A copy of this work in the library of the Boston Athenæum is described as follows:

"JESUS.  
OBIMADISIWIN AJONDAAKING,  
guaiaikossing anamiewin  
egitwadjig mi sa,  
Katolik enamiadjig gewabandangig.  
PARIS.  
E. J. Bailly, ogimisinakisan manda misinaigan. 1837."

A picture of the crucifixion faces this work after the title page, which is followed by a short preface signed

NIN FREDERICK BARAGA.

The imprimatur of Frederick Résé, Bishop of Detroit, dated from his titular city October 20, 1836, is printed in English and French.

This is a work of 204 pages, 16mo., in the Ottawa language, with an index of 2 pages, also in Ottawa. It contains a folded map of the Holy Land.

Seven years later Father Baraga had printed another Ottawa prayer-book, a copy of which is in the library of the Boston Athenæum, and described as follows:

"OTTAWA.  
ANAMIE MISINAIGAN, ETC.  
DETROIT, 1842.

Eugene T. Smith, o gimisinakisan manda misiniagan. Text in the Ottawa language, 16mo."

In the same library is a copy of an Ottawa prayer-book, evidently intended for the use of missionaries, by Father Baraga:

"KATOLIK ANAMIE-MISINAIGAN.  
NIN FREDERICK BARAGA.

Wawiiatanong: Bagg & Harmon,<sup>1</sup> ogimissinakisanawa mandan misiniagan, 1846."

The preface, in Ottawa, is followed by the imprimatur, in French, of Pierre Paul Lefevre, Evêque, etc.; 252 pages of the text is in Ottawa; 3 pages in double columns, Ottawa and French, contain litanies with French headings; 73 pages devotional prayers; 103 pages hymns, some with French headings; then follows JESUS odigitwawin katechim ejinikadeg, 74 pages, followed by 11 pages in French containing *Le chemin de la croix*, and *Le rosaire*. The typographical work is excellent, the stock equally good, and the binding creditable. 256 pp., 16mo.

Two years after Father Baraga had been promoted to the purple, he had published:

"KATOLIK OTTAWA.  
ANAMIE-MISINAIGAN."

From a copy in the library of Yale the following description is taken:

Following the title is a picture of two angels bowed before the cross, and then:

"FREDERICK BARAGA,  
Kitchi-mekatewikwanaie."

Preface in Ottawa, text also in the same language, with index. Pages 357. 16mo.

"CINCINNATI, 1855.  
Joseph A. Hemann, o gi-misinakisan manda misinaigan."

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<sup>1</sup> Bagg & Harmon were proprietors of the *Detroit Free Press*, the political organ of the Michigan Democracy.



The typographical work, paper, etc., is inferior to the respective books above described. In 1858 the same party published :

"KATOLIK OTTAWA  
Anamie-misinaigan wetawawissing.  
CINCINNATI 1858.

Joseph A. Hemann o.gimisinakisan manda misinaigan. Devotional prayers."

This book has a frontispiece of a religious design, text entirely in the Ottawa language—pages 240, 16mo. In typographical execution it is about the same standard as the work last noticed.

This is the latest of the devotional works in the Ottawa language published under the direct supervision of their author. We shall not refer to later reprints, but attempt a description of his books in the Chippewa language, or as he always wrote, the Otchipwe, the earliest of which is :

"OTCHIPWE  
ANAMIE-MASINAIGAU  
Gwaiakossing anamfewin ejitwadjig, misa katolik-enamiadjig gewabamdangig.  
NIN FREDERICK BARAGA

E. J. Bailly ogimasinakisan mandan masinaigan. PARIS 1837.

This description is from a copy of a Chippewa prayer-book in the library of Congress, text entirely in Chippewa, of 300 pages, 16mo. The work consists of prayers, litanies, hymns, and catechism, preceded by a preface signed by Father Baraga, and has the imprimatur of Frederick Résé, Bishop of Detroit. It is an enlarged edition of the Ottawa prayer-book printed the same year by the same house in Paris, which we have already described. This is the first of the series of Chippewa books published by Father Baraga. It will be remembered that he had been but two years starving and freezing among the Chippewas at La Pointe, when he went to Europe to procure funds.

He took with him the manuscripts of the Ottawa and Chippewa prayer-books as also of the Life of Christ in the same languages and had them printed.

When we consider the missionary work accomplished during his initial years among the Chippewas, we may perhaps be able to appreciate the hardships endured; but when we consider the amount of labor required to write, first in the Ottawa language, the books printed at Paris by Bailly in 1837, and then to change the text from the Ottawa ending of words to the Chippewa, it is difficult to conceive how many hours out of each twenty-four, Father Baraga allowed himself for rest, during these two years. Here is the description of the copy in the Astor Library :

"JESUS  
OBIMADISIWIN OMA AKING, ETC.  
NIN FREDERICK BARAGA  
PARIS 1837."

E. J. Bailly agimasinakisan mandan masinaigan. The same preface, imprimatur and division of the work as we have described in the Ottawa version. Text 211 pages, 16mo, with picture and map.

But this was not all the philological work accomplished during these same two years.

From a copy in the Boston Athenæum we have the following description of a Chippewa primer:

"ABINODJIIAG  
OMASINAIGANIWAW.  
BUFFALO 1837.  
Press of Oliver G. Steele."

Primer lessons in the Chippewa language. Pour les maitres et maitresses d'école, the instructions to whom, also in French, advises that the children be shown all the proper names which are found in Baraga's "Jesus Obimadisiwin."

How much rest the brain of Father Baraga was allowed during the interval between 1837 and 1843 is easily answered. Not any! It was worked harder every available hour!

Father Verwyst, O.S.F., states that he usually rose at 3 A.M. in summer, and an hour later in winter. One summer morning his frail organization was nourished by "balmy sleep" until five o'clock; in his diary of that day he mentions the occurrence, and laments the loss of two precious hours by sleep.<sup>1</sup>

He was probably constantly at work on his Chippewa grammar and his dictionary. In the meantime he had prepared for the press and had published at Laibach, in his native province, Bible stories in the Chippewa language; from a copy of this little book in the Astor Library the following description is taken:

"GETE  
GAIE DACH NITAM  
Mekatsokwanaieg ogagikwewinewara.  
Frederick Baraga.  
Laibach, 1843."

Joseph Blasnik, ogimasinisan mandan masinaigan. Text, with index, entirely in the Chippewa language. Preface in the same, signed by the author. 211 pages, 18mo. The frontispiece has an engraving of cherub and cross.

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<sup>1</sup> *Manuscript Rev. C. Verwyst, O.S.F.*

From a copy in the library of the Boston Athenæum the following description is taken of a later Chippewa primer :

" ABINODJIAG  
OMASINAIGANIWAN.  
Detroit, 1845.  
Bagg and Harmon, printers."

In addition to the matter contained in the Buffalo edition of 1837, which is rearranged, there is a prayer and the Ten Commandments. 8 pages, 32mo.

A valuable aid to missionaries was the first volume of Father Baraga's sermons in the Chippewa language; from a copy in the library of Yale the following description is taken :

" KATOLIK  
GAGIKWE-MASINAIGAN.  
Nin Frederick Baraga.  
Wawiiatanong,<sup>1</sup>  
1846."

M. Geiger, *ogi-masinakisan mandan masinaigan*. The work bears the imprimatur in French of Bishop Lefevre; otherwise it is entirely in the Chippewa language, consisting of sermons preached by Father Baraga, with a preface and index. 268 pages, 16mo.

In chronological order follows a Chippewa prayer-book :

" KATOLIK  
ANAMIE-MASINAIGAN.  
Nin Frederick Baraga.  
Mekatewikwanaie.  
Wawiiatanong, 1848.  
Munger & Pattison; *ogi-masinakisanawa*, etc., Detroit."

This work bears the imprimatur in French of Bishop Lefevre. James Constantine Pilling describes his own copy as follows :

Prayers, litanies, etc., pp. 5-76; the Lord's Prayer, a prayer to the Virgin, and the Creed in double columns, Chippewa and French, pp. 10-13; *le chemin de la croix*, pp. 76-99; hymns, many with the headings in French, pp. 100-106. Bound with this volume was a Chippewa catechism, the title of which Mr. Pilling gives :

" JESUS  
OD IJITWAWIN  
Katechim ejinikadeg.  
Detroit, 1849. "

Text entirely in the Chippewa language. 80 pages, 16mo.

During the following year the most extensive purely religious

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<sup>1</sup> Wawiiatanong is the Chippewa name of Detroit.



work from the pen of Father Baraga, and in the Chippewa language, was published in Detroit. From a copy in the library of the Boston Athenæum the following description is taken :

"KATOLIK

ENAMIAD O NANAGATAWENDAMOWINAN,

Frederick Baraga,

Wawiiatanong, 1850.

Jabez Fox, ogi-masinakisan mandan masinaigan, Detroit."

The work has the imprimatur in French of Bishop Lefevere. The text, which is entirely in the Chippewa language, Catholic Christian meditations, is preceded by a preface and ends with an index. 712 pages, square 16mo.

The extent and importance of the book under notice, the number of whose pages is twice as large as any heretofore described, lead us to believe Father Baraga gave the labor and precious time required for its composition, to provide devotional reading for his own neophytes at L'Anse, as well as for his spiritual children in other parts of the Lake regions. Not only these Christians were to be benefited, but we believe he intended the book should have circulation in other Christian communities among the Ottawa and Pottawotomi tribes of Michigan, wherever these might be, as well as the Algonkin tribes of Canada, or wherever else the latter might be found leading Christian lives. Among the people of all these communities, who for all time had been included in the widespread Algonquian Confederacy, the Chippewa language was to a considerable extent understood, as the English language is at the present day among peoples of so many different nationalities in North America, in Europe and in other parts of the world; while some of the Algonkin nations referred to had been converted by Catholic missionaries more than two centuries ago.

The works of Father Baraga in the Ottawa and Chippewa languages thus far noticed were purely religious; while the great labor required in their preparation was given by the missionary for one prime object, and this was the salvation of souls.

Subordinate to this religious work was probably the preparation, no less laborious, of the scientific contributions to the general philological construction and development of the Chippewa language.

These were, perhaps, the most important contributions to Indian philology made hitherto.<sup>1</sup> The first of these works to be noticed, and in chronological order, we shall describe from the copy presented to us by its venerable author, which copy is now in the library of the Detroit (Jesuits') College :

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<sup>1</sup> Appleton's *Cyclop. of Am. Biog.* quoted in Bibliography of the Algonquian Languages.

"A THEORETICAL AND PRACTICAL<sup>1</sup>  
GRAMMAR  
OF THE OTCHIPWE LANGUAGE,  
Spoken by the Chippewa Indians, etc.  
By Frederick Baraga,  
Missionary at L'Anse, Lake Superior.  
Detroit.  
Jabez Fox, Printer.  
1850."

The typographical work of this edition is first-class. The type new, the paper white, the ink clear and the leather binding strong and good. It is square 16mo, with preface and index, 576 pages.

Following the Chippewa Grammar, Father Baraga had printed in Cincinnati his famous Chippewa-English dictionary. From the copy presented to us by its venerable author, which copy is now in the library of the Detroit (Jesuits') College, we make the following description :

"A DICTIONARY  
OF THE OTCHIPWE LANGUAGE.  
Explained in English."

"This language is spoken by the Chippewa Indians, as also by the Ottawas, Pottawotomis and Algonkins, with little difference."

"For the use of Missionaries, etc.  
by the  
REV. FREDERICK BARAGA ;  
Roman Catholic Missionary among the Otchipwe Indians.  
Cincinnati.  
1853.  
Printed for Joseph A. Hemann, etc."

This is a book of 662 pages, square 16mo ; it is in 2 parts ; part 1, Otchipwe-English ; part 2, English-Otchipwe. With preface in English. Its typographical work and stock is more creditable to Mr. Hemann than the other Indian books he brought out for Father Baraga.

In the latter part of 1853, Father Baraga was elevated to episcopal rank. Upon assuming the mitre he announced the event to his spiritual constituents among the Indian tribes of the Lake Superior region, in a pastoral in the Chippewa language :

"KITCHI-MEKATEWIKWANAIE  
FREDERICK BARAGA,  
O masinaigan,  
Ge-wabandamowad.  
Kakina anashinabec enamiadjig.  
Cincinnati. Catholic Telegraph.  
Gashkadino-ississ  
1853."

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<sup>1</sup> See the AM. CATH. QUAR. REVIEW, No. 83, July, 1896, page 606. Description reproduced to make the series of Indian works in the present article complete.

Printed cover above ; text entirely in the Chippewa language, 10 pages, 12mo.

At the top of the first page of text is the bishops's diocesan seal, under which is :

" Frederick Baraga,  
Kitchi-mekatewik-wanie."

Probably the only copy of this pastoral extant among white people was in the possession of the late James Constantine Pilling, whose description we have given. It had been presented him by Father John Gafron, of Bayfield, Wisconsin.

After his elevation to the episcopacy, and while residing at Sault Ste Marie, Bishop Baraga, more than ever anxious for the spiritual welfare of Christian Indians, had prepared for the press and published at Cincinnati the last of his works in the Chippewa language of which we have knowledge.

The description is from a copy in the Congressional Library :

" KAGIE DEBWEWINAN  
KAGINIG GE-TAKWENDANG  
KATOLIK ENAMAID.  
(Device.)  
Cincinnati, 1855."

" Joseph A. Hemann o gi-masinikisan mandan masinaigan."

Eternal truths always to be remembred by a Catholic Christian. The text is entirely in the Chippewa language, with preface and index. Pages 367, square 16mo.

The most important reprints of Bishop Baraga's works, of which we have seen an authentic record, comprise a revision of the Paris edition of 1837 ; *Katolik anamie-Masinaigan*, etc., by Rev. John B. Weikamp, Tert. O.S.F., which was issued by Benziger Brothers, New York, 1874 ; Prayer-book in the Chippewa language, 322 pages, with an appendix of 16 pages, by Father Weikamp. 16mo.

A reprint of the Chippewa grammar and dictionary in three parts was undertaken by the Abbe Lacombe of the Oblate Fathers.

Each part has printed cover, as title to the grammar : A theoretical and practical grammar of the Otchipwe language for the use of missionaries, etc. By Rt. Rev. Bishop Baraga, etc.

Montreal 1878. Beauchemin & Valois, small octavo, 422 pages.

A dictionary of the Otchipwe language—Part I. Otchipwe-English, by Rt. Rev. Bishop Baraga, etc. Beauchemin & Valois, Montreal, 1878, small quarto, 321 pages.

A dictionary of the Otchipwe Language, etc.—Part II. English-Otchipwe. Beauchemin & Valois, Montreal, 1880. Small octavo, 422 pages.



In Rev. Chrysostom Verwyst's (O.S.F.) *Mikana gigigong enamog*, etc., some portions of Bishop Baraga's devotional works are included and duly acknowledged in this valuable work of 602 pages, which contain nine plates. Square 16mo., St. Louis 1880.<sup>1</sup>

Father Verwyst, O.S.F., has been a missionary among the Indians in the Lake Superior country since 1878.

It is impossible to estimate the number of days and nights of weary labor given by Father Baraga during the years he was engaged in the preparation of his Ottawa and Chippewa works for publication; his master-pieces, the Chippewa Grammar and Dictionary, would require an ordinary life's work.

It will be remembered that the Very Rev. Father Jacker had completed a revision of Father Baraga's Chippewa Dictionary, which had occupied his leisure time for a period of twenty years; the result of this extended labor was lost by an accident in Lake Michigan. The Jesuit Missionary, Father Raslès, was at work completing his Abnaki-French Dictionary, which he had commenced thirty years before, when he was killed by New England soldiers at Norridge-wock, 1724. We think the Abnaki language has fewer gutturals than the Chippewa and requires less philological work in the compilation of a dictionary.

The great aim of Father Baraga's missionary life among the Indians of Michigan was the saving of their souls.

He knew perfectly well what would most aid him in his missionary work, an auxiliary in which was his Ottawa and Chippewa prayer-books and devotional manuals.

The value of these works was so appreciated by Catholic missionaries that thousands upon thousands of Father Baraga's books were procured by missionaries engaged in evangelical work among the numerous Indian tribes of the wide-spread Algonquian races. They are still in use among the Indian missionaries in the Dominion Provinces in that great range of territory extending from Nova Scotia on the Atlantic to Vancouver on the Pacific; while they are hand-books among the American missionaries laboring for the salvation of souls among the descendants of the expatriated Algonquians, who, fifty years ago, by the demands of American civilization, were removed from Michigan and transferred to the wild regions of Minnesota and the Dakotas, west of the Mississippi.

RICHARD R. ELLIOTT.

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<sup>1</sup> Nearly all the titles of Indian works given by us are from James Constantine Pilling's Bibliography of the Algonquian Languages. The copies described as being in the library of the Boston Athenæum were presented to this institution by Henry Rowe Schoolcraft.

## A GLANCE AT THE REIGN OF ST. LOUIS.

THE reign of the holy grandson of Philip Augustus has been rightly styled the keystone of the arch of French history. Certainly much had been effected for the consolidation of the French monarchy when Philip Augustus defeated, at Bouvines (July 27, 1214), the trebly larger forces of the German Otho IV. and the English John Lackland. By that victory the standard of the Lilies, which for some years had waved only over the space which is covered by five of the modern departments of France,<sup>1</sup> again threw its protecting folds over all the ancient provinces excepting Aquitaine. But it was in the reign of St. Louis that the lineaments of the later French society were drawn; and it was in the person of that everlasting glory of the French monarchy that the world beheld an incarnation of all that was most honorable, most redolent of justice, in fine, most Christian, in the royalty of the Middle Age. This reign demonstrated that the great theologians of the Church had not formulated the vagaries of a dream when they conceived the idea of a Christian royalty legitimized, not only by sacerdotal consecration, but by justice in its exercise, and by a proper participation, on the part of the governed, in public affairs. The salient features of the career of St. Louis, the grandest of the nearly innumerable Christian heroes of France, are at the command of the student;<sup>2</sup> in these few pages we propose to treat of some points which, although essential to a proper appreciation of the character of the royal confessor, and to even a moderate understanding of the period in which he lived, are ignored by the authors whose works are consulted by the average reader. We shall touch upon the sanctity of Louis IX. only by implication; for nothing in the domain of history is more certain than the opinion of that sanctity, held by the contemporaries of the monarch, whether Frenchmen or foreigners, Christians or pagans. Neither shall we attempt to detail even the principal events of this charming and edifying life; but we may be permitted to preface the fulfilment of our main purpose by a brief summary of the results of a policy which, although less theatrically impressive

<sup>1</sup> Seine, Seine et Loire, Seine et Marne, Oise and Loiret; 120 by 90 miles in extent.

<sup>2</sup> Michelet: *Histoire de France*, ch. 8, Paris, 1830; Villeneuve: *Histoire de Saint Louis*, Paris, 1840; Mignet: *La Feudalité et les Institutions de Saint Louis*, Paris, 1850; Cantù: *San Luigi di Francia*, in the Collection of Biographies attached to that author's *Storia Universale*, 9th Turin edition, 1862; Lecoy de la Marche: *Saint Louis, Son Gouvernement, et Sa Politique*, Paris, 1891.

than that followed by certain of the crowned disposers of national destinies, was probably unique in an utter absence of reasons for blame. From the very beginning of his reign, Louis IX. resolved to restrain the abusive domination of the great vassals of the crown; but law and justice formed the invariable basis of his conduct. The same scrupulousness led him to doubt as to the entire legitimacy of certain conquests of some of his predecessors to the detriment of the kings of England, and he resolved to yield something for the sake of peace. By the treaty of Abbeville, in 1259, he voluntarily ceded to Henry III. of England part of the territories which that monarch reclaimed from the conquests of Philip Augustus; but in return he obtained the recognition, as inalienable from the French monarchy, of Anjou, Normandy, Maine, Touraine, Berri and Poitou. The English sovereign also engaged to do homage to the king of France, as to his liege and suzerain lord, for all his possessions in the kingdom of France. When the dissensions between Henry III. and his barons threatened to become interminable, the reputation of Louis for probity caused the contestants to appeal to him as arbitrator. In 1264 both parties argued their claims before the saint at Amiens, submitting to his judgment, although only for a time. In his conduct toward Frederick II. of Germany, that most virulent in a line of emperors, so many of whom were as so many running sores in the visible body of the Church, the saintly monarch demonstrated that if the Holy Roman Emperors of the German line had ignored the fact that their sole reason for existence was their obligation to be Defenders of the Holy See, that sublime privilege had devolved on the Eldest Sons of the Church. In his relations with the Orient the crowned hero showed himself a missionary, as well as an armed defender of the Christian faith; he spared no exertion, no expense, in aiding the missions which the sons of Sts. Dominic and Francis had established among the Photian and Nestorian schismatics, and among the Saraceus and Tartars. In the administration of the internal affairs of his kingdom, St. Louis was an energetic and prudent reformer; there was not, in all France, a bailiff, a seneschal, or a provost who was not made to feel that his office was a solemn charge for the benefit of the people. The reign of St. Louis was pre-eminently one of justice. The royal tribunals became sure refuges for oppressed innocence; and the king himself heard whatever case a subject desired to be considered by him. From one end of the kingdom to the other, the proudest lord hastened to undo a wrong when he heard the peasant murmur: "If the king only knew of that!" Students of financial questions know that anything like a well-regulated system of governmental finance is of very modern origin; but St. Louis



so regulated the reception of revenue, so accurately was every account verified, that never, during his reign, was there ordered an extraordinary tax. And let the statesmen of our day note that to our times must not be credited the invention of that famous panacea: "No taxation without representation." In 1256 this "cowed king" decreed in favor of the *bonnes villes* of his dominions that no tax should be levied on them without their consent. If the reader is curious to know how much St. Louis effected for the amelioration of the lot of the serfs, and how he emancipated those of his own royal domain; if it would interest the social economist to learn all that this crowned saint of the Middle Age effected for the encouragement of art, for the improvement of agriculture, etc., we refer him to the eloquent but judicial narrative of Lecoy de la Marche. When the beautiful picture has been examined, it may occur to the observer that it is strange that one is not oppressed by the sight of some disagreeable shadows, behind which some possible miseries may lurk. Nearly every other biography furnishes some occasion for adverse criticism of its subject; but that of St. Louis refuses to a critic the exercise of his choicest prerogative, and for the simple reason that Louis IX. was more than a worthy husband and father, a consummate statesman, a successful general, and an excellent sovereign. He was also a saint. Such a phenomenal combination has been witnessed in only three or four instances in the history of the world; for while it is true that, at least in the Middle Age, there were many royal saints—considering the comparative fewness of royal personages, more than from any other condition of life—very seldom have other saintly royalties filled all the positions which St. Louis occupied.<sup>1</sup>

I.

It is impossible to attain to a correct conception of the character and influence of St. Louis, or to any accurate knowledge of the period in which he lived, if one does not appreciate properly the theory concerning the nature and origin of the royal power which was then in vogue. And among moderns, especially among those whose ideas of history have been derived from Protestant

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<sup>1</sup> Speaking of the Venerable Mary Christina of Savoy, mother of King Francis II. of the two Sicilies, a writer in the *Civiltà Cattolica* (1859) says: "In the Ages of Faith sanctity shone on the thrones of kings, and in royal halls; and perhaps more than in the homes of the lowly and in the cells of religious. Then Italy, France, Spain, Germany, England, Scotland, Hungary and Denmark gave to the Church so many saints who were either kings or queens, or royal princes or princesses, that, considering the fact that the number is small of those persons who occupy so elevated a position, it may be seen that reigning families furnished more saints than were produced by any other condition of life."

and rationalistic sources, how many are there who understand the meaning of that phrase, the "divine right of kings," which, with some show of reason, they regard as indicative of that *toto calo* difference which subsists between mediæval days and our own? Very few; and, nevertheless, there are some who have read, to say nothing about many minor struggles between royal autocracy and the protectress of the peoples, much concerning that perennial and soul-sickening struggle between the Papacy and the Holy Roman Emperors of the German line—a contest the sole object of which was, on the part of the Pontiffs, to force the emperors to avow that between them and God there was a divinely appointed power. If these pages come to the notice of any persons who believe, with the immense majority of Protestants, that the "divine right of kings," as they understand the formula, was the theory held by jurists in the Middle Age, and then taught by the Church, they must learn that the Church has never made any definition concerning either a mediate or an immediate communication of ruling power. The Church has simply presented the dogma revealed in the Pauline declaration that all power comes from God. But the most reliable and most authoritative doctors and theologians of the Church have taught that power has its source in the nation; that power comes from the nation; and that the nation gives, in some manner and in unison with God, that power to princes or other rulers of the peoples. Hear St. Chrysostom, as he comments on the Pauline text: "Is every ruler established by God? I do not say that he is; for I am not speaking of any particular rulers, but of the thing in itself. I say that it is an institution of Divine Wisdom that some command, and others obey; and that thus human affairs do not go on in haphazard fashion, the peoples being agitated like the waves of the sea. The Apostle does not say that there is no prince who does not come from God; but speaking of the thing itself, he says that there is no power, unless from God."<sup>1</sup> But hearken to the Angel of the Schools, who, to put the matter very mildly, is the best accredited of all the Catholic theologians, and upon whose judgments all other theologians rely, when they approach this matter *ex professo*. St. Thomas, who was a contemporary of St. Louis, tells us that the legislative power resides in the nation, in the people, or in him who has received it from the people.<sup>2</sup> He says the same in regard to the coercive power.<sup>3</sup> He insists that in certain conditions of society, the ruler has power to make laws, only because he represents the nation—in *quantum gerit personam multi-*

<sup>1</sup> *Homilia XXIII. in Epist. ad Romanos.*

<sup>2</sup> *Summa Theol.*, I a., 2 æ., q. 90, a. 3, *in corp.*

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, q. 90, a. 3, ad 2<sup>um</sup>.

*tudinis*.<sup>1</sup> A little further on he says that in a well-ordered state the governing power belongs to all—*principatus ad omnes pertinet*, inasmuch as all can vote and be elected.<sup>2</sup> After St. Thomas of Aquino, probably Suarez would dispute with Bellarmine the honor of leading the schools. The opinion of Suarez concerning the divine right of kings can be gathered from his "Treatise on Laws," and from an apposite work written in reply to King James I. of England, who, an earnest champion of that doctrine which is falsely supposed to be Catholic teaching, had taken up the pen in an attempted refutation of Bellarmine's defense of the really Catholic position. Listen to Suarez: "It must be admitted that the power to rule is not given by nature to any one person in particular; being, rather, resident in the community. This is the *common opinion*, and it is *certain*. It is the teaching of St. Thomas."<sup>3</sup> And can anything be clearer than the following? "Whenever the civil power resides in any man, in any prince, it has emanated, by legitimate and ordinary right, from the people and the community, either immediately or mediately; and in no other way can it be a legitimate."<sup>4</sup> Again: "When the civil power is found in this man, it is the result of a gift of the nation, as I have proved; and in that respect, the power is of human right. And if the government of this or that nation or province is monarchical, it is such because of human institution; and therefore the power also is of human origin. And what proves the matter more strongly, the power of the ruler is more or less great, according to the agreement between him and the nation."<sup>5</sup> Now listen to the reply of Suarez to his Protestant Majesty: "Here the most serene king not only upholds a *new and singular opinion* (that of the *immediate and direct divine right of kings*), but he violently attacks Cardinal Bellarmine because his Eminence affirmed that monarchs, unlike the Sovereign Pontiffs, do not receive their authority immediately from God. His Majesty holds that a prince does not receive his power from the people, but immediately from God; and he tries to support his assertion with arguments and facts which I shall examine in the following chapter. Now, although this controversy does not turn directly on matters of faith, since neither Scripture nor patristic tradition determines anything concerning the subject, nevertheless the matter ought to be treated carefully, firstly, because it may furnish an occasion of error in others; secondly, because the king's opinion, such as he establishes it, and because of its object, is *new and singular*, and seems to have been expressly invented in order to enhance the temporal, and to diminish the

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, q. 97, ad 3, ad 3 um.<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, q. 105, a. 1, in corp.<sup>3</sup> *De Leg.*, lib. iii., cap. 2.<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, lib. iii., cap. 3.<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, cap. 4.



spiritual power; and, thirdly, because we contend that the opinion of the illustrious cardinal is *ancient, received, true, and necessarily to be admitted.*"<sup>1</sup> When such was the opinion of theologians like the Angelic Doctor, Bellarmine, and Suarez, we are not surprised on hearing Beaumanoir, in the thirteenth century, and Marsilio of Padua in the early fourteenth, asserting that the people were the first sovereign, and that from the people the king derived his right to make laws.

Nevertheless, the sovereigns of the Middle Age, especially in France, were popularly regarded as, in some sort, images of the Deity; in those days men respected authority. In France, the holy unction which the monarch received at Rheims gave to him, in the popular imagination, an almost sacerdotal character; hence in the *Chanson de Roland* we see Charlemagne giving a solemn blessing to his army. It is very probable, remarks a judicious critic of our day,<sup>2</sup> that this idea of the quasi-divinity of royalty came from the principle of Aristotle—a philosopher then almost worshipped in the schools—that the monarchical form of government is the most conformable to the order of nature, since all nature is ruled by one God. So thought Gerson, repeating the words of Homer, "Οὐχ ἀγαθὸν πολυκυρανία' εἰς χοίρανος ἔστω—It is not good to have many leaders; let us have but one." As to hereditary monarchy, the principle was by no means absolute in mediæval France. Louis VIII. was the first monarch whose father had not procured his coronation during his own life; all the Capetians, down to Philip Augustus, had found it necessary to take this measure in order to secure the succession to their eldest sons. At that time, not only in France, but also in Italy, Hungary and Germany, there was always a menace in the ears of a reigning prince; he knew that misconduct or tyranny might cause the royal dignity to be transferred to some other family. However, with the advent of St. Louis, the hereditary principle was definitely accepted by the French; the Christian prestige of this prince was so communicated to his race that to be the heir of St. Louis was equivalent to being the future wearer of his crown. And now a word as to the measure of the royal authority during the Middle Age. Elinand, a Cistercian monk of the diocese of Beauvais, in the time of St. Louis, whose knowledge and prudence is lauded by all his literary contemporaries, and whose political ideas are regarded as having helped to form the policy of the holy monarch, thus speaks of the power of a Christian sovereign in his day: "The ancient code (the pagan Roman) utters a tremendous lie, when it pronounces that the mere will of the prince has the force of law.

<sup>1</sup> *Defensio Fidei Adversus Anglicanæ Sectæ Errores*, lib. iii., cap. 2.

<sup>2</sup> M. Chas. Jourdain, in his *La Royauté Française et Le Droit Populaire*.

. . . . It is not at all strange that, among us, the king is not allowed to have a private treasury; for the king does not belong to himself, but to his subjects."<sup>1</sup> And lest the reader may think that this theory of Elinand is a mere isolated opinion, we subjoin a remark of the most celebrated publicist of that day, Cardinal James de Vitry, bishop of Tusculum and dean of the Sacred College: "There is no security for a monarch, from the very moment when men find that they are not secure from him."<sup>2</sup> Then we hear St. Thomas proclaiming that the good of the community is the sole end of a government; that a monarch is not enthroned for his own satisfaction, but for the public weal; that a king must be the good shepherd of his people; that, in fine, no law should be considered as such, unless it be "a reasonable regulation, promulgated by him who has the care of the community, and directed to the public good—*quædam rationis ordinatio ad bonum commune, ab eo qui curam communitatis habet promulgata*."<sup>3</sup> One of the most ardent partisans of hereditary monarchy was the great Gerson; but he wrote: "He errs who thinks that a king can use the persons and goods of his subjects as his pleasure dictates; or that he can load his people with taxes, when the public weal does not call for such burdens. Such conduct is that of a tyrant, not that of a king."<sup>4</sup> It is true that in the time of Philip the Fair, the hero of the sad and disgraceful episode of Anagni, certain jurists tried to flatter their royal master with the notion that his authority was unbounded; that it was even independent of the tiara.<sup>5</sup> But we must remember that between the reigns of St. Louis and Philip the Fair there had intervened the reign of Philip III. (the Rash); that then had really begun the end of the Middle Age, and the disintegration of its vital and most characteristic elements. During the reign of St. Louis, and during many previous centuries, no Christian publicist would have dared to utter such sentiments as began to be current when the *populus Christianus* began to give way to the divided Christian peoples, and when other elements than the Christian faith began to sway the nations. In the palmy days of the Middle Age the governmental ideal was an absence of both despotism and demagoguery.

St. Louis was not twelve years of age when, by the premature death of his father, Louis VIII., he was called to the throne of France in 1226. The political condition of France was very dif-

<sup>1</sup> In a sermon by Elinand, recorded in the edition of the works of Vincent of Beauvais, published by the Dominicans of Douai, in 1624.

<sup>2</sup> Latin MS. No. 17,509, folio 103, in the National Library of France, cited by Le-coy de la Marche, *loc. cit.*

<sup>3</sup> See Jourdain's *La Philosophie de Saint Thomas*, i., 407.

<sup>4</sup> Jourdain, *Ibid.*

<sup>5</sup> Goldast, *Monarchia Sancti Romani Imperii*, ii., 96.

ferent from that which the kingdom had presented in the time of Charlemagne. That king of the Franks, placed by Pope St. Leo III. at the head of a new empire which had nothing but the name in common with that of pagan Rome, had fulfilled his mission by combining the heterogeneous elements entrusted to his care, so that he left behind him neither Romans nor Franks, neither Gauls nor barbarians; but a *populus Christianus*, in a unity which required for its maintenance merely the moral leadership of the Roman Pontiff, and in that unity the political and social organization of the Middle Age was established.<sup>1</sup> In the year 962 Pope John XII. transferred the Holy Roman Empire from the French to the Germans; but thereafter the emperors were merely kings of the Germans and of whatever other peoples happened to be subject to the titular of the nonce, he enjoying over other sovereigns only the primacy of dignity. When the crown of France passed from the Carolingians to the Capetians, a radical change had been effected in the royal condition. Under both the Merovingians and the early Carolingians, the dukes and counts, in various parts of the kingdom, had been merely administrators for the king; but toward the end of the ninth century they bought up or appropriated the proprietorship of their territories. Thus arose feudalism in France, the new proprietors soon confounding, in good or in bad faith, the right of the land-owner with that of sovereignty. In this new state of affairs, in which the sovereignty was attached to the land instead of to the individual, the king was a person of small consideration; for even his residence, the Ile de France, belonged to the Count of Paris. Even when the will of the nation raised Hugh Capet, Count of Paris and Duke of France, to the royal throne in 986, his own services and those of his father, Hugh the Great, could not obtain for him better conditions than that he should be full sovereign in his own county of Paris, and have the commandment of all forces in war. Of course all the other princes swore homage to the new king as their "suzerain." From the date of Hugh Capet's accession down to the time of Louis XI., the main object of every king was to enlarge his own peculiar domain by purchase or alliance, and to augment the attributes of his suzerainty. The first successors of Hugh Capet, namely, Robert, Henry I., and Philip I., effected much in this really praiseworthy struggle; that great minister, the Benedictine abbot Suger, did still more in favor of Louis VI. and Louis VII.; but Philip Augustus struck two mortal blows against feudalism. The first was when he caused the king of England, his most redoubtable vassal, to answer, before the peers of France, for the crime of mur-

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<sup>1</sup> Lecoy de la Marche, *loc. cit.*, p. 27.



dering his own nephew; confiscating thereafter to the benefit of the French crown, nearly all the fiefs which the English monarch had held in France, namely, Normandy, Maine, Anjou, Touraine, and Poitou. The second blow was when, by the victory of Bouvines, he destroyed forever the arrogant pretensions of the German emperors in regard to France. It is true that Philip Augustus feared for the permanency of his work; but God had decreed that his daughter-in-law, the saintly Blanche of Castile, should carry it on during her regency, and should so train her son, St. Louis, that he would perfect it by the exercise of an ability and an honesty which exceeded those of his grandfather. In the fulfilment of his task St. Louis relied little on the lasting effects of conquest; nay, he was so unworldly that he would not regard as legitimate any gain accruing to his kingdom, which had not been sealed by a perfect concord between the parties concerned. The work of consolidating the Capetian monarchy on the ruins of feudalism was indeed consummated only by Louis XI., the very antipode of St. Louis; but the latter monarch had contributed more to that end than all of his predecessors united. And how different was the policy of St. Louis from that of his foxy successor! Certainly Louis XI. was not the character which most modern historians describe for the worshipers of the nineteenth century; nor was he at all the one who crawls along the modern stage as an incarnation of royal cruelty and deceit. But where Louis XI. was astute, St. Louis was frank; where Louis XI. was unjust, St. Louis observed an equity which would have excited the derisive laughter of a Cavour or a Palmerston, if the Middle Age could have tolerated those who are grandmasters of "diplomacy" in our day. Finally, the policy of St. Louis was less expensive than that of Louis XI.; and since it was incomparably less expensive than the policies now in vogue, our utilitarians should accord to it their heartfelt admiration.

## II.

In the palmy days of Gallicanism, and of its contemptible sister-school, German courtier-theologism, one often heard the name of St. Louis cited as that of an opponent of the "encroachments of Rome." Even in our own time, when both of these schools were dead, and waiting for the Vatican Council to bury them, theists of celebrity *et id genus omne* were wont to utter the same absurdity with complacent solemnity. Poor Renan said: "The Church had commanded kings to obey; Philip Augustus *and St. Louis protested*, and Philip the Fair dared to resist."<sup>1</sup> That Philip Augustus protested against the order, issued by Pope Inno-

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<sup>1</sup> *Histoire Littéraire de la France*, xxiv, 146.

cent III., to put away his concubine, and to restore Queen Ingelburga to her rights, is true; but he repented in time, and obeyed. That Philip the Fair resisted the just demands of Pope Boniface VIII. is also true; but he was obliged to acquiesce in the vindication of that Pontiff's conduct by the Fifteenth General Council. That St. Louis protested, in the sense in which Renan, Michelet, etc., use the term, is false. The principal, if not the sole, reason for supposing that St. Louis would have been a Gallican, if there had been such a thing in his day, is founded on an unauthentic document—that celebrated forgery which bears the pseudo-title of "Pragmatic Sanction."<sup>1</sup> Elsewhere we have done justice to this pretended edict of St. Louis,<sup>2</sup> and here we need only say that no true erudite of our day defends its authenticity. But there are some, for instance, Viollet and Wallon, who insist that even though St. Louis did not issue the supposed Sanction, he might have done so in all consistency; for, they contend, his principles were those defended in it. This curious theory was that of Bossuet, who did not fully credit the document. The great bishop of Meaux exclaimed to those who, even among his partisans, decried the authenticity of the Sanction: "Even though this Pragmatic were apocryphal, its doctrine ought not to be rejected."<sup>3</sup> Let us see, therefore, what was the attitude of the grandest Christian of the thirteenth century toward the Holy See. This attitude will appear without distortion if we consult, not the prejudices of Henri Martin, Beugnot, Faure, or the rank and file of English authors, but those original sources, the neglect of which constitutes the capital sin of a historian. In this matter those sources are the official documents preserved in the *Tresor des Chartes*,<sup>4</sup> and cited by Lecoy de la Marche; the pontifical letters collected by Rinaldi; many documents published by the Bollandists; and last, but by no means least, the "Registers of Pope Innocent IV.," comprising many hitherto unknown illustrations of the reign of that Pontiff, especially in the matter of his relations with St. Louis, which M. Elie Berger recently unearthed from the archives of the Vatican and of the National Library of France.<sup>5</sup> In the year

<sup>1</sup> The title is absurd in the premises. The word "Pragmatic" is derived from the Greek *πράγμα* and the Latin *sancio*; and it would be appropriate if the edict sanctioned some previous ordinance. But this document sanctions nothing.

<sup>2</sup> In our *Studies in Church History*, Vol. iii., ch. 9.

<sup>3</sup> *Defensio Declarationis Cleri Gallicani*, pt. ii., bk. 2, ch. 9.

<sup>4</sup> In the National Archives of France.

<sup>5</sup> *Les Registres d'Innocent IV.*, Paris, 1884-1887. This monumental work merited the "prix Gobert," from the Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres. M. Berger's two introductions, one historical and the other diplomatical, form a mine for the polemic whose duties bring him to a study of this important period of European history; and the entire work is another proof of the sagacity which dictated the establishment of the École Française in Rome.

1235 St. Louis attained his majority, and from that time he governed his kingdom by his own sole authority, although he took frequent counsel from his wise and holy mother until the end of her life, in 1252. One of the first communications held with him by the then reigning Pontiff, Gregory IX., was of a nature to indicate that his Majesty of France was a personage not merely ordinarily *grata* to the Holy See; we find the Pontiff conceding the extraordinary privilege of exemption from any possible interdict to the private chapels of the royal family, and what was still more wonderful in that age, the king and his family were allowed to communicate with the excommunicated without consequence of censure.<sup>1</sup> At the renewal of the struggle between the Holy See and Frederick II., that German emperor who proclaimed that "the world had suffered from three impostors, Moses, Christ, and Mahomet," we hear Pope Gregory IX. asking for aid and counsel from his Most Christian Majesty, invoking the ancient friendship between the tiara and the lilies, and concluding: "Just as the tribe of Juda was called to a special blessing from among the other tribes, so the kingdom of France is illustrious above all others through a divine prerogative of honor and grace. Just as the tribe of Juda, a figure of France, defeated and subjugated all its enemies, so the kingdom of France, fighting the battles of the Lord, and combating for the liberty of the Church in both the East and the West, delivered the Holy Land from the pagans under the leadership of your predecessors, reduced the empire of Constantinople to the Roman obedience, saved Rome herself from a multitude of perils, and conquered the pest of Albigensian heresy. Just as the tribe of Juda never abandoned the worship of the true God, so in the kingdom of France the Christian faith has never vacillated, devotion to the Church has never weakened, ecclesiastical liberty has never been imperilled."<sup>2</sup> Certainly the recipient of this praise had not yet shown any tendency to interfere with the prerogatives of the Holy See. And in the subsequent years his conduct during the struggle between the Church and the Empire proved his intense devotion to the Papacy. Undoubtedly he tried to mediate between the contending parties, for a love of peace was the dominant feature of his character; but his active sympathies were with the Supreme Pontiff of Christendom. Immediately on the arrival of the special legate of Pope Gregory IX. in France, the holy monarch ordered the publication of the anathema against Frederick which the prelate had brought; and he facilitated the levy of the tax on ecclesiastical benefices which was to furnish the means of combating the imperial enemy of the

<sup>1</sup> *Tresor des Chartes*, Archives Nationales, J. 684, 686.

<sup>2</sup> *Tresor*, Arch. Nat., J. 352; *Inventaire*, Num. 2835.





perjured emperor, who was then conspiring against the personal freedom of the head of the Church.

The Thirteenth General Council met at Lyons in 1245, and by a unanimous vote of the synodals the Emperor Frederick II. was deposed. But one resource was open to the disconcerted prince; he might induce the temporal rulers of Christendom to unite against the "usurpations" of the arrogant churchman who presumed to dictate to the salt of the earth. To gain the king of France to his views would be equivalent to a conquest of all the other sovereigns of Europe; therefore, besides the circular which he sent to every monarch, he sent to St. Louis his chancellor, who was empowered to make the most brilliant promises. Frederick knew well the spirit which actuated many of the vassals of the French crown; therefore he cunningly suggested that Louis should arbitrate in his cause, "together with his peers and barons, as became so grand a monarch and so powerful a state." He promised to give to the Church whatever satisfaction this tribunal should deem proper; he would accompany the French king in his projected Crusade, and he would not lay down his arms until the entire kingdom of Jerusalem was conquered. In return, besides the revocation of his deposition, he would ask for only one little concession; he was to be allowed to glut his imperial vengeance on the Lombards.<sup>1</sup> Naturally such terms were unacceptable to both Innocent IV. and St. Louis. The latter could not sit as an equal with those vassals whose pretensions he was combating; but for the love of peace, and in the interest of the Crusade, he consented to intercede with the Pontiff. Innocent granted the requested interview; and in November, 1245, the Most Christian King prostrated himself before the Sovereign Pontiff in the cloisters of the abbey of Cluny. The conferences lasted for fifteen days, Queen Blanche alone assisting. The Pontiff finally announced that he could not accept the conditions formulated by the culprit; but in order to show that he was not averse to an ultimate reconciliation, he agreed to allow Frederick to wait upon him at Lyons, there to try to clear himself of the charges, especially of heresy and heinous violence, which the Christian world had made against him. It is not probable that either the Pope or the king believed that Frederick would dare to attempt a formal justification of his notorious crimes; at any rate, the perverse man affected to regard the pontifical offer as a refusal of justice, and ere long St. Louis learned that he had resolved to march on Lyons, not for the purpose of conferring with the Pontiff, but in order to seize his sacred person. Then the disgusted monarch broke off all negotiations;

<sup>1</sup> Huillard-Breholles, *loc. cit.*, p. cxi.



he announced to the Pope his resolve to attack the excommunicated traitor, and would have led his intending crusaders across the Alps, had he not learned that Frederick had decided to remain in Italy, and had not the Pontiff ordered him to sheathe his sword. Probably we have adduced a sufficiency of proofs in the matter of attachment of St. Louis to the See of Rome; but it will not be amiss to present a few more instances of an utter absence of any "Gallican" ideas of a false independence on the part of this Catholic hero. Firstly, then, it has been asserted that Innocent IV. condemned a league which certain French barons formed for the purpose of upholding their own judicial decisions when they differed from those of the episcopal tribunals. But we reply with Wallon,<sup>1</sup> that St. Louis was foreign to this league, as is fully proved by the absence of his seal in the original Act. Again, when the monarch returned from the Seventh Crusade, he received a letter from Innocent IV., in which the Pontiff lauded the zeal which he had ever displayed in defending the rights of French ecclesiastical establishments against the exactions of some of the royal bailiffs and certain barons. "The king," says the Pope, "does not know of these crimes (when they are committed), and he grieves when they are brought to his knowledge." The many favors which Alexander IV. showered on St. Louis also show that the king was a prince according to his pontifical heart. And that these concessions were granted simply because of the virtue of the applicant, and because Rome realized that he would never abuse them, is evinced by the fact that when the king begged that some of the favors might be extended to his heir, the request was refused. Rome is never blind. The relations of St. Louis with Pope Clement IV., the last of the potentates who were contemporary with him, indicate a perfect harmony of thought between the two powers—a thorough respect for the rights of each. As the Bollandists expressed the idea: "*Negabat alter alteri quod justis rationibus concedendum non putabat, nec inde amicitia lædebatur.*" During the vacancy of the episcopal see of Rheims, Pope Clement conferred several benefices which were of episcopal right; but he soon revoked the collation, lest he might appear indifferent to the "right of regalia" enjoyed by the kings of France. St. Louis showed an equal appreciation of the difference between pontifical and royal prerogatives when the Greek emperor, Michael Paleologus, having asked him to arbitrate between the Pontiff and himself, he replied that such a rôle was above the powers of even a king of France, since the Roman Pontiff was the supreme judge in Christendom. He would promise the emperor

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<sup>1</sup> *Saint Louis et son Temps.* Paris, 1865.



merely the exercise of his "good offices" at the pontifical court. When many of his courtiers advised St. Louis to claim as a royal fief the county of Melgueil, near Montpellier, then in the possession of the bishop of Maguelonne, he followed the advice of Pope Clement, and respected the claims of the bishop. When St. Louis thought of taxing the merchandise which passed through the port of Aigues-Mortes, which had been constructed in the interests of pilgrims to the Holy Land, and wishing only to use the revenue for the maintenance of the port in good condition, he consulted with Pope Clement; and received permission to levy the desired imposts, "after consultation with the bishops of the province, the barons of the neighborhood, and the consuls of Montpellier, and on condition that the duties would be moderate and never afterward increased."<sup>1</sup> Here, then, we see St. Louis asking for the intervention of the Pope in a purely temporal matter; the Pontiff admits that the king can decide as he thinks best, and the monarch deems it advisable to follow the counsel of his Holiness. Certainly a more perfect harmony could not have been desired. Did our limits permit, we could multiply instances of this concord; but the reader will probably conclude that the course of St. Louis toward the Holy See was always such as one would have expected, *a priori*, so pious a monarch to follow.

### III.

The best efforts of Pope Gregory IX. had been devoted to the preparation of a new Crusade; and in the next pontificate the urgency for such an expedition became extreme. Jerusalem, which for some years had been in Christian hands, was captured in 1244 by the Mussulmans of Egypt, who had become masters of Syria. Aid from the West was tearfully sought by the few Christians of the Holy Land whom the scimitar had spared. But the king of England and the German emperor ignored every appeal; the other princes, St. Louis excepted, were too feeble to do else than pray to heaven for the success of a holy cause. To France, therefore, then, as always, the reliance of Christendom in every dread emergency, the entreaties of Pope Innocent IV. were directed; and St. Louis arose from a bed of sickness, donned the cross, and having proceeded to Notre-Dame in the dress of a humble pilgrim, went to Lyons for the blessing of Christ's vicar upon his enterprise. It is not our purpose to describe this expedition. In 1248 St. Louis led his army out of France, not in royal array, but in a pilgrim's guise, and with bare feet, to impress his followers with the truth that they were about to engage in a holy task, and one which needed a special blessing for its success. In the same penitential

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<sup>1</sup> *Acta Sanctorum*, Aug. V., 485.

dress he entered Damietta, chanting the *Te Deum*. When the final reverse overtook him, he was able to say with the Apostle, "Quum infirmor, tunc potens sum." How much of the responsibility for the failure of the Seventh Crusade must be cast upon the German emperor, Frederick II.? When St. Louis was about to depart, Frederick feared that a new French principality would soon be founded in the Orient, and he asked of the king a promise that all of his conquests should be annexed to the kingdom of Jerusalem. The saint replied that he would effect nothing to the prejudice of the emperor, but that he could only promise that all his actions would be for the good of the Church. Frederick appeared to be satisfied; he ordered his officers in Sicily not to overcharge the French for the provisions they would buy in that island. But the Arab historian, Makrizi, declares that Frederick sent a special messenger, disguised as a merchant, to warn the sultan, then sick at Damascus, of the French intention to attack Egypt.<sup>1</sup> Such a course was perfectly consistent with the entire career of Frederick II. He had already shown how little spirit he had for the Holy Wars, when, in 1227, after years of incitement by Rome, Italy, Germany, and Hungary, he had finally set sail from Brindisi, only to return three days afterward, alleging that he was sick—conduct which entailed upon him his first excommunication by Gregory IX.<sup>2</sup> And when finally he did appear in Palestine, it was only for the annoyance of the Christians, he having hastened to make an alliance with the persecuting Sultan of Egypt. We are justified, therefore, in believing the Arab historian, when he says that this false Christian (and probably renegade) betrayed the plans of St. Louis. Joinville, the companion of the holy monarch during the best years of his life, and his most reliable biographer, narrates that when Frederick heard of the captivity of the hero, he burst into a frenzy of joy, and gave a grand feast to his court. Then he sent, says the seneschal, a messenger to the sultan, ostensibly for the purpose of negotiating for the release of the king, but really in order to insure the prolongation of his duration. In order to rid ourselves of so unsavory a subject, we

<sup>1</sup> The work of Makrizi is translated in the *Bibliothèque des Croisades*, vol. iv.

<sup>2</sup> The Bull of excommunication recites that Frederick was thus punished because he had, five different times, violated his solemn vows, emitted with the clause that he would incur excommunication if he broke them: because he had not furnished the troops and money which he had promised to the eastern Christians; because he had despoiled their king of his title and his revenues; because he had prevented the Archbishop of Tarento from visiting his diocese; because he had robbed the Templars and Hospitalers of their Sicilian revenues; because he had not observed treaties for the keeping of which the Holy See had become his security; because he had robbed of his property Count Roger, a Crusader, and under the protection of the Pope; because he had imprisoned unjustly the son of that Count Roger, etc.—In Labbe, vol. xi.

hasten to add, that the later conduct of the German emperor was such as to confirm the recital of Makrizi. Not satisfied with allying himself with the Sarrasins in their own land, he invited to the Italian peninsula those of them who resided in Sicily, and gave them lands around Lucera, in a state which was a fief of the Holy See. He adopted the manners of the infidels, composed his body-guard of them, and chose their prettiest women for his hours of lasciviousness. Shame like this well befitted the closing years of the Hohenstaufen, a dynasty the most salient characteristic of which was a perennial attempt to destroy the Papacy, an institution which buried it, as it has buried, and ever will bury, others of the same stamp. The first use which the Saracens made of their royal captive was to endeavor to obtain from him an order on the Templars and the Hospitalers for the surrender of their fortresses in Palestine. When he refused, and the sultan threatened to put him to the most frightful tortures, the king replied that the infidel might work his pleasure. At length, liberty was offered to him in exchange for the surrender of Damietta, then held by the noble Margaret, the queen of St. Louis, with a small garrison of Frenchmen; and in addition, for the sum of a million golden bezants—about two and a half millions of dollars. “If the queen consents,” said the monarch, “I shall pay that amount for my soldiers, and shall deliver Damietta as my own ransom; you must know that such as I am are not exchanged for money.” One incident that occurred before the departure of St. Louis from Egypt deserves mention as indicative of the true spirit of Christian knighthood. The sultan had been murdered by his emirs, and the chief assassin rushed into the presence of the king, sword in hand, and demanded that Louis should dub him knight there and then. The wish was not preposterous in the mind of the Mussulman; for had not Frederick, the head of the Holy Roman Empire, knighted the emir Fakr-Eddin? But the French monarch could not prostitute an essentially Christian dignity, and calmly he awaited death from the horde of indignant miscreants. The majesty of his mien awed the Saracens; they drew back, and the disappointed candidate swore to observe the treaty.<sup>1</sup> If this incident does not give the reader some idea of the ascendancy which St. Louis exercised over the minds even of infidels, we would remind him that the emirs debated among themselves whether or not they should offer him the sceptre of the late sultan. Then Joinville, being asked by the monarch in an apparently serious tone whether he ought to accept, replied that none but an insane man would receive a diadem from those who had murdered the previous wearer.” “And nevertheless,” said St.

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<sup>1</sup> *Memoires de Joinville.* Edition de Wailly, p. 185.



Louis, "I would accept it."<sup>1</sup> Voltaire did not credit this episode; but we can understand how St. Louis may have conceived the sublime idea of availing himself of the infidel sceptre, or rather of its attendant influence, in order to convert his new subjects to the faith of Christ. History furnished him with many precedents for such a hope.

In 1270 St. Louis entered upon his second Holy War, that which is known as the Eighth Crusade. The commercial rivalry of the Venetians and Genoese, joined to the scandalous dissensions between the Templars and Hospitalers, had encouraged the Mussulmans to greater progress than they had ever dared to anticipate; and the condition of the Oriental Christians appealed again to the great heart of France. Tunis was chosen by the king for his base of operations; he had been persuaded that the Tunisian prince was disposed to become a Christian, and he therefore relied on that portion of the African coast as his main source of supplies. But the usually circumspect monarch had been deceived, perhaps unwittingly, by his brother, Charles of Anjou, who had an ulterior motive for landing in Tunis, he being desirous of preventing any Tunisian attack on his kingdom of Sicily—a worthy intention, but which hampered the main object of the Crusade. The reduction of the castle of Carthage and successive defeats of the Tunisians and other Mussulmans appeared to augur well for the expedition; but the delay of Charles of Anjou to join the Crusaders had already filled the army with dismay, when a malignant dysentery incapacitated all for action. Among the many leaders and nobles who succumbed was the count de Nevers, the youngest son of the king; and soon the holy monarch himself was stricken. To prepare himself for death was an easy task for one who had ever lived the life of a saint; but mindful to the last of the welfare of the nation committed by God to his care, the hero gave to his heir a written copy of those instructions which we read as "The Teachings of St. Louis." Since this document is not only a monument of the purest faith of the Middle Age, but an epitome of as wise a policy as statesman ever devised, as well as a faithful mirror of the testator's entire career, we subjoin some of its passages: "My dear son, the first thing I recommend to you is that you direct your whole heart to the love of God. Beware of anything displeasing to God; above all, beware of mortal sin.<sup>2</sup> If God sends adversity to you, receive it patiently, knowing that you have deserved it, and

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<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 201.

<sup>2</sup> Through all the years of his manhood St. Louis had been accustomed, from time to time, to tell his familiars how his mother, the saintly Blanche of Castile, had often said that she would rather see him dead at her feet than know that he had committed one mortal sin.

that it will be profitable to you ; if He sends you prosperity, thank Him humbly, so that pride may not injure you.<sup>1</sup> Go frequently to confession. Attend all the services of the Church with great recollection.<sup>2</sup> Be gentle and charitable to the poor and the suffering. Maintain the good customs of your kingdom, and abolish the bad ones.<sup>3</sup> Do not burthen your people with taxes. Always have around you worthy men, seculars as well as religious. Hear sermons willingly ; and eagerly seek for prayers and indulgences. Let no man be so audacious as to utter a word in your presence which might lead another into sin ; let no man speak ill of another behind his back ; and if any one blasphemes God or His saints, revenge the insult at once.<sup>4</sup> Be rigid and loyal in the administration of justice. If you know that you possess what belongs to another, restore it immediately ; if the ownership is doubtful, let prudent and just men investigate the matter.<sup>5</sup> Let your best endeavors be exerted for the furtherance of peace within and outside your kingdom. Maintain the franchises of your good cities and communes ; for by the strength and wealth of these cities and communes the peers and barons will be compelled to respect you. Honor and love most especially all religious and all ecclesiastical persons. It is narrated of my grandfather, King Philip (Augustus), that when one of his councillors remarked that it was strange that

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<sup>1</sup> On the glorious field of Massourah he had prostrated himself, and cried : " I thank God for all, good or evil, which He sends to me."

<sup>2</sup> He had always heard two Masses every day ; and when he was reproved, he would say : " These gentlemen would find no fault were I to spend as much time in the chase or in other pleasures."

<sup>3</sup> He had abolished private wars, judicial duels, etc.

<sup>4</sup> From very ancient times it had been customary in France for any man to slap the face of one who had uttered a blasphemy, or even such a phrase as " Go to the devil ! " In the days of Justinian, and throughout the empire, death was inflicted on him who swore by the head or hair of God (*Novella 67*). Philip Augustus decreed against blasphemers a penalty of four golden livres (about \$80.00), and if the culprit was too poor to pay it, he was thrown into the nearest river, and pulled out only when he was nearly drowned. At the accession of St. Louis, men often took the law into their own hands, and great cruelties were sometimes practised. Pope Clement IV. remonstrated with St. Louis for allowing such treatment, and insisted that there should be no danger to " life or member " in the punishment. Consequently, in 1269 a royal ordinance mulcted blasphemers in amounts varying from five to forty livres ; those who could not pay, and were under forty years of age, were whipped ; the other impetunious culprits were pilloried and imprisoned. Jacques de Vitry and Etienne de Bourbon narrate how a certain knight, before the issue of this edict, gave a very heavy blow to a citizen who had blasphemed egregiously ; and when he was called to account by the king, he replied : " He outraged my heavenly Master, and I struck him even as I would have done had he insulted my earthly king." St. Louis told him to act similarly when occasion warranted him.

<sup>5</sup> His subjects often upbraided St. Louis with excessive zeal in the matter of restitution ; for instance, they said that he had restored to the king of England far more than justice demanded.

he should allow certain clerics to interfere with his rights, he replied that he knew very well that certain clerics so acted, but that when he reflected how very good the Lord had been to him, he preferred to relinquish some of his rights rather than to raise difficulties with the Church.<sup>1</sup> Love and revere your father and mother, and obey all their commands.<sup>2</sup> As to ecclesiastical benefices, confer them on worthy persons, and after having consulted with prudent men. My son, I instruct you to be ever reverent toward the Church, and toward the Supreme Pontiff, our father. Honor the Pope, for he is your spiritual father. Destroy heresy as far as your power will permit you."<sup>3</sup> When the dying

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<sup>1</sup> This passage should be considered by those who think that St. Louis was the author of the Pragmatic Sanction; for this monarch was much more scrupulous in ecclesiastical matters than his grandfather dreamed of being.

<sup>2</sup> People of our day who read the life of St. Louis must think that he carried this filial deference to an extreme. Joinville, in all simplicity, gives some curious instances of the subjection of the king to his saintly, but rather imperious, mother, even in matters of his married life. And he insisted on his devoted spouse, the noble Margaret of Provence, being in all things an obedient daughter-in-law. The following passage is interesting: "So severe was Queen Blanche toward Queen Margaret that she would not permit, so far as she could have her way, her son to enjoy the company of his wife except at night, when they retired together. Their favorite palace was at Pontoise, and they preferred it because the king's apartment was immediately above the queen's, a winding stairway connecting them. On this stairway they used to converse, having arranged with the chamberlains on duty that when the queen-mother would appear in the corridor leading to the apartment of her son, they would strike their wands on the door of that apartment; and then the king would hurry at once to his quarters. In the same way, if the queen-mother was approaching the rooms of Queen Margaret, the officers would give the signal on her door; and then she would hasten to her domicile. On one occasion the king had gone to his wife's chamber, where she was lying at death's door, because of a recent difficult *accouchement*. Suddenly Queen Blanche appeared, and taking the king by the hand, she exclaimed: 'Come away; you have no business here!' When Queen Margaret saw her mother-in-law leading the king away, she cried: 'Alas! You will not allow me to have my lord, either in life or death.' Then she fainted, and they thought her dying. The king returned to her, and they had much difficulty in reviving her." Old chroniclers say that Margaret followed her husband in his first Crusade, principally that at last she might have him to herself. But it seems that the gentle queen really venerated Blanche, and loved her. When the news of the queen-mother's death reached Palestine, Margaret showed every token of deep sorrow; but we note that Joinville thought that she grieved because of her sympathy with the king.

<sup>3</sup> The sole ordinance issued by St. Louis in reference to heresy is dated in 1250. Previously he had been unable to follow the dictates of his heart by modifying the rigor of his mother's ordinance of 1229, which was, however, strictly in accord with the common law of the time. The revolts excited by the remnants of the Albigenses in the south of France had forced St. Louis to apply the laws against heresy with rigor. But the submission of the count of Toulouse caused the barons of Languedoc to cease their struggles against the royal authority, and then the king was free to pursue his policy of reconciling the North with the South. The chief articles of the decree of 1250 are these: "The properties taken from heretics in virtue of the ordinance of 1229 shall be restored to them, unless they have fled from the kingdom, or unless they continue in their obstinacy. Wives shall not lose their properties on



saint had handed this document to his heir, the future Philip III., he had himself raised from his bed, and kneeling, he received his Sacramental Lord. Then he lay on the ground, which he had ordered to be strewn with ashes. Having received Extreme Unction, he calmly awaited his summons to be dissolved, and to be with Christ. At midnight of August 25, 1270, the everlasting glory of the French monarchy cried: "Now we go to Jerusalem," and he had gone indeed to the heavenly Jerusalem.

He who discerns in St. Louis, as he undertakes his crusades, merely the French warrior who is ambitious of conquest, will not realize the true significance of the monarch's efforts. Nor will that significance be grasped by him who regards St. Louis as possessed by the sole idea of restoring to Christendom the holy places which were sanctified by the tears and blood of the God-Man. With St. Louis, under the cuirass of the Christian warrior throbbed the heart of an apostle of the Christian faith. He had not designed merely to subjugate the Holy Land to European or probably French domination. He had intended to convert the heretical and Mussulman inhabitants of the Orient; and to effect that work his serried battalions were accompanied by a little army of Dominican and Franciscan friars. According to the chronicle of Primat, these missionaries converted five hundred Arabs during the saint's short sojourn in Saint-Jean-d'Acre; and hence we may judge of what they effected during the seventh and eighth Crusades. Godfrey de Beaulieu and Etienne de Bourbon, who saw the converts in France, speak of many Saracens who were baptized during the king's first expedition, and accompanied him on his return, afterward marrying French women, and raising families which for many years remained under the direct protection of the crown. About the time that Pope Innocent IV. sent the Franciscan, Piano Carpini, into Tartary, our saint sent many other friars on the same apostolic mission. The results of his enterprise were only partial and isolated; but they show what was the policy of St. Louis in that Eastern Question which was then far more vital than it is in our day. In a word, his design was to arrest the advance of pagan barbarism, by force when that was necessary, but constantly and principally by the Christianization of the orientals. And if we look for his successors in this order of ideas, where shall we find them? "In the camps, or on a throne?" asks Lecoy de la Marche; "among the partisans of Russia, or among the defenders of the Ottoman Empire? No; they will be found in the humble tunic of those heroic friars whose glorious path St. Louis opened. They will be found in the persons

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account of the crime of their husbands. The goods of heretics who die in the faith shall be restored to their heirs.

of those persevering missionaries who are preaching the Gospel in the heart of the old oriental world, and who, like certain ambassadors of St. Louis, incur thousands of dangers in order to probably save a few souls. These men may truly be termed the heirs of the spirit of St. Louis. When they cross burning plains and arid mountains, they can sustain their courage by the thought that they are realizing the dream of the wisest and most perspicacious of French kings (for three-fourths of them are Frenchmen). And when they fall under the strokes of their executioners, when they shed their blood in the cause which St. Louis championed so vigorously, they may well be saluted with that exclamation which once greeted the departure of another martyr: 'Son of St. Louis, ascend to heaven!'

#### IV.

That the thirteenth century, the century of St. Louis, was the zenith, the *apogée*, of the Middle Age; that, together with the twelfth century, it "formed the most important, complete, and resplendent period in the history of Catholic society;"<sup>1</sup> is admitted by not only Catholic polemics, but by most of our modern adversaries, from Voltaire to Guizot. It remained, however, for the picturesque theist, Michelet, to discover that modern skepticism dates from the thirteenth century, and that the chief personification of the Christian idea in that period, St. Louis, was a victim of religious doubt. "Such was the aspect of the world in the thirteenth century. At the summit, the 'great dumb ox of Sicily,' ruminating his questions. Here, man and liberty; there God, grace, the divine foresight, fatality; at the right, observation proclaiming human liberty; at the left, logic impelling invincibly toward fatalism. . . . The ecclesiastical legislator drew back at the brink, fighting for good sense against his own logic, which would have precipitated him. This steadfast genius paused on the edge of a sword between two abysses, the depth of which he realized. A solemn figure of the church, he kept his balance, tried for an equilibrium, and perished in the attempt."<sup>2</sup> The eloquent historian flattered himself that he understood the philosophy of the Angelic Doctor; but he thought that none of the scholars of the thirteenth century appreciated the delicacy of that position "between two abysses." He continues: "From below, the world looked up to the elevated region in which he calculated

<sup>1</sup> Montalembert, in the Introduction to his beautiful *Histoire de Sainte Elisabeth d'Hongrie*.

<sup>2</sup> So the early fellow-students of St. Thomas termed him. He was born in Aquino, a town of Terra di Lavoro, in the kingdom of Naples; but that kingdom was then one of the Two Sicilies.

<sup>3</sup> Michelet, *Histoire de France*, vol. ii., bk. 4, ch. 9.

and understood nothing of the combats which were fought in the depths of that abstract existence." Having invented this tremendous struggle, of course Michelet comprehended it. "Beneath that sublime region raged the winds and the tempest. Beneath the Angel was man, morality beneath metaphysics, St. Louis beneath St. Thomas. In St. Louis the thirteenth century had its Passion—an exquisite, intimate, profound Passion, of which previous ages had scarcely any presentiment. I speak of the first laceration which doubt effected in souls; when the entire harmony of the Middle Age was disturbed; when the grand edifice on which society had been built began to totter; when saints cried against saints, right waged war on right, and the most docile souls saw themselves obliged to examine and to judge. The pious king of France, who asked for nothing but to submit and to believe, was very soon forced to struggle, to doubt, and to choose. Humble though he was, and diffident of himself, he had to resist his mother; to act as arbitrator between the Pope and the emperor; to judge the spiritual judge of Christendom; and to recall to moderation him whom he would have preferred to regard as a model of sanctity. Afterward the Mendicant Orders attracted him by their mysticism; he entered the Third Order of St. Francis; and he took part against the University. But nevertheless, the book of John of Parma, received by very many Franciscans, filled him with strange doubts." Michelet wastes many pretty phrases in an attempt to convince his reader that St. Louis was a skeptic because he once resisted the will of his mother; but he did so in order to don the cross, she having feared, like many others and even himself, that the expedition might be futile. Michelet presents the saint as a skeptic because he combated the University and the pamphlet of William de Saint-Amour; but he did so in order to protect the Dominicans and Franciscans.<sup>1</sup> Michelet discerns skepticism in the relations which St. Louis had with Pope Gregory IX.; but it is absolutely false that the French king was called upon "to judge the supreme judge of Christendom." As to the book entitled "The Eternal Gospel," it is by no means certain that it was written by the Franciscan general, John of Parma; but when Michelet tells us that the faith of St. Louis must have vacillated when he saw some of his Franciscan friends defending a condemned book, we are asked to believe, not that the pious king was a skeptic, but that he was a ninny.

Michelet asserts that "the thirteenth century had its Passion"; he perceives in his sombre tableau the creakings of a social edifice which is about to tumble into chaos, and he judges that this social

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<sup>1</sup> Fleury, *Histoire Ecclesiastique*, bk. lxxxiv., ch. 32.



disorder *must have* affected the faith of men, especially of him who was the foremost layman in Christendom. But the interesting historical writer (a great historian he is not) ignores the notorious fact that the eleventh century was far nearer to chaos than the thirteenth. Let the reader remember the state of Italy and Germany before and after the German emperor, Henry IV., "went to Canossa;" a state of affairs that wrung from the heart of St. Gregory VII. the exclamation, "I have loved justice and hated iniquity; therefore I die in exile." Certainly the eleventh century was not a period of skepticism. But Michelet thinks that "the man, St. Louis," must have plunged into the abyss of doubt, because, as he affects to believe, "the Angel, St. Thomas," knew not how to withdraw his faith from the clutches of his logic. It is true that St. Thomas was frequently the adviser of St. Louis in religious matters, as he probably was in things political;<sup>1</sup> but the logic of Michelet could not have "clutched" his mind very firmly when he arrived at this conclusion. But what authority is there for the supposition that the Angelic Doctor "fought for good sense against his own logic," and that fearful "combats were fought in the depths of that abstract existence"? Certainly neither St. Thomas nor his contemporaries even hint at such struggles; and who has found any indications of skepticism in the works of the Angel of the Schools? Take up the treatises on the liberty of man, grace, and predestination, which seem to have served as a foundation for the ravings of Michelet. Of course, we meet the usual *videtur quod*; but with what triumphant serenity the master always pronounces his *patet*, or his *manifestum est*! Very different from the judgment of Michelet and his school is the appreciation of St. Thomas by one who had studied all the scholastics with a profundity to which Michelet was always a stranger. In his admirable work on Abelard, M. Charles de Rémusat says: "St. Thomas of Aquino includes the whole of theology in his wonderful work. He lays down the *pro* and the *contra* of every question, and of every proposition in each question; and presenting every possible objection and the answer to it, he opposes authority to authority, reasoning to reasoning, giving, without ever weakening, *without ever doubting*, a work which is as dogmatic in its conclusions as it is skeptical in its examinations. The *Summa Theologica* presents the whole of religion as an immense dialectical controversy, in which dogma always ends by being in the right. It is the frankest and most developed negation of dogmatic absolutism." Now Michelet seems to hold that as the master is, so is the pupil. Therefore,

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<sup>1</sup> Bollandists; Ad Mensum Martii, *Viti Sancti Thomæ*."

since "St. Louis realized on earth and in practical life that which preoccupied the genius of St. Thomas in the world of abstractions,"<sup>1</sup> we may conclude, with all due admiration for the most poetic pamphleteer (not historian) of modern times, that the faith of St. Louis was as unshakable as that of the Angelic Doctor. We have not thought it proper to waste any of our limited space in quoting any of the instances of fact which Michelet adduces as fanciful supports of his amusing theory. They are too puerile for serious attention; but the reader may be better satisfied, if we furnish one specimen which is a worthy exemplification of all. Michelet discerns skepticism in the mind of St. Louis, when that monarch asks Joinville: "What is God?" The seneschal thus naively records the incident: "He called me, one day, and said: 'On account of your subtle mind I do not like to ask you concerning the things of God; but since these friars are present, I shall put one question to you. It is this: What is God?'" That here the king was only playing the catechist, half jocularly and half seriously with his familiar companion, appears from the fact that he complimented Joinville because the seneschal's reply was identical with that contained in the book which he then held in his hand.<sup>2</sup> The fact is, and it serves as another indication of his character, that St. Louis was very fond of catechizing his friends, and even his private soldiers. He also, on occasion, preached sermons. During his voyage to Africa, the sailors wanted to go to confession; whereupon he preached to them a discourse on the nature and benefits of the Sacrament of Penance.<sup>3</sup> In his library at Paris, which was *open to the public*, he was wont to explain to the nearest student some passage of the works of the Fathers which generally formed his literary pabulum.<sup>4</sup> Once he reminded a lady of the court that she had arrived at an age when a woman could not occupy her mind with other beauties than those of her soul, unless she was willing to incur ridicule.<sup>5</sup> Once he asked Joinville what was his father's name; and when the seneschal replied that it was Simon, he asked the poor man how he knew that such was the case. Then, says Joinville, "I told him that I knew it, because my mother had so informed me. Then he said that we ought to believe most firmly all the articles of our faith, to which the Apostles had testified."<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Gorini; *Defense de L'Eglise*, pt. I., ch. 20, Paris, 1853.

<sup>2</sup> Joinville, *loc. cit.*, p. 194.

<sup>3</sup> Belloloco, "Vita Sancti Ludovici," in the *Recueil des Historiens des Gaules*, vol. xx.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>5</sup> Gulielmus Carnotensis, "De Vita et Miraculis Sancti Ludovici," in the *Reuceil*, etc., *ibid.*

<sup>6</sup> *Loc. cit.*, p. 197.

Michelet says that St. Louis must have been affected by the spirit of skepticism which began to invade the Christian world in his time. "In St. Louis the thirteenth century had its Passion. . . . I speak of the first laceration which doubt effected in souls." He would be indeed an enterprising indagator into the recondite who could determine the date of the entrance of incredulism into the world; but when Michelet discovered that date in the thirteenth century, would he not have been more worthy of admiration, if he had found his champion skeptic, not in St. Louis, but in the German Frederick II., who regarded Christ as one of the three imposters who had deceived the world?<sup>1</sup> Skepticism had infected humanity long before the thirteenth century. There are three kinds of skeptics; those who do not believe in the Catholic Church, those who do not believe in any of the forms of emasculated Christianity, and the gross materialists who deny God and the immortality of the soul. The last form did not appear in Christendom until about the time of the full development of the Renaissance, toward the end of the fifteenth century. But the other forms of skepticism appeared in their full audacity, simultaneously with the intellectual movement of the eleventh century. In France and Northern Italy appeared the Manichæans; Leuthard destroyed the crucifixes and other religious images; Gondulphus preached the absurdity of Baptism, Penance, and the Eucharist; Turin and Milan heard many proclaiming that the Son of God is each soul illuminated by the Lord. And then the twelfth century beheld Tanchelm posing as the Son of God; Peter de Bruis abolishing churches; and the Cathari, Patarines, etc., attributing creation to the devil, and proclaiming fate as master of men. But the reader may ask, could Michelet have expected men to credit his presentation of St. Louis as an incredulist? Well, the attempt was not extraordinarily audacious at the hands of him who had not only declared that Pope St. Gregory VII. was a skeptic, but had so far blasphemed as to cast the same foul aspersion on the Divine Saviour of men. "There is a moment of fear and of doubt. Here is the tragic and the terrible of the drama; it is this which rends the veil of the temple, and covers the earth with darkness; it is this which troubles me when I read the Gospel, and causes my tears to flow. That God should have doubted of God! That the Holy Victim should have cried: 'My God, My God, why hast Thou abandoned me?' This trial has been experienced by all heroic souls who have dared great things for the human race; all of these have felt more or less of this ideal of grief. It was in such a moment that Brutus exclaimed: 'Virtue, thou art only a

<sup>1</sup> The authority for this accusation is Pope Gregory IX., in his Epist. 12 to the Archbishop of Canterbury. See Labbe's *Concilia*, Sæc. XIII.



name.' It was in such a moment that Gregory VII. cried: 'I have followed justice and hated iniquity: therefore I die in exile.'"<sup>1</sup> The veriest tyro in ascetical or even moderately spiritual matters knows that the expression of the holy victim of Henry IV. did not issue from a heart submerged in the despair of doubt; that the words of the dying Pontiff were rather a sublime indication of his invincible trust in God, of his confidence that a reward in heaven would be the recompense for an earthly suffering which had been entailed by his worthy fulfilment of his duties as vicar of Christ. As to the calumny against Christ, which Michelet dared to pronounce at the foot of the cross, let us say, with Görini, that he only joined the crowd who passed in front of the sacred tree, blaspheming: "*prætereuntes autem blasphemabant.*" The sublime lessons of the cross were foolishness to Michelet, as they ever will be to all of his school; and therefore such as they cannot understand St. Louis of France. We who have spent much time in the study of the prince who, even according to Voltaire, was as pious as an anchorite and possessed of every royal virtue, must agree with the judgment of St. Francis de Sales, that "St. Louis was the beloved of God and of men, and one of the grandest sovereigns upon whom the sun has shone." We must say, with Chateaubriand: "Each epoch has a man who represents it. Louis IX. is the model man of the Middle Age; he is legislator, hero, and saint. Marcus Aurelius showed power, united with philosophy; Louis IX. power, united with sanctity; the advantage remains with the Christian."

REUBEN PARSONS, D.D.

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<sup>1</sup> *Loc. cit.*, vol. ii., bk. 4, ch. 9.

## ASPECTS OF PESSIMISM.

**P**ESSIMISM, in the more general acceptance of the term, is a tendency to take a despondent view of things, to see more evil than good in the present life, and to apprehend worse things in the future. In its more special meaning it signifies a particular doctrine, which we shall shortly consider, concerning the preponderance of evil over good in the world. In the course of this paper the word will be made to bear, without, it is hoped, any risk of confusion, either of these meanings indifferently.

At all times there have been optimists and pessimists who, for various reasons, have answered "Yes" or "No" to the great question, "Is Life Worth Living?" and whose way of regarding life has been influenced largely by their natural temperament or the circumstances in which their lot has been cast. Men of high moral character, whose minds are intent upon the hereafter, will never take a wholly despairing view of life, for they feel that their destiny is in their own hands, and that the immortal part of them will outlive this present period of suffering. Those, on the other hand, who are given to comparing life as it is with what it might have been, and do not take the future life into account, will almost necessarily be led to desponding conclusions about man's destiny. Witness the following lines by a French poet :<sup>1</sup>

## PEU DE CHOSE.

La vie est vaine,  
Un peu d'amour,  
Un peu de haine,  
Et puis—Bonjour !

La vie est brève :  
Un peu d'espoir,  
Un peu de rêve  
Et puis—Bon soir !

Among the ancient Greeks and Romans there was a pretty general agreement as to the gloominess of man's prospects after death, and it was only a small number of the more enlightened and never very popular thinkers, such as Plato and Socrates, who held that death was only the beginning of a completer life. Plato, in the third book of his "Republic," censures Homer for saying of the dying Hector :

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<sup>1</sup> Leon Montenaeken,

"Ψυχὴ δ' ἐκ βροτέων παμένη Ἀϊδούσδε βεβήκει,  
'ὄν πότμον γούωσα, λιποῦσα δόρυ τῆτα καὶ ἱβην." <sup>1</sup>

The odes of Horace, though they sing of the joys of life and proclaim the praises of love and wine, are marked with a pervading note of sadness. Their author lived in degenerate days, when the old Roman ideals had long ceased to influence the mass of the people, and, like many of the more educated among his countrymen, he formed his life according to the principles of epicurean pessimism, gathering what pleasure he could in a world where pain predominates.

"Huc vina et unguenta et nimium breves  
Flores amoenos ferre jube rosae,  
Dum res et aetas et sororum  
Fila trium patiuntur atra."<sup>2</sup>

And again :

"Dum loquimur fugerit invida  
Aetas : carpe diem, quam minimum credula postero."<sup>3</sup>

Not so Horace's contemporary and friend, Virgil. The times were bad in which he lived, but there was hope of better things to come—"Magnus ab integro saeculorum nascitur ordo." Selfishness, luxury and shameless immorality were universal, but much might be done by wise legislation, seconded by that new patriotism which his own national epic, the "*Æneid*," was intended to promote. This poem breathes the spirit of optimism, of pride in the past and hope for the future. Rome, in spite of nearly two centuries of headlong decadence, was still secure in her dominion of the world, and it was hoped that a rest from civil strife might give opportunity for the revival among her sons of the civic virtues of their forefathers. But the decadence of Rome, although retarded, never ceased after it had once set in. The revival that actually came about was far different from the one anticipated by Virgil.

In the Christendom of the Middle Ages, men's deep religious faith and the absorbing activity of their lives secured them from any wide-spread tendency to doubt about the importance of life or the beneficence of the power which rules the universe. It was not until Protestantism had stirred up the spirit of free inquiry

<sup>1</sup> "And the spirit fled from his limbs and went down to Hades, bewailing its evil lot as it left the flower of its manhood."—(*Iliad*, xxii., ll. 362-3.)

<sup>2</sup> "Hither bid them bring wine and unguents and the all too short-lived blossoms of the lovely rose, whilst thine age and fortunes and the black threads of the triple sisterhood allow."—(*Carm.*, ii., 3.)

<sup>3</sup> "Even while we speak envious time will have sped : make the most of every day, trusting as little as may be to the morrow."—(*Ibid.*, *Carm.*, i., 11.)



that men began to ask how the predominance of evil in the world is consistent with the doctrine of an all-wise Creator. It was in answer to this question, as it was proposed in his own day, that Leibnitz wrote his "Théodicée" "to vindicate the ways of God to man." Leibnitz was the first philosopher of modern times who tried to reduce optimism to a regular doctrinal system. He endeavors to show that, out of all possible worlds, infinite wisdom must necessarily form the most perfect, and that the one in which we live could have been no better than it is. Before proving this theory, which really involves a denial of God's omnipotence, he has to overcome the difficulty of the manifest existence of evil in the world. For the purposes of his argument, he divides evil into three kinds: (1) metaphysical evil or imperfection, which is unconditionally willed by God as essential to created being; (2) physical evil, such as pain, which God wills conditionally as a punishment for sin or as a means to greater good; and (3) moral evil, which he fails to account for satisfactorily, but without which he declares that the world would have been, on the whole, worse than it actually is.

Pope, in his "Essay on Man," a work largely inspired by the "Théodicée," says:

"All Nature is but Art, unknown to thee;  
All Chance, Direction, which thou canst not see;  
All Discord, Harmony not understood;  
All partial Evil, universal Good;  
And, spite of Pride, in erring Reason's spite,  
One truth is clear, WHATEVER IS, IS RIGHT."

—*Essay on Man*, Ep. I., ll. 289-294.

Leibnitz failed in trying to prove too much, but his writings gave rise to a large class of would-be apologists for the divine order of the universe, who went still further than their master, and endeavored to prove the beneficent character of Providence merely from the amount of material well-being which He bestows upon us. Such a method of demonstration, however effective when judiciously applied, could, under the circumstances, only harm the cause it was intended to further, and it ended by leading men to the conclusion that, however great the sum of worldly blessings may be, it is small when compared with the number and the greatness of the evils which afflict mankind. And indeed, when viewed apart from the ulterior designs of God, the face of Nature is scored with the marks of physical and moral failure. She seems to have written in the hearts of men a moral code which she herself is flagrantly and constantly transgressing. The animal kingdom is a scene of disorder, violence and unnecessary cruelty, while the history of mankind is largely a monument of misery and crime.

There is hardly a nation on earth whose foundation has not been due, in great measure, to successful robbery. Everywhere there are patent instances where the unjust prosper and the virtuous are unfortunate. No wonder is it that Ecclesiastes, speaking of the days of his vanity, before his eyes had yet been opened to the true meaning of life, says: "And therefore I was weary of my life, when I saw that all things under the sun are evil, and all vanity and vexation of spirit."<sup>1</sup>

With this compare the lines of Byron :

"Count o'er the joys thine hours have seen,  
Count o'er the days from anguish free,  
And know, whatever thou has been,  
'Tis something better not to be."

Of all the great thinkers who have pondered over the nature and destiny of man, there is no one who has given to the world so clear and so true a picture of life as Shakespeare. Shakespeare was no pessimist. Had he been so, indeed, had he been committed to any philosophic system or to any one-sided view of things, he would not have been Shakespeare. But though not a pessimist, inasmuch as he was far from denying the value of life when regarded as the prelude to another life to come, still, throughout his writings, he represents man's sojourn upon earth as an apparently aimless career through a world of delusive joys, disappointed hopes and cruel uncertainties, where heroes of lofty ambition and stainless honor expend their lives, like Henry V., upon ill-advised enterprises whose intrinsic wrongfulness they fail to see; or where great and exalted souls like Lear and Othello become the victims of designing minions or even of their own minor weaknesses.

But it is in *Hamlet* that we find the best example of a deep and sensitive mind, unsteadied by the principles of faith, brought face to face with the dark problem of existence. Gervinus says that in this play Shakespeare has transcended his own times by a leap of two centuries. And indeed in that England of Queen Elizabeth, when men's minds were filled with the new wine of the renaissance, when life, for them, had begun to have a new meaning and its sphere to be indefinitely enlarged, there was little place for desponding reveries such as we meet with in *Hamlet*. It was a time of action and of hopes, of new fields for action, and as long as men are active, they will, theoretically at least, be neither optimist nor pessimist; they will not pause to question whether life is vain, nor search for reasons to persuade themselves of its profitableness. They will simply follow the stream of life as it eddies about them, rejoicing in the vigor of its current and the freshness of its flow.

<sup>1</sup> Eccles., ii., 17.

When Shakespeare wrote "Hamlet," the England which had sacrificed her faith just at the advent of her ripening vigor, too proudly conscious of her position of independence among the nations of the earth, was dazzled by the glamour of her new freedom and by the hopes that were born of her "splendid isolation."

The revival of classical learning, the invention of printing and the discovery of new lands beyond the sea had filled Europe with a new energy and a new enthusiasm. In the new order of things Italy had led the way; the other continental nations had followed in her wake, and now England had caught the spirit of the times. Her middle classes, no longer the victims of feudal aggression, were steadily amassing wealth by their commercial enterprise. Her fleet, which had lately destroyed one of the largest armaments that ever put to sea, was powerful enough to protect her trade all over the world and to compete with Spain and Portugal in founding colonies in newly discovered lands. Englishmen naturally took a pride in their country's greatness, and the national enthusiasm found utterance in the works of a galaxy of writers who made the Elizabethan period the golden age of English literature. And this was the time in which Shakespeare conceived the idea of Hamlet, a character in most respects so unlike the age in which it was produced. The age was active, enthusiastic and optimistic, while Hamlet is reflective, self-conscious and inclined to pessimism. To call him absolutely a pessimist would be far from the truth, for underlying all his doubting and despondent moods there is in his intellect a foundation of high moral principle which gives a distinct purpose to his life. It is the irony of circumstances and the imposition upon him of a burden beyond his strength, combined with his reflectiveness and the weakness of his will, which lead him to doubt about the profitableness of life. And it is precisely in this reflectiveness, this self-analysis, and skepticism as to the goodness of his cause, that he is, in some sort, a precursor of the modern spirit.

In the eighteenth century the tone of European literature was largely optimistic. Besides Pope and Leibnitz, numerous other writers, Christians and deists, took upon themselves, with varying show of discretion, the task of fighting the battles of divine Providence. One of these champions of optimism, Abraham Tucker, in arguing the inherent blessedness of this life, calculates that the whole amount of the sufferings of a lifetime may be equivalent to a minute of pain once in every twenty-two years. It was in perverse optimists of this sort that David Hume found an easy prey, when he argued from the facts of human life against the supposition of a wise, benevolent God.

It was at the close of the last century that a more pessimistic tone



began to pervade literature. Of this tendency, we have examples in the poetry of Shelley and Byron. But the first modern writer to reduce pessimism to a philosophic system was Arthur Schopenhauer. In the year 1819 he published his "*Die Welt als Wille und Vorstellung*" ("*The World as Will and Idea*"), but it was not until the middle of the century that the work attracted notice. Since then, Schopenhauer has been the acknowledged leader of modern pessimism.

It is not our present purpose to give a detailed account of Schopenhauer's system. It will be enough here to sketch its main outlines. With him the only reality, the one absolute existence, is will—will, blind and impersonal. All phenomena, all bodily forms, animate and inanimate, together with all the energies of nature—light, gravitation, even consciousness itself—are mere manifestations of will. The one unconscious, universal will manifests itself in rational and sentient beings as the *will-to-live*, "which has knowledge of its own volition and what it wills; a knowledge, namely, that what it wills is nothing else than this world, life exactly as it stands." Moreover, the individual will is not free, but is determined by the laws of cause and effect, which hold sway over the other phenomena of the universe. It is of the essence of will to strive, and to strive is to suffer. Hence, as life is only a phase or manifestation of will, it is necessarily a state of suffering. Our nature is a perpetual striving, and may be compared in every respect with an insatiable thirst. Our only respite is in the unconsciousness of sleep, or in the unselfish contemplation of the beautiful, when our striving after personal ends is for a while suspended. All pleasures are negative, being nothing more than a release from pain, while the non-æsthetic pleasures of life are mere illusions. We saw that, according to Leibnitz, this world is the best of all possible worlds; Schopenhauer declares it to be the very worst possible; in fact, if it were any worse, it could not exist at all.

It might be thought that the natural outcome of such a system as this would be an escape from life by suicide. But not so. The mere vulgar suicide commits an immoral act by giving way to the desire of his will to escape from present suffering, whereas it is the duty of each one to deny the will-to-live. Suicide, says Schopenhauer, "is so far from being a denial of the will-to-live, that it is a phenomenon due to strong affirmation of will." The true and virtuous denial of will consists in "the shunning, not of the sufferings, but of the pleasures of life." The self-murderer really wills to live, for he wills "the unimpeded existence and affirmation of the body," only circumstances prevent him from attaining his end.

The ideal man in Schopenhauer's system is practically the same

as with the Stoics. He is one who, by continued self-abnegation, has raised himself to a state of perfect calm and of indifference to all the interests and pleasures of life.

Schopenhauer's system was further developed by the amateur philosopher, Edward von Hartmann, in his "Philosophy of the Unconscious." Hartmann agrees with Schopenhauer in saying that it belongs to the essence of will to be eternally dissatisfied, but he rejects the notion that pleasure is negative. There is such a thing as positive pleasure, but the amount of it in the world is far outweighed by the pain. The more intellectual and cultured people are, and the more keenly alive they become to the higher pleasures of life, the greater, too, becomes their sensitiveness to pain; so that intellectual people have more to suffer than unintellectual. But, although enlightenment adds to the sum of our sufferings, nevertheless it is the duty of every one to produce it as far as he can both in himself and others. For the result of education and enlightenment will be that more men will become persuaded of the inherent misery of life, and, when this persuasion becomes general, mankind, as a whole, will, by a contrary act of volition, destroy the will-to-live, and by so doing put an end to the melancholy drama of existence. This grand consummation does not imply anything in the way of suicide on the part of mankind either by their violently destroying themselves or by renouncing the act of reproduction. What is meant is this: "The will which produces the existence of the world at the same time condemns the world to suffering." This "the unconscious idea, in spite of its logicalness and omniscience, cannot prevent," because its will has acted blindly. It must, therefore, have recourse to consciousness which is able to control its own will and make it act in opposite directions which neutralize one another. The conscious will of the existing world may thus be led to will its own destruction. But the act must be that of the Great All—a stage in the whole process of nature, and not merely a detached effort of a portion of the individuals in whom consciousness is realized. Hence, consciousness must combine and assert itself as a whole by the united effort of the majority of its individual members. Now this can only be when by far the greater part of consciousness is concentrated in mankind here on earth, and if the whole amount of the will-to-live in organic and inorganic nature is exceeded by the contrary will in mankind. When the population of the globe has attained the proportions necessary for this result, and when education and general culture have made mankind willing and able to destroy the will-to-live, then "the whole world, by renouncing the will to which it owes its reality," will be "all at once annihilated."

Such, in brief, are the two chief attempts which have been made

in modern times to construct a systematic philosophy of pessimism. The works we have just passed in review have not made, and are not likely to make, many converts among men of consistent thought. The "Philosophy of the Unconscious" is mainly interesting as a literary curiosity. If ordinary men become pessimists, it is, commonly, not because they have made an act of faith in a blind, unconscious will, or because they are convinced of the actual preponderance of the pains of life over its pleasures. It is because they have ceased to have any faith at all, and because they see no object for which they are living. Pessimism exists as a grave danger in our own times, and it promises to be a still graver danger in the future; but the writers who are doing most to promote it, and who are gradually leavening the world with pessimistic ideas, are not pessimists themselves, nor are they indeed men the positive part of whose teaching, though they often call themselves "positivists," is likely to obtain a wide acceptance. They are scientific enthusiasts who have invented a "summum bonum" of their own, and are unconsciously discrediting the idol they have set up by damning it with faint praise. This idol, this "summum bonum," in the mind of many among the scientific "naturalists," is the gradual evolution of mankind into a state of universal happiness, exempt from the pains and imperfections of our present scale of existence. According to the theory of evolution, all imperfect conditions of being tend to disappear, being driven out by those which are fittest to continue in existence. Hence it follows that the human society of the distant future will consist of individuals far healthier, wiser and more virtuous than those who inhabit the world at present. Mr. William Watson, a poet who has imbibed something of the doctrines of evolution, describes this earthly paradise as follows:

"With oceans heedless round her feet,  
And the indifferent heavens above,  
Earth shall the ancient tale repeat  
Of wars and tears, and death and love;  
And, wise from all the foolish Past,  
Shall peradventure hail at last

"The advent of that morn divine  
When nations may as forests grow,  
Wherein the oak hates not the pine,  
Nor beeches wish the cedars woe,  
But all, in their unlikeness, blend  
Confederate to a golden end—

"Beauty: the vision whereunto,  
In joy, with pantings, from afar,  
Through sound and odor, form and hue,  
And mind and clay, and worm and star—  
Now touching goal, now backward hurled—  
Toils the indomitable world."



For us who live now it is the sacred duty, according to present "evolutionary" ethics, to forward the advent of this happy state of things as soon as possible, and reap the reward of our virtue in the comfortable persuasion that we have hastened, in however small a degree, the redemption of mankind from misery and sin.

Unfortunately it is only the destructive part of their theory which the naturalists can succeed in propagating. They discredit religion without providing any adequate substitute. The ideal which they hold up in order to give a meaning to life and an incentive to virtue, is far too shadowy and impalpable to be grasped by the generality of men, and it is probable that the belief in it will not long survive the present generation. But this much is certain, the negative teaching of the naturalists, their denial of a personal God and the immortality of the soul, is spreading rapidly among the educated and half-educated classes of Europe and America. Such a result can lead only to pessimism—to a general disbelief in the value of life. The stages of the process are likely to be somewhat as follows. Men who have ceased to believe in the future life will continue to observe the moral law from sheer force of custom and the absence of temptation. If they happen to have speculative beliefs about virtue being its own reward, or about the progressive development of humanity, they will falsely attribute the moral character of their lives to the influence of these beliefs, forgetting all the while that their righteousness, such as it may be, is largely due to the surviving influence of Christianity. The voice of conscience will live on, but its commands will have no sanction beyond the prospect of an uncertain happiness in the present life, and of that cloudy Utopia which only our remote posterity will enjoy. At last, after successively renouncing the authority of the church, the divinity of Christ, and the existence of a God who deals out rewards and punishments, the world will finally see its way to getting rid of the last superstition of all—the idea of the essential difference between good and evil. The claims of conscience will be weighed in the balance and found wanting. "Thou shalt not kill," and "Thou shalt not commit adultery," will rest ultimately upon the sanctions of civil law, and the only prick of conscience, if secularists have their way, will be the fear of the police-constable.

When the world has lost its conscience and its hope of any good beyond the present life, the terms "sacredness," "sublimity," "merit," and others of like nature which express what we hold to be the most valuable possessions of our life, will have lost their meaning. There will remain nothing for which men will care to live, and they will look back with despairing regret upon the hopes and ideals which gave "a sublime rhythm" to the lives of

their forefathers. Such a state of things, let us hope, is too bad to be realized. It seems inconsistent with Christ's promise to His church, and we know, at any rate, that it can never become universal. And yet, as things are at present, there seems reason to fear that a large portion of mankind may be reduced to the state we have described. Every day we hear of members of the various Protestant sects giving up the last remnants of the faith and becoming agnostics or professed atheists. Everywhere we meet with men who are yearning for some ideal, some enthusiasm to give a meaning, even though fictitious, to their lives. They look with envy and impotent longing on the spectacle of a church which can teach her children to pass through life without any misgivings as to the worth of the objects for which they are striving. They would gladly make their act of faith, were it only for the sake of the happiness which faith brings with it in this world; but faith has departed from them like the season of childhood, and they have persuaded themselves that, like childhood, it can never return again. Even Mr. Watson, an agnostic who seems scarcely alive to the spiritual insufficiency of his creed, says in his lines to Mr. Aubrey de Vere :

“Not mine your mystic creed; not mine, in prayer  
And worship, at the ensanguined Cross to kneel;  
But when I mark your faith how pure and fair,  
How based on love, on passion for man's weal,  
My mind, half envying what it cannot share,  
Reveres the reverence which it cannot feel.”

In our days culture has been proposed as a substitute for religion, and poetry offered as a better guide for our lives than the loving word of God. “More and more,” says Matthew Arnold, “mankind will discover that we have to turn to poetry to interpret life for us, to console us, to sustain us. Without poetry, our science will appear incomplete, and most of what now passes with us for religion and philosophy, will be replaced by poetry.” But it were as well to offer moonlight instead of warm sunlight, for poetry and culture are largely a reflection of religion, and history shows us that they cannot long survive its absence. Men of a vaguely speculative bent and a more than ordinary share of refinement like M. Arnold or Emerson, may here and there be found, who think they find in culture all that they need to direct and purify their lives; æsthetic movements and Brook Farm experiments may, when they are successful, beget an elevating influence for a time; but in the end culture, left to itself, will become the culture of Nero and Petronius Arbiter, and society that of Herculaneum and Pompeii. Even Goethe, the most cultured of our modern apostles, did not find culture entirely sufficient for his

moral needs, and his admirers have often to plead the privileges of genius in his defence. How would David have welcomed such apologists of his transgressions ?

But whatever culture may do for the lettered minority of the world, it can never find its way among the ignorant masses, who are falling rapidly away from their religion and look for nothing in its place but drink and lucre and degrading vice. Religion has always striven to join rich and poor, lettered and unlettered, in one united family ; culture, left to itself, can only divide.

So far, in considering the subject of pessimism and its bearing on religion, we have supposed that the value of life will depend upon the character of its hopes and aims rather than upon the sum total of its pleasures, and we have contended that, since religion alone can persuade mankind of the worth of any aim or object which transcends the present existence, pessimism must become general as soon as religion loses its influence. But, in reasoning thus, we have left out of count the arguments of such as maintain that life is worth living for its own sake, and because of the joys and pleasures that it involves. A complete discussion of this question would take up a larger space than we have at our command, would require, in fact, a lengthy excursion into the region of psychology. It will be enough to point out here that, in spite of the defective character of nature as a whole, and in spite of the vast amount of suffering in the world, there is still left for mankind a very large measure of well-being. Happiness is attainable by most men in ordinary circumstances, and a really miserable man ought to be, and, in the experience of many, actually is a rarity. Though the life of no one is exempt from numerous daily crosses, yet there are comparatively few who may not share with the squirrels of the forest and the linnets of the field in the pure joy of living. Life is sweet, and Providence has willed it so. It is only in our own days when the Giver of gifts is ignored, that the gifts themselves are beginning to turn to stone. Men who live for themselves have begun to discover that their pains outweigh their joys, and they cry out in their despair :

"Who would these fardels bear,  
To grunt and sweat under a weary life ;  
But that the dread of something after death,  
The undiscover'd country, from whose bourn  
No traveller returns, puzzles the will ;  
And makes us rather bear those ills we have,  
Than fly to others that we know not of ?"

In our days men are more inclined to be scandalized at the evils of life than to be dazzled by its pleasures, and it is an important duty of the Church to deal with the difficulties of such non-Catho-



lies as find it hard to reconcile the evil and misery of the world with the idea of a beneficent Creator. To such as these pessimism is indeed a grave danger, and the question which they ask is one which cannot meet with a satisfactory answer outside of the Catholic Church. The difficulty in the case of most men is one which affects their feelings rather than their intellect. It is not that they are disturbed by the metaphysical difficulty of the actual existence of evil, in however slight a degree; but the quantity of it which they find in the world is a shock to their sympathy with their fellow-creatures. Now with theologians the case is just the contrary. The real difficulty with them lies in the existence of evil *simpliciter*, and the answer to this part of the question involves considerable reasoning from theology, and at the best leaves much of mystery behind; the quantity of that evil adds but little to the difficulty. Let us take, for the sake of illustration, the case of a cultured agnostic who, ill at ease because of his undefined intellectual position, is eager to make his act of faith in a personal and all-wise Creator. He looks round the world for evidences of divine wisdom and goodness, and the vision that meets his eye is bitterly disappointing. Everywhere he sees instances of unmerited suffering and of prosperous knavery. Fortunes are made and lost by the merest chance without any reference to merit. Many a Desdemona is persecuted upon false suspicion, and numberless Iagos, unlike their prototype, live and die in wealth and honor. In our large towns children are born and huddled together like rats in a sewer, amid scenes of revolting cruelty and immorality, while a few streets off, the children of the rich, it may be, start life not only in comfortable surroundings, but with all the advantages of a good moral training. Temptation and crime seem to depend upon circumstances and are far commoner in certain classes of men than in others. Yet the Christian teacher invites us to regard all these human beings, who go through life with such hopeless disparity in their equipment for life's battle, as the children of the same just and loving Father.

But let our supposed inquirer look into himself and see if what he finds in his own particular case is not equally telling against the goodness of Providence. It is true, perhaps, that his lot will compare favorably with that of his most prosperous fellow-men. He has succeeded in his undertakings; he is not conscious to himself of any great sin and, amid all his doubts, he has even been, after his own fashion, a sincere searcher after truth. He would be willing to grant that, if all men were as well off in life as himself, there would be no unreasonableness in calling them all the children of a kind and loving Creator. But let him look more closely and examine the darker side which his character presents, He

will find that, though he has enjoyed happiness beyond the lot of most men, yet his happiness has left much to be desired. The amount of disappointments, bodily pains and anxieties which he has endured would, if added together, reach a considerable total; so much so that his condition for long periods of time has been one of contentment rather than of actual happiness. His moral character too, his daily frailties, the frequent clouding of his judgment and the weakness of his will under temptation, have left him far and manifestly short of perfection. In short, within his own microcosm evil has abounded, and it has abounded too in the macrocosm of the world, only in a higher degree. Why should the difference of more or less alter the nature of his difficulty? Cannot a God of infinite power and wisdom compensate great evils as well as small? A little more or a little less may affect the powers of a finite but not of an infinite agent. The problem of the existence of evil, even after all sufficient explanations are made, is a trial to our faith and is intended to be such in a world whose very object is to be a place of trial. Christian faith teaches us that out of every evil God will raise up good, that physical suffering will be productive of future happiness, and that, in the case of moral evil, no one, in spite of all appearances to the contrary, is unfairly handicapped in his chances of salvation; for at every man's judgment the knowledge that he had and the influences of his environment will all be taken into account.

The truth is that our inquiring agnostic has been arbitrarily setting up as his standard of justice a certain balance of good and evil which he considers reasonable and capable of being permitted by infinite wisdom. The proportions fixed upon are approximately those which he has found in his own particular case or in that of others whom he considers moderately happy. But he finds numberless cases of persons who have endured greater afflictions and have had fewer moral advantages than his criterion allowed, and, instead of considering whether that criterion has been wrongly constructed, he is inclined rather to deny the existence of Providence. His only reason for admitting a certain minimum of evil in his standard was that his own feelings happened to revolt against any greater allowance. In fact, he has been led chiefly by his feelings and has not brought the light of reason to bear upon their dictates.

We may now turn to consider a particular kind of pessimism which has often been brought up as a charge against the Catholic Church. Catholics are often accused of so far building up their hopes in the life to come as to undervalue and neglect the duties of their life in the present. The philosophy of the saints and teachers of the Church has, it is said, always been one of con-

tempt for and discouragement of human aims and efforts. The purest and noblest love between man and woman has been regarded as vanity and a turning aside from the love of God, while all great undertakings in commerce, colonization or politics are mere distractions from the one thing necessary to every man—the saving of his individual soul. It is in this supposed apathy that some writers have found the reason why the Latin Catholic nations of Europe have been left behind in the race of enterprise and progress by the Teutonic Protestant peoples of Germany, England and America. That such charges are unfounded the history of the Church at all times plainly shows. Popes like Nicholas V., Leo X. and St. Pius V. can scarcely be accused either of discouraging human effort or undervaluing human interests. Nor is the teaching of the Church with regard to the paramount importance of the spiritual issues of life in any way opposed to the best and fullest development of humanity during their sojourn on earth. It is true that the saints have withdrawn from the world either bodily or in spirit and have encouraged others to do the same; but their retirement was from the evil that was in the world rather than from the world itself. It was the counterfeits of life that they opposed, its false promises, its tyrannies of custom and its foolish standards of worth and honor. St. Benedict, St. Dominic and St. Ignatius would have turned the earth into a garden of Eden could they have had their way. Their doctrine was a complete theology, “wealth of nations” and philanthropy worked into one and founded upon the one grand recipe for all true prosperity: “Seek ye first the kingdom of God and His justice, and all these things shall be added unto you.” They taught men to see the true relations between time and eternity, the immeasurable superiority of the loving soul to the objects of its earthly love. “Let them that have wives be as they that have them not” was not meant to weaken the love of husband and wife, but to intensify and spiritualize it, to transfuse and blend its carnal adjuncts in that heaven-blest commerce between soul and soul, of which the bodily union is but a symbol, and which is itself a symbol of the heavenly marriage of Christ with the Church triumphant in heaven, and of the mystic reception of the individual soul into the unity of the communion of saints. Nor can the Church be accused of hampering her children in their civic and political duties or in checking the progress of the human race. Lord Macaulay, in his “*Essay on Machiavelli*,” says: “The crusades, from which the inhabitants of other countries gained nothing but relics and wounds, brought to the rising commonwealths of the Adriatic and Tyrrhene seas a large increase of wealth, dominion and knowledge. . . . Italian ships covered every sea. Italian factories rose on every shore.



The tables of Italian money-changers were set in every city. Manufactures flourished. Banks were established. The operations of the commercial machine were facilitated by many useful and beautiful inventions. We doubt whether any country of Europe, our own excepted, has at the present time (1827) reached so high a point of wealth and civilization as some parts of Italy had attained four hundred years ago." Moreover, some two centuries further back, the greatest political liberty flourished in Italy, and its decay set in when the influence of the Church was diminished by the withdrawal of the Papal court to Avignon in 1309. If, in our own days, the Catholic nations of Europe are, on the whole, less progressive than their Protestant neighbors, this is no more due to the influence of the Church than the downfall of Rome was due to the influence of Christianity. It should always be remembered, too, that Italy, Spain and France have each, in their turn, been leaders of more than one branch of intellectual progress.

The reason why such accusations as the foregoing have been made against the Church is the fact that her recognition of the vast difference between the spiritual and temporal issues of life is taken to imply a neglect of these latter. If such were the case, it would follow that all purely scientific researches, observations of eclipses, polar exhibitions and biological theories are, in her estimation, mere vanity, and out of all connection with salvation. But such is by no means the mind of the Church. When she says: "Vanity of vanities and all is vanity," she does not invite us to return to a state of primeval simplicity, or to give up any of the legitimate interests of modern life. What she does teach us is that all these things are in themselves of no real value unless, by a right intention, they are brought into connection with our spiritual life. "Whether you eat or drink or whatever else you do, do all for the glory of God." We are taught in ethics that, though many human actions are, in the abstract, indifferent, *i.e.*, neither good nor bad, yet, in the concrete, they receive their character from the goodness or the badness of the intention which prompts them. In precisely the same way all human sciences, arts, enterprises and interests may receive a character of goodness from the rectitude of purpose of those who are engaged therein. The painting of pictures, for instance, is a thing in itself indifferent; but the picture may be painted to honor God and His saints, to earn an honest livelihood, or even for wholesome amusement, and, in such cases, the work is meritorious. On the other hand, it may be painted out of envious rivalry, to flatter a patron, or to minister to the lust of the eyes, and then every stroke of the artist's brush serves only to body forth the evil that is in his heart. This doctrine, it is clear, can in no wise interfere with the progress of art. A good

Christian painter may have an intense love of his art; his daily thoughts may be constantly flowing upon it; he may even be said to live for it; and yet he may, at the same time, in a certain sense, despise it. He is ready to sacrifice it at the least sign of God's will, and he inwardly values it only in so far as he has made it a part of his service of God.

What is true of painting, which we have taken by way of illustration, is true of all forms of human effort on however large a scale. It is true of inventions and discoveries; it is true of the expansion of empires, and, indeed, the expansion would go on with far less of jostling and jealousy and dread of universal upheaval if only its promoters regarded their own endeavors with a certain wholesome depreciation. Nor need this depreciation be any bar to genuine success. No one, for instance, can accuse St. Ignatius of Loyola of any want of energy or enthusiasm in his cause, and his labors, as we know, were crowned with eminent success. Yet he declared that if the whole of his life's work were destroyed by the suppression of the religious order which he had founded, one-quarter of an hour's prayer would suffice to restore him to his ordinary tranquillity of mind. Yet his holy and unselfish zeal was intenser and more far-reaching than the restless ambition of Napoleon, while his fiery energy was under the control of a calmer and even more resolute spirit. The career of Napoleon was a pageant of chartered egotism; that of St. Ignatius of Loyola was a suppression of self in the perfect performance of God's will.

It is not from the influence of the Church that there come the despair of life and the waning of its energies. Father Hecker, in "The Church and the Age," exclaims indignantly against the false notion that divine grace is given only at the cost of natural strength, and he assures us that the time is fast approaching when the Catholic body will be marked by that spirit of initiative and enterprise of which it has lost so much since the Reformation. The evidences of revival meet us on every side, while the decay of the various Protestant sects brings this revival into greater prominence. Moreover, men are beginning to see that departure from the Catholic Church means the abandonment of a system which can provide for the spiritual needs of all classes of men as no other system can. The note of pessimism and hopeless lamentation which rings through so much of our *fin-de-siècle* literature is an instructive sign that men who have lost their faith in the supernatural life are at a loss for some motive to direct and vivify their present aimless existence. Life, without religion, has become insufferably monotonous, and men are turning everywhere to find the ideals and motives which religion alone can permanently sup-

ply. Many look to science for their light and guidance, but those who do so commonly depart from their principle of accepting nothing without proof by constructing scientific religions of hero-worship and nature-worship, and by demanding of their followers greater acts of faith than those which they condemn in their Christian opponents. Moreover, the tendency of science seems to be, at present, in the direction of reasoned pessimism and its natural consequent dejection. Each new scientific discovery shows us with more appalling clearness the limited character of our knowledge. Every improvement in the telescope, while it reveals millions of suns never observed before, strengthens at the same time our conviction that there are millions of millions of others which we can never succeed in detecting. It happens, too, from time to time, that new phenomena in astronomy, chemistry or light threaten to overthrow or, at any rate, greatly to modify our most fundamental conceptions of the laws of nature. But, what is perhaps the most discouraging fact of all, it must happen before long that no human intellect will be comprehensive enough to deal with the baffling array of facts which are being multiplied daily in every department of science. If a man is a specialist, his vision will be too confined, and, if the field of his attainments is widely extended, his knowledge will not be detailed enough for the purposes of scientific induction.

The effect of these considerations upon non-religious minds is often to make them despondent about the value of human action. If our knowledge is so limited and uncertain, if the whole society of mankind and the results of its striving are infinitesimal when compared with the gigantic scale of the universe, "then," say they, "it does not matter what we think or what we do. Nothing matters." And so life becomes to them a dismal enigma, and man himself a being too great for his ends, living in a world which is too small for his desires.

The Church, on the contrary, far from being dejected by the discoveries of science, welcomes them as illustrations and symbols of her teaching. If there are mysteries in the universe which show us the limits of our knowledge, she is glad that we are thereby humbled, and consoles us with the thought that there will be one day explained to us mysteries in the spiritual order of vastly deeper interest to ourselves than those which now astound us in the material world. The physical universe which we see is, indeed, stupendous in its vastness and complexity, but the wonders of it are small when compared with those in the universe which we do not see, and the capacity of a single human soul is vaster than the ungauged regions of space.

Although the spirit of the Church is not one of dejection but of



eternal joy and hope, and although she is ready to identify herself with human purposes in order to connect them with the shaping of our destiny in the after-life, yet she encourages in her children a frame of mind and a way of regarding life which, in some respects, resembles the despondency of pessimism, though, in reality, it differs from it *toto cælo*. It is not the abysmal despair of a Schopenhauer, but the mourning of a David or a Jeremias; a frame of mind which at one and the same time is in accord with the apparently conflicting texts, "Rejoice in the Lord always" and "Blessed are they that mourn." The Church does not try to hide from her children the vast amount of evil that there is in the world, and recognizes that the existence of it is, to a large extent, a mystery. But she teaches also that the mystery will some day be cleared up, and that out of all evil good will eventually come. Moreover, she teaches that moral evil ought to excite our regret incomparably more than physical. In fact, most of the physical suffering that is in the world is the result of sin, and unless the sum total of sin is diminished, no amount of searching after physical comfort can add materially to the happiness of mankind. It is this truth which explains that disappointing fact of modern times, that all our improvements in machinery, commerce and methods of communication, all our ways of deadening pain and providing cheap luxuries have not, as far as we can see, made our lot, in any striking degree, better than that of our forefathers. Was a Frenchman in the days of St. Louis, or an Englishman in those of Edward I., appreciably worse off than his descendants in the nineteenth century? Many would say that his lot was even preferable.

Along with our material progress there seems to be going on a gradual moral decadence, a growing insensibility to the evil of sin. Nor is this indifference confined to such as are leading immoral lives; it affects even those who are constant in the daily practice of virtue. We will quote the words of Mr. W. A. Mallock, who, speaking of this latter class, says:

"Sin from which they recoil themselves they see committed in the life around them, and they find that it cannot excite the horror or disapproval which, from its supposed nature, it should. . . . It is a malady of the modern world—a malady of our own generation which can escape no eyes that will look for it."<sup>1</sup>

In place of the hatred of moral evil we now see everywhere an increased horror of physical suffering, and a sympathy for the distress of the greatest criminals. That vigorous moral indignation and stern sense of justice so remarkable in Dante's "*Inferno*," is a sentiment which we are rapidly losing. Listen to the follow-

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<sup>1</sup> *Is Life Worth Living?* Chap. viii., p. 148.

ing extract from the thirty-second canto. The poet, in his journey through Hell, has just encountered, but not yet recognized, the spirit of the traitor, Bocca degli Abbati, who had brought about the defeat of his own party at the battle of Montaperto.

"Then seizing on his hinder scalp I cried :  
 'Name thee, or not a hair shall tarry here.'  
 'Rend all away,' he answered, 'yet for that  
 I will not tell, nor show thee, who I am,  
 Though at my head thou pluck a thousand times.'  
 Now had I grasp'd his tresses, and stript off  
 More than one tuft, he looking, with his eyes  
 Drawn in and downward, when another cried,  
 'What ails thee, Bocca ?' " <sup>1</sup>

Doubtless the poet thought that the traitor's spirit, enshrined though it was in eternal ice, had met with a retribution far short of his deserts.

The Christian saint who sees, and in tears of blood bewails his own sins and those of his fellow-men, has an incomparably wider and clearer vision of the evil that is in the world than is ever seen by the eye of the disappointed philanthropist. Yet the saint is not the sadder man of the two. He knows that in the end good will prevail, and no passing triumph of evil can ever be a stumbling block to him. The mere philanthropist is always likely sooner or later, to fall into pessimism. His ideals are human, and he knows, in his heart, that they can never be attained. The grief which he feels for his own failures and those of his fellow-men is a kind of blight which admits of no cure. He has placed his heaven on earth, and he sees it evaporate before his eyes.

Although the consistent Christian knows that moral evil is of incomparably greater moment than physical, still his knowledge cannot render him indifferent to the latter. Whatever our principles may be, our feelings will always be human. True religion does not seek to deaden but to guide and elevate feeling, and in so doing, it will often add to its intensity. The belief that his young bride is already the guest of God will strengthen the bereaved lover to bear his calamity with courage, but it cannot lessen his sense of loss ; nay, the very virtues which merited heaven will serve to make that loss even more intense. The knowledge that Lazarus was resting in the peace of Limbo did not prevent the Master of Life from mingling his tears with those of the mourners who stood weeping around the tomb.

Since suffering in the world and the failure of human efforts is largely a result of sin, the Church makes it her first endeavor to diminish the cause rather than the effect. But she does not ex-

<sup>1</sup> Cary's translation.

pect that the success of her efforts will ever be complete. Evil may be lessened, but it will always abound; individuals may be perfected, but communities will always be more or less honey-combed with evil. It is true that the Gospel contains a system which, if practiced, could unite the world in one harmoniously working republic exempt from the common curse of decay; but such a golden age will never come, and the terrible evils resulting from its absence will be a factor in the trial of the elect until the end of time. The mission of Christianity is primarily with the inner life of man and begins its work with individuals rather than with nations. Its divine Founder spoke directly to the hearts of men, and it was no part of His work on earth to frame a model polity. If individuals are virtuous the State will take care of itself, and, on the other hand, no form of government, however good in the abstract, can withhold a decaying nation from its fall. Christianity did not save the Roman Empire from ruin, nor did it, as far as we can see, greatly retard the progress of its decay. If the Roman world in the days of Constantine had sincerely embraced and not merely outwardly professed the teaching of the Gospel, the barbarian conquest of Christendom might never have taken place. But then, as now, the number of formed and practical Christians was small, and their influence was powerless to prevent the growth of corporate wickedness. So, too, the Christian republics of Italy, after being freed, by the influence of Pope Alexander III. from the tyranny of Frederic Barbarossa, flourished indeed for a few years amid the blessings of religion and liberty, but were forced at last, one after another, to have recourse to the stern remedy of despotism. The millennium of Christ and His saints can never come upon earth, and the most that we can hope for is a distant approach to it. For aught that we know, Christianity may be yet in her infancy; her conquests in the past over the ruthless barbarians of Europe may be small when compared with her future triumphs among the countless populations of India and China. The reforms of Gregory VII. may be repeated on a far grander and completer scale in a world entirely Catholic. And yet, if all this were accomplished, the ideal of the Christian Church might still be incalculably far from realization. For in the Church itself there will always be abuses and outside her pale there will never be wanting sinners to convert. As long as the number of the saints is, as it always will be, a minority, there will never cease to be abundance of sin and misery and decadence. The grace of God has made many a saintly man, but never yet has it been permitted to make a saintly nation.

In view of the utter hopelessness of ever completely converting the world, and in view also of the misery which sin draws in its



train, the Church encourages her children to regard this earth as a vale of tears. But side by side with our sorrow there should always be a deep-seated element of joy in our service of God, and a sustaining hope of happiness in the life to come. In fact, however unsatisfactory the general aspect of the world may be, however far others may be wandering from their true destiny, and however poorly equipped we ourselves may seem for the battle of life, it is nevertheless true that the order of things into which each one of us has been born is perfectly well adapted for his own particular trial. We shall be held answerable only for the badness of our will, and whatever is the inevitable result of the circumstances in which we are placed will not be imputed to us as a fault. The destiny of an unevangelized bushman is not as high, perhaps, as that of an instructed Christian, but he will not be punished for his sins of blameless ignorance, while his virtues will receive their due reward. Every man's salvation is in his own hand, and each one who is faithful to his particular mission in life, has the joy of knowing that to him, at least, the evil of the world has not been a stumbling-block. For every man born into the world there is an attainable ideal, and that is his own true self, such as God intended him to be in view of his environment. No one who corresponds with the opportunities and the wealth of grace that lie in every act and circumstance of daily life can fail to be an optimist as regards his own career in the world. The trial of a soul whose lot has been cast upon degenerate days must consist largely in coping with the evil of his surroundings, and his failure in life is in proportion to his acquiescence in what is unsound in the spirit of his times: but it is his own fault if he succumbs in the struggle.

The history of the Church is a constant struggle against degeneracy, and the miracle of her divine institution manifests itself most clearly in her great historic revivals. She knows that, however low the world may sink in degradation, there is a point beyond which the "gates of hell" will not prevail, and that she herself will remain as a powerful renovating influence until the end of time. She knows, too, that the fruits of her struggle against evil, though not always manifest, are always abundant; that life within the pale of her active membership is never thrown away, and can be made as profitable now as at any period of her history. The spirit of the church is active and practical. She would have her children live in the present, and not in the past or the future. Her bidding to them is: "Say not: What thinkest thou is the cause that former times are better than they are now? for this manner of question is foolish."<sup>1</sup> Her activity and the conscious-

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<sup>1</sup> *Eccles.*, vii., 11.

ness that she is doing good in the world, produce in her a character of cheerfulness and joy, while pessimism in her children is prevented by the knowledge that all personal sin may be remedied by a change of heart.

This healthy and prudent optimism which the Church endeavors to foster in her sons is a preservative against another form of despondency which comes from contemplating and taking to heart the essential impotence of man and the want of permanence of his work. Our hopes, it may be, in the progress of the race are shaken by the only too frequent demonstration of the truth of the saying:

"The evil that men do lives after them,  
The good is oft interred with their bones."

The work of a wise monarch or statesman is always liable to be undone by an incompetent successor, and when a Pericles has raised his country to a high level of power and prosperity, there is but too often no one left to take his place or to avert threatening ruin from the state. The results, moreover, of human effort seem to bear no proportion to the toil and expense incurred in producing them. That outburst of patriotism and national vigor which was swayed by the First Napoleon, ended only in depriving France of the flower of her manhood. In the domain of art, too, monuments worthy of the admiration of all time have been continually swept away by man's energy for destruction. Mr. Ruskin, speaking of the loss of such treasures, says:

"Fancy what Europe would be now, if the delicate statues and temples of the Greeks—if the broad roads and massy walls of the Romans—if the noble and pathetic architecture of the middle ages, had not been ground to dust by mere human rage. You talk of the scythe of time and the tooth of time. I tell you, time is scytheless and toothless; it is we who gnaw like the worm—we who smite like the scythe. It is ourselves who abolish, ourselves who consume; we are the mildew and the flame, and the soul of man is to its own work as the moth, that frets when it cannot fly, and as the hidden flame that blasts where it cannot illumine. All these lost treasures of human intellect have been wholly destroyed by human industry of destruction; the marble would have stood its two thousand years as well in the polished statue as in the Parian cliff; but we men have ground it to powder, and mixed it with our own ashes. The walls and ways would have stood—it is we who have left not one stone upon another, and restored its pathlessness to the desert; the great cathedrals of old religion would have stood—it is we who have dashed down the carved work with axes and hammers, and bid the mountain grass bloom upon the pavement, and the sea-winds chaunt in the galleries."<sup>2</sup>

Yet there is another side to the picture which will be revealed when the hand of man is no longer lifted to destroy, when every chosen soul, chiselled into a temple of perfect beauty by the hand of divine love, shall stand eternally exempt from the wearing en-

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<sup>2</sup> *The Political Economy of Art.* Lecture II. Accumulation, p. 98.

ergies of time. As long as time shall last the fruits of human effort will indeed continue to decay; the noblest performances of genius will gradually disappear from the earth; nations will become decivilized and lost to all sense of what is beautiful in art, while thousands of their children will be born and bred in an atmosphere of smoke and bustle and blasphemy. Yet the influence of the Church will still remain, and the souls of the suffering poor, instructed where to find their truest riches, will be chastened and refined by the sufferings which shall be born of the injustice and luxury of their oppressors. A diamond is still a diamond though it lie hidden in a sewer, and a human soul in the state of grace, though its lot be cast in the foulest purlieus of a corrupt city, is an object of greater importance and a thing of greater beauty to contemplate than the outward splendor of the wisest and greatest of nations. The durable monuments of the Romans and the perfect art-works of the Greeks were a product and an image of what was virtuous and noble in their producers, just as the great cathedrals of the age of St. Louis and the political splendor of the nation which produced them, were due to the practice of civic virtue by the French people in accordance with the precepts of the Gospel. But the essential life of Christianity and a plenteous realization of the Gospel ideas is not necessarily connected with external grandeur, and may conceivably exist without it. The Church scorns to have the success of her mission in the world measured by the standards of material progress or even of intellectual culture, though a sufficient measure of these will always be found where her teaching is faithfully carried out; indeed, as has been said before, a complete subjugation of the world to the doctrines of the Gospel would produce a reign of universal peace and material happiness, and a republic of saints would constitute an ideal state. But the world being as it is, the temporal estate and condition of men cannot show us whether their life is a success in the only true sense of the word, or whether it is, as far as their real interests are concerned, a complete and disastrous failure. Many a noble life is brought down by sorrow to the grave; and the victim of oppression and injustice has passed into another order of things where his works follow him. Many a time upon the earth does the curtain fall over some great and soul-stirring tragedy; but the true finale of the play takes place upon a stage which we cannot see, and where the works of men are weighed in a new balance of justice and retribution.

In conclusion, the good which the Church of God looks for is a good which is unseen. Even in the domain of poetry and art the greatest beauties are often least upon the surface and are invisible to all but the trained observer. But it is still more strictly true in



the spiritual order that the greatest goods lie behind a veil and are but dimly apprehended even by the eye of faith. Vast as is the gulf between the intellectual and sensitive orders among living creatures, there is a still wider separation between the gifts of intellect and those of grace among mankind; and it is her knowledge of this difference which influences the Church in her relations with the natural and supernatural life of her children, and in her estimate of the relative greatness of moral and physical evil in the world. With her the primary and all-important question is not whether man can be perfected as a social being, or whether the sum of our present joys does or does not exceed that of our sufferings. Humanity can never attain its highest aspirations in this world, and the words *good* and *evil* can be rightly interpreted only with reference to a life that is yet to come. To many of us life is a period of continuous suffering, and the natural end of it a blessing, and to those who ask whether it is worth living, the true answer is that, whether joyous or sorrowful, it carries with it the most solemn of all responsibilities, and that in the noble words of the "Psalm of Life:"

"Life is real, life is earnest  
And the grave is not its goal;  
'Dust thou art, to dust returnest'  
Was not spoken of the soul."

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## CHURCH AND STATE.

"Præterea, libet enim id fateri quod est, sua debetur gratia æquitati legum, quibus America vivit, moribusque bene constitutæ rei publicæ. Hoc enim Ecclesiæ apud vos concessum est, non repugnante temperatione civitatis, ut nullis legum præpedita vinculis, contra vim defensa jure communi justitiæque judiciorum, tutam obtineat vivendi agendique sine offensione facultatem. Sed quamquam hæc vera sunt, tamen error tollendus, ne quis hinc sequi existimet, petendum ab America exemplum optimi ecclesiastici status: aut universe licere vel expedire, rei civilis rei que sacræ distractas esse dissociatasque, more Americano, rationes. Quod enim incolumis apud vos res est Catholica, quod prosperis etiam auctibus crescit, id omnino fecunditati tribuendum, qua divinitus pollet Ecclesia, quæque si nullus adversetur, si nulla res impedimento sit, se sponte effert atque effundit; longe tamen uberiores editura fructus, si præter libertatem, gratia legum fruatur patrocinioque publicæ potestatis."—Encyclical *Longinqua oceani* addressed to the American hierarchy, January 6, 1895.

SOME persons who have never learned to doubt of their own infallibility, are very fond of declaiming against "Union of Church and State" as against an unmixed evil, and of extolling "Separation of Church and State" as one of the special blessings of modern times. They evidently imagine that they are giving utterance to some axiomatic truths, seen intuitively under the strong light of civilization—to some first principles of ethics, which it were an insult to our cultured age to explain—or, at the very least, to some immediate deductions from the natural law, which no one is permitted to call in question, at the risk of being placed under a social ban. If you venture to suggest a doubt upon the subject they will stare at you, as at an intellectual curiosity preserved by a strange fate since the days of mediæval darkness; or, maybe, they will denounce you to the high inquisitor of vulgar prejudice as holding un-American doctrine and harboring treasonable designs against the liberties of your country.

Yet the truth of the matter is, few expressions in the whole range of human language are more vague and undefined. In fact, on the lips of the crowd they may mean almost anything, and they may mean nothing. The majority come to them only at second hand, and repeat them by rote, with little more than a confessed notion that they are popular and serve as the shibboleth of liberalism.

This circumstance alone is sufficient to arouse suspicion. In this country, as is well known, even the soundest and staunchest Catholics are sometimes praised for their liberalism, because the word liberalism, as used among us, is susceptible of a good mean-

ing. But liberalism, as it exists in Catholic countries, is not the same harmless thing. It is essentially a system of disguises and counterfeits. It has no rules of conduct except compromise, accommodation and surrender. It changes front as rapidly as the chameleon changes color. It has as many *aliases* as the professional "confidence man." It is progress; it is patriotism; it is philanthropy; it is anything you please, except genuine, outspoken Catholicism. It seeks, above all, to follow the tendency of the age, and to float along upon the tide of public opinion. It never scruples to sacrifice the most sacred interests of religion for a temporal consideration. It is a traitor within the camp, always ready to parley with the enemy and sign terms of capitulation, and then to claim the credit of having established peace between the Church and the world. Its whole past history is a record of intrigue, deception and fraud. Before adopting its watchwords and joining in the cry for separation of Church and State, it is important for us to know precisely what we mean.

## I.

The State and the Church are the representatives of the temporal and the eternal. The State is a secular society, whose direct object is to promote man's present welfare in this world; the Church is a spiritual society, whose direct object is to help man to reach his final destiny in the world to come. They are different and distinct from each other, and pursue different and distinct aims. But it does not follow therefrom that they can and ought to be separate and independent of each other, or that they can and ought to pursue their aims separately and independently. Many things that are different and distinct from each other are not destined to be separate and independent. The soul is different and distinct from the body, and yet nature itself shrinks from the separation of soul and body. Even so did Catholics of old shrink from the separation of the Church and the Christian State. The idea of separating one from the other originated with the so-called Reformation, which proclaimed the *emancipation* of human reason.<sup>1</sup>

According to the Reformers, the individual was the sole and all-sufficient judge in religious matters, amenable to no authority, and quite competent to pass upon the law of God, to interpret and expound it, to admit or reject portions of it, according as his "reason" should dictate. The leaders, it is true, confined this principle to revelation. But more logical minds soon extended it to other matters. If Luther, they argued, might discard the Book of

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<sup>1</sup> Taparelli, *Ord. Rap.*, Intro.



Machabees and the Epistle of St. Jude, why might not his disciples discard other portions of the writings generally considered inspired? Why might they not, with equal reason, reject all revelations and inspirations, if they saw fit? Why not extend this convenient doctrine to the precepts of the natural law as well, and explain them as they thought best? Who would set the limits? The father had proclaimed the principle: "*Our lips are our own; who is Lord over us?*" The sons pushed it to its legitimate conclusions.

If the State accepts these conclusions to the full, holding itself and its members bound by no particular set of religious doctrines and laws, nor indeed by any religious obligations whatever, there will be no common link of union between the secular and the spiritual, between the temporal and the eternal, between the human and the divine. In other words, there will be a total separation of Church and State. If, on the contrary, the State stops half-way, holding itself and its members bound by some religious obligations, without, however, conforming to all the doctrines and laws of the Church, there will exist a common bond in respect to those points which the State accepts; that is, there will be only a partial separation of Church and State. In the latter case there is room for much variety in the relations between Church and State, ranging the whole way from almost complete separation on the one hand, to almost complete union on the other hand, according to the smaller or larger number of points which they hold in common.

A total separation has existed, and perhaps still exists, under some so-called liberal governments of continental Europe and of South America. They are based on avowedly irreligious principles, and, so far from favoring the Church, they do not recognize her as an institution sanctioned by law. Hence they refuse to protect her in her civil rights, or to grant her and the religious orders approved by her the immunities conceded to purely secular corporations. They confiscate and appropriate ecclesiastical property, declare the religious communities non-existent, then ostracize or starve the individual members, and tax them for their very charities and services to the public. They force clerical students into the army, compel the State officials and employees to desecrate the Lord's day, and contrive in various other ways to do violence to the Christian conscience. Their attitude toward the Church is one of secret or of open hostility, persecution, oppression; their set purpose is to crush out Catholicity and, together with it, all religion.

The political creed of these governments was first announced to the world in the words: "The law should be atheistic." All

Europe shuddered at the blasphemy, and when Count D'Althon Sée, true to his principles, proposed establishing a professorial chair, to teach what he impiously styled the "religion of atheism," the death-rattle of expiring conscience changed at once into a cry of horror and dismay. Discomfited, but not destroyed, the advocates of this sacrilegious doctrine disguised it under another name, called it "Separation of Church and State," and reappeared upon the scene with fairer prospects of success. Before long they gained access, not only to the cabinet of the politician and to the assemblies of the *liberal* Christians, but even to the consciences of some sincerely pious, but misguided and unsuspecting, Catholics. The clergy, as a body, watched the movement with great apprehension; the bishops protested; the Vicar of Christ condemned it. The very first proposition of the encyclical, *Quanta cura*, proscribes the doctrine, "That the best interests of public society and civil progress require, by all means, that human society should be established and governed without any more regard to religion than if it did not exist."<sup>1</sup>

Presented in this form, the doctrine may seem less shocking, but it is quite as blasphemous, and far more dangerous, because more insidious. What matters it whether the State acknowledges no God, or, while it acknowledges one, makes no account of Him? If anything, its conduct in the latter case is more impious than in the former. At bottom it is the very rankest kind of irreligion—a practical application of the epicurean maxim: "Let the gods go asleep above us."

In this country there is not and, let us hope, never will be, a total separation of Church and State. Despite much infidelity, indifference and scepticism among the masses of the population, we have not, as a State or a nation, apostatized from God. Despite much corruption, bribery and dishonesty in high places, there exists a correct public conscience, a strong sense of right, which asserts itself whenever important issues are at stake. In striking contrast with the rulers of some other lands, whose aim is to banish God from the minds and hearts of the people, our chief executive considers it his duty to dwell, in his annual message, upon the blessings bestowed upon the country by the Giver of all good gifts, and to exhort the nation to show its gratitude by public acts of thanksgiving and prayer. And, what is still more refreshing, even in our political campaigns and at the hustings, aspirants to the highest honors which the sovereign people can confer, do not consider it out of place to make a reverential appeal to the religious

<sup>1</sup> "Optimam societatis publicæ rationem civilemque progressum omnino requirere ut humana societas constituatur et gubernetur, nullo habito ad religionem respectu, ac si ea non existeret."

feeling of their fellow-citizens for whose votes they are bidding. Our legislative assemblies are opened with some form of prayer, and the Lord's day is kept holy, at least externally, by a general cessation from labor.

But how deeply rooted in our whole national system is the sense of religious responsibility, nowhere appears more clearly than in our courts of justice. While in many other lands which boast of their free, constitutional government the judiciary are mere tools of the revolutionary faction that calls itself "the Government," and are hampered by a thousand arbitrary, and often unjust, enactments passed by the servile chambers; our highest tribunals go behind the letter of special legislation, and, disregarding the technicalities of the statute-book, decide the most momentous cases solely on principles of equity. Beyond and above the written law we recognize the unwritten law, which is in reality nothing but the natural law imprinted upon the human conscience, as understood and applied by Catholic antiquity. It is a part of our Catholic heritage, handed down to us through English common law, from times when there was the most intimate relation between Church and State and when the canon law of the Church interpreted the civil law of the States. The principles and traditions of those olden days have entered into our national life and habits of thought. They guide and influence the body politic, as well as the people at large. They pervade our national Constitution itself, and distinguish it from those godless paper instruments popularly called Constitutions, though they are nothing but one-sided contracts drawn up for the set purpose of delivering the Church, as well as the nation with all its rights and liberties, into the hands of Free Masons and Jews.

So true is all this that some Catholic writers, and among them the learned and patriotic Dr. Orestes Brownson, have not hesitated to affirm that our social fabric is founded upon distinctively Catholic principles, really at variance with the prevailing spirit of Protestantism. However that may be, Americans as a class admit, without contention, that the general principles of Christianity are deeply imbedded in our national and political life. And if occasionally there arise men who sound a note of discord, they put our people into a state of nervous irritation. Some of the readers of this REVIEW will no doubt remember an anti-Catholic oath-bound society which started a few years ago in a Western city, and was known as the "American Union" or "American Alliance." If not identical with the A. P. A. it was certainly the precursor. One of its many unfounded assertions was that the "Fathers of the American Republic" had dug a ditch, broad and deep, between Church and State, and had provided very effectually that no one



should ever fill up that ditch. Thence the spokesmen of the society drew the most unpatriotic as well as irreligious conclusions, hostile alike to State and Church; and some of them announced those conclusions in language far more offensive than even the *Apapists* have ventured to use. Taken to task by both Catholics and Protestants, they soon subsided, and slunk back into the darkness from which they had sprung.

What concerns us at present is the argument made against them. "The Fathers of the American Republic," it was answered, never thought of digging a ditch, broad and deep, between Church and State; that treasonable work the members of the A. U. are attempting to do. The framers of our Constitution, we are free to admit, were not all professing Christians, but the majority felt, with Washington, that religion and morality are the firmest supports of the State. None of them favored the infidel policy afterwards adopted by the French revolution or wished to divorce the State from the Church. They did not, indeed, show a special preference for any one of the various Christian denominations existing in the country at the birth of the Commonwealth. They could not have done so consistently. Before the State the Episcopalian and the Catholic, the Puritan and the Quaker were all to be equal, because they had all helped to build it up, and the fundamental principles of the Christian religion, common to them all, were to guide the public conscience in the discharge of official duties. For this reason some Protestant authorities have maintained that Christianity, in general, embracing all believers in Christ as the Redeemer of mankind, is the established religion of the land. Certainly this is a somewhat loose conception of an established church. Yet it expresses very well the actual relation between Church and State in this country.

## II.

What Americans object to is not that *partial* union of Church and State which results from the adoption by the State of Christian principles of government, but that *complete* union which implies the establishment of a "State Church." The bare mention of a State Church makes their blood run cold, and conjures up scenes of horror and oppression. And certainly if it were the monster depicted to our youthful imagination, it would merit the execration of all lovers of humanity. But it so happens that the picture is altogether different from the reality. Poetic truth is not always historic truth, and even poetic truth is often shockingly disregarded by those who are wont to be quoted as authorities in this matter.

Most of the information possessed by the multitude is derived

from writers whose first qualification for authorship is a self-complacent ignorance of the subject to be treated. Even a moderate acquaintance with the question now under consideration would make their task exceedingly prosy and prove fatal to success. But so long as they are at liberty to explore the fields of fiction, and to give full play to a morbid imagination, they are prolific and dash off an unlimited amount of ribaldry and abuse—"sound and fury signifying nothing," but far more telling than argument with the classes to which they address themselves. Unlike the reverential judges of the Athenian *Areopagus*, whom St. Paul praises for adoring the God whom they knew not, these men blaspheme what they know not—"quod ignorant blasphemant."

The result is that popular misconceptions concerning complete union of Church and State are almost innumerable. Nevertheless, from the very nature of the case they may be reduced to two heads. There are some—and they are mostly Protestants—who take complete union of Church and State to mean "the usurpation or absorption by the Church of the functions of the civil power." These good folk are perpetually haunted by the spectre of "papal aggression." Gifted with second sight, like a certain historic personage who distinguished "Jesuits" in disguise on the floor of the Senate chamber, they behold the emissaries of the Pope swarming into the National Capital and invading all the departments of State. They perceive the "Court of Rome" extending its "Briarean hands" in every direction, dictating the political action of parties and "plotting against the nation's autonomy." Already they hear the death-knell of our liberties. They quite expect that before long the Pope will "issue new bulls of excommunication against all honest Protestants and absolve Romanists from their oath of allegiance." They see tribunals of the Inquisition erected, and hurdles, racks and dungeons starting up on all sides. They dream of "Spanish Armadas" and "Sicilian Vespers" and "St. Bartholomew's Days." They are sure that the "Papists" are actually arming and drilling numerous companies of young soldiers for a war of extermination against all who will not acknowledge the Pope's right to "universal temporal dominion." In mortal fear lest the days of antichrist be close at hand, they call upon all evangelical Christians to combine in defence of the American principle of "a free Church in a free State."

There are others—chiefly Catholics—who, by way of direct antithesis, can see nothing in complete union of Church and State, except "the usurpation or absorption by the State of the functions of the ecclesiastical power." They take for granted that one condition of complete union is the carrying on of diplomatic intercourse with the Vatican, and this they consider fraught with the



gravest danger to the Church. They deplore that wily politicians and ministers of State invariably take advantage of it to outwit the simple-minded Church authorities. They are sure that the Church will be compelled to concede many dangerous privileges and prerogatives, and that the State will arrogate to itself many more. They foresee that the civil power will gradually encroach upon the spiritual domain until the clergy become mere servants and pensioners of the State, dependent upon the bounty of the public exchequer for their daily bread, and, as a consequence, little in touch with the people, whose eternal welfare will be sacrificed for the sake of a "fat living." They recall the frequent and bitter conflicts on the subject of *investiture* and the royal *placet* and *exsequatur*, and they observe that similar conflicts are still going on wherever there exists even the shadow of a State Church. They direct attention to the fact that, on the strength of ancient grants, governments which have utterly broken with Christian traditions continue to exercise the right of "presentation" and "patronage" to the great detriment of souls, even beyond the limits of their political jurisdiction. They argue that in the event of complete union of Church and State one of two things will inevitably happen: either the Church will meekly acquiesce, and the consequence will be that the highest ecclesiastical offices will be filled by creatures of the State, or the Church will resist the pretensions of the State, in which case episcopal sees will often be vacant, and remain so until a candidate is agreed upon who will be sufficiently pliant in the hands of the State. They remark that under such circumstances the best that can be expected from the clergy who aspire to ecclesiastical preferment is that they will pursue a policy of neutrality and subserviency; that so long as they are only in the inferior ranks they will take great care not to declare themselves; that when they have reached the goal of their ambition they will be courtiers and politicians, living in the antechambers of princes and the salons of statesmen much more than in the midst of their flocks. And, while worldly-minded ecclesiastics will enjoy the favor of the great, the worthiest priests, the most active religious, the most zealous prelates will be hampered in their work, opposed, persecuted, exiled. But it is especially at the election of a new Pope that the influence of the secular power is to be dreaded. Even at present, though many of the larger States are wholly indifferent to Church affairs, the interference of some European courts with the papal conclaves is a source of great embarrassment and anxiety. What then might be expected, if complete union of Church and State were universal in the Christian world and all Christian governments tried to make good their respective claims? Among those who would glory most in the



titles of "Oldest Son of the Church," "Protector of the Faith" and "Catholic Majesty" there would be many Frederick Barbarossas and Napoleon Bonapartes, who would contrive "to run the machinery of ecclesiastical government" to suit their own ambitious projects. In this manner, as history shows, the way is paved to corruption, dissension and schism. Save us from the meddling of the secular power; save us from a "State Church."

The Protestant objection is, as we hope to show, purely chimerical. The Catholic objection points to a real evil and a serious danger, but it does not sufficiently distinguish between what is essential and what is accidental, nor between legitimate privileges sometimes wisely granted by the Church and the abuse made of them by the State. The answer to both objections is found in a characteristic saying of the Middle Ages: "Extra chorum cantas, frater"—you are chanting false, brother; you are out of tune; you are singing to another air. Or, to give the force of the words in the modern language of the legal fraternity: "Your objection is not well taken, sir," you are combating a fictitious enemy.

The only essential requisite for complete union of Church and State is that the State be guided in its official acts by the tenets of a certain definite church or creed, and that, in return, it extend to such church or creed a protection and patronage not enjoyed by dissenting sects. This plainly supposes a church, organization or ecclesiastical society of some kind, bound together by organic laws—be its government democratic, oligarchical or monarchical—be its authority vested in councils or conferences, as among the Methodists; in synods or general assemblies, as among the Presbyterians; in single churches or congregations as among the Congregationalists; in convocations, as among some other sects, or, finally, in a hierarchy, as in the Catholic Church. In other words, it supposes an aggregation or body of believers, agreeing or feigning to agree in some faith, or, as Protestants commonly express themselves, agreeing upon a "confession."

If religion is considered as something purely subjective to the individual conscience, without any common articles of belief accepted by all the church members, and, still more, if it is considered as a mere sentiment of the will instead of a conviction of the understanding, a church organization is logically out of the question; because every society must have some basis whereon to rest, or, in the cant phrase of our politicians, some "platform" whereon to stand. Hence, from a default of one of the terms, a complete union of Church and State is intrinsically impossible. It is manifest, therefore, that wherever the principle of private interpretation is strictly adhered to, a State church cannot be established without self-contradiction. For in this case men cannot be

united into a religious society, whose decisions they will all feel bound to respect, either as church members or as citizens; on thoroughly Protestant principles an established church is conceivable only as a sub-department of the State. And here is the true reason why in this country our natural sense of justice instinctively revolts at the thought of a complete union of Church and State. "Americans," to quote Doctor Brownson, "understand this union in a Protestant sense, as it exists in England, Scotland, Denmark, Sweden and, indeed, in all Protestant and schismatical States . . . in which it is not so much a union of Church and State as a subjection of the Church to the State. In these Protestant lands the Church is a State establishment, and its ministers are a branch of the national police. The State determines its faith, its discipline and worship. It holds from the civil power which governs it and whose bidding it is bound to do."

The Protestant notion of a State church is derived from the well-known maxim of the early reformers: "*Cujus est regio, ejus est et religio*," which means, "He that owns the country owns the church, and he that makes your laws for you, has a right to make your religion for you." Anything more despotic, or more inconsistent with the much-vaunted principles of private interpretation and freedom of conscience, it is hard to conceive. But, then, Protestantism is essentially a mass of contradictions, which have been hitherto kept together in some countries by the aid of the civil power. Notably has this been the case in England. Now, however, the English people are growing weary of State interference in ecclesiastical matters, and, hence, though they are religiously inclined and retain more of Christianity in their constitution than any other people of Europe, they discuss very freely the disestablishment of the National Church. As Catholics we are far from blaming them, yet we are not overjoyed at the prospect, because, if we are to take the experience of other lands as a criterion, we have every reason to fear that disestablishment will eventually lead to political atheism, the canker-worm which has been gnawing at European society until it has left little more than the outward shell and semblance of Christianity.

According to Catholic teaching, the State has no right, of itself, to impose any faith upon its subjects, or to tamper with ecclesiastical discipline; on the contrary, it must guarantee freedom of worship and of church organization, and must govern in accordance with the divine law, as it is understood by the community under its legitimate spiritual superiors, united to the Pope of Rome. When the civil authorities comply faithfully with these conditions, there is perfect union of Church and State in the Catholic sense.

It is scarcely necessary to observe that such a union nowhere

exists at the present day. The nearest approach to it, in recent times, was witnessed in the little republic of Ecuador, under the martyred hero, Garcia Moreno, whose political acts may not all have been sufficiently seasoned with the salt of Christian prudence, but whose motives were unquestionably upright and worthy of that other martyred hero, St. Canute of Denmark, who also fell by the hands of a faction, a victim to duty and love of fatherland. The so called Catholic countries—France, Italy, Austria, Spain—are very far removed from the Catholic ideals. True, if mere numbers are to be taken into account, they are undoubtedly Catholic, because the faithful are greatly in excess of the infidel element which lords it over them and denies them the plainest justice. But, as usual, “the children of this world have been wiser in their generation than the children of light.” While the enemies of the Church were most active, the faithful were listless, and confided their interests to the liberal party, which, like the treacherous wife of Samson, caressed and conjoled them until they had fallen asleep, then shore them of their strength, mocked them in their disgrace and delivered them, bound hand and foot, into the power of the secret societies. The consequence is that France, Italy, Austria, Spain, with an overwhelming Catholic majority, are now politically atheistic, and do not concede to the Church as much liberty as is guaranteed to her by some heretical countries.

Nor were the relations between Church and State always satisfactory in Catholic times. Instead of protectors of the Church, some Catholic monarchs were among its bitterest persecutors. Indeed, Dr. Brownson does not hesitate to affirm: “The Church is more efficiently protected by the Constitution of the American Republic than she has ever been in France since Philip the Fair; in Germany since the extinction of the Carolingian emperors; in England since the Norman Conquest, or in Spain since the death of Isabella the Catholic; although she is not once recognized by name in the Constitution and the fathers of the republic very likely had no intention of recognizing her at all, for they regarded her as dead, and no longer a danger to their Protestantism or infidelity. There is here a real union of Church and State in our sense of the term, and though not perfect, yet almost as perfect as has ever existed.”

Hence the stern and unflinching Gregory XVI., as well as his milder successor, Pius IX., used to say, if we may believe common report, that there was no quarter of the globe in which he was so much Pope, no portion of his vast spiritual domain in which he was so free in the exercise of his supreme authority, as in the youthful republic of North America. If there is any cause for complaint it is not against the American Constitution, but



against its misapplication and abuse, or rather against the flagrant and unconscionable violation thereof by men with whom liberty means the freedom of wrong-doing and the enslavement of right, and who always have two sets of weights and measures—one for themselves and another for the victims of their persecution. With the Constitution, Catholics are perfectly satisfied. Still, we do not mean to assert that the relations between Church and State in this country are absolutely perfect, nor to extend to the spiritual order the proud boast that “time’s latest empire is her best.” We can conceive a union of the temporal with the eternal so complete that they shall lend a helping hand to each other and in a manner supplement each other.

It is precisely in this sense that the reigning Pontiff, Leo XIII., expresses himself in his encyclical “*Longinqua Oceani*,” quoted at the beginning of the present article. Referring to the good understanding that exists between the United States and the Catholic Church, he remarks: “Moreover—and it gives us pleasure to acknowledge the fact—thanks are due to the equity of the laws which obtain in America, and the customs of your well-ordered Republic. For the Church among you, unopposed by the Constitution and government of your nation, fettered by no hostile legislation, protected against violence by the common laws and the impartiality of the tribunals, is free to live and act without hindrance.” Then he adds: “Yet, though all this is true, it is an error that must be uprooted, to suppose that thence it follows that the model of the most desirable condition of the Church is to be looked for in America, or that it is universally lawful or expedient for civil and ecclesiastical matters to be kept disconnected and apart in the same manner as in America. The fact that Catholicity with you is in a good condition, nay, is even enjoying a prosperous growth, is to be wholly attributed to the fecundity with which God has endowed His Church, in virtue of which, unless men or circumstances interfere, she spontaneously expands and propagates herself, but she would bring forth more abundant fruits if, in addition to liberty, she enjoyed the favor of the laws and the patronage of the public authority.”

Surely this language is both clear and reasonable. It requires no explanation; no sensible man, however little he reflects, can fail to understand it. It requires no justification; no well-meaning man, whatever his religious views, can take it amiss. We are not a little surprised, therefore, to learn that any one should have thought of “explaining it away or slurring it over.” There can be no worthy motive for such conduct. Truth loves to appear in its own colors; it does not apologize for existing; it has an inde-feasible, God-given right to exist. Error, on the contrary, seeks

disguises ; it has no rights ; it can, at best, be only tolerated. To suppress one jot or one tittle of Catholic truth, or to compromise in the least with error, is dishonorable, if not even criminal. The "disciplina arcani," observed by the early Christians, was a wise provision for times of persecution ; but it was meant to screen the sacred mysteries from profanation, and not to withhold the truth from the world. In our days there is no longer the same excuse for reticence. On the contrary, it is the greatest folly to attempt to conceal the teachings of the Catholic Church from the world, because any one who wishes will find them fully presented by our standard writers. It is a dangerous policy to mince and minimize those teachings. It acts as a boomerang, which returns with redoubled force upon those who use it. Such a policy was resorted to by some in England when Catholic emancipation was first mooted. They retarded the whole movement, because they asked for emancipation with a restriction, to the exclusion of those whom they considered too "Roman." Such a policy, again, was resorted to by some when there was question of the re-establishment of the English hierarchy. They furnished Mr. Gladstone years after with arguments against "Vaticanism," because they professed to be Catholics indeed, but not "Ultramontanes." Fortunately, every one who claims to be a Catholic must now be "Roman and Ultramontane." Gallicanism, with all its concomitant errors, was forever buried by the Vatican Council. It is time to have done with trimming and truckling to real or supposed prejudices, especially in the United States. Americans love frankness and candor. They want to be told the truth, the whole truth and nothing but the truth. Nothing irritates them more than to find that they have been "taken in." They may not always agree with you, but they will admire you if you speak to them plainly. This the Pope does in his encyclical. He teaches nothing new. He merely repeats what has always been taught in the Catholic schools, viz., that the Church is then most happily circumstanced when it is not only fairly treated but actively favored by the State ; in other words, when the Catholic ideal of union of Church and State is fully realized. Even a partial separation of the two is more or less at variance with man's destiny upon earth and with the designs of the divine founder of Christianity. It is not the normal condition of Christian society. Hence it is "an error that must be uprooted," to hold that in America is to be sought the *model* of the most desirable condition of the Church.

### III.

Yet perfect union of Church and State, though desirable in the abstract, is not always practicable or even consistent with justice and

equity.<sup>1</sup> The Church was indeed commissioned to spread the light of faith everywhere. Her ministers were told to go into the whole world and announce the Gospel to every creature. She received an undivided spiritual empire, according to the prediction of David, "I will give to thee the gentiles for thy inheritance and the utmost parts of the earth for thy possession." Jew and gentile are therefore morally bound to enter her communion and render allegiance to her. But, however clear her title to universal sovereignty over the consciences of men, so long as nations have not enrolled themselves under her standard, they are not her subjects, and consequently union of the Church with the State is simply preposterous. Fancy her dictating to the Roman Cæsars—to a Nero, a Caligula or a Diocletian—and launching against them the thunders of her anathemas! Or fancy those tyrants protecting, favoring and fostering her!

There was, it is true, even in pagan Rome a sort of State religion, but it was an idolatrous religion. It was because the Cæsars believed the prosperity of imperial Rome to depend upon preserving the old superstitions, upon burning incense before blocks of wood and stone, upon listening in breathless silence to the ambiguous oracles of Apollo and his augurs and upon piling the spoils captured in battle on the altar of victory, that they waged against the new religion a relentless war, protracted through three centuries of blood. All the while the State was abusing its authority in the most flagrant manner. Nevertheless the Christians recognized its existence, and, however strong their convictions, however undeniable their right to worship the crucified Nazarene as their God, they bowed in all that was lawful to the powers that were. They believed, they preached, they practised the religion of the Gospel; they confessed the name of Jesus before governors and peoples, before patricians and plebeians; they bled and died, and from their very ashes there sprang up a nation of believers.

And yet the old paganism maintained its hegemony in State affairs. The worship of the mythological divinities was identified with the most intimate relations of private and public life. Jupiter swayed the destinies of gods and men; Vesta guarded the sanctity of the household; Ceres presided over the harvest and the vintage; Bacchus led the banquet and the feast; Mercury protected and promoted commerce; Minerva encouraged literature and philosophy; Thetis decided suits in the halls of justice; Nemesis punished the guilty. In brief, idolatry was the State religion and, by its lying omens, often terrified the emperors into acts of

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<sup>1</sup> *Cfr.* Manning's Reply to Gladstone's "Vaticanism."



persecution which their better nature abhorred. It was not until Constantine had knelt before the mysterious sign in the heavens—not until the vast majority of the people had embraced the teachings of the gospel—not until the laws of Christian morality had begun to govern the conduct of the community at large—not until pagan principles and pagan maxims had died a natural death—not until the temples of the false gods had been deserted, for want of worshippers, and the altars had ceased to blaze with the fire of sacrifice, for want of idolatrous priests, that Christianity came forward, and without violence, without aggression, without intrigue, but by a natural sequence of events and the power of divine truth, took its place as the State religion, and the Christian Church became the State Church.

Turn we now from the civilized Romans to the savage hordes of the North—to the Britons, the Saxons, the Angles, the Franks and the Danes—and we shall see that everywhere the subjugation to Christian faith and Christian rule was brought about in a similar manner. The blood of martyrs flowed and fertilized the Gospel seeds; and a new generation started into being. The existing national customs were not destroyed, but purified; and by an insensible, providential agency, pagan barbarism was transformed into Christian civilization. The secular power was not interfered with or supplanted, but assisted and supported. Instead of being guided by the natural law alone, the State was guided by the whole law of God, both natural and positive, as expounded by the Church of Christ. "Until a Christian world existed," observes Cardinal Manning, "there was no *apta materia*. It was only when a Christian world came into existence that the civil society of men became subject to the spiritual direction of the Church. So long as individuals only subjected themselves, one by one, to its authority, the conditions for the exercise of its office [as a State Church] were not fully present. . . . It is only when nations and kingdoms become socially subject to the supreme doctrinal and judicial authority of the Church that the conditions of its exercise are verified. . . . When the whole had become Christian the whole became subject to the divine law of which the Roman Pontiff was the supreme expositor and executive."

Upon this subject our canonists are unanimous in teaching, with Cardinal Tarquini, that "over infidels, that is, such as have never been admitted by Baptism into the communion of the Church, she exercises no directive power." They base their conclusion upon Chapter V., verse 12, of the first Epistle to the Corinthians, where the Apostle writes: "What have I to do, to judge them that are without?" Whence they infer: 1st. That a pagan civil society is wholly extraneous to the Church of Christ. 2dly. That a pagan

society, as far as its religion is concerned, is unlawful, because there is but one lawful religious society, and that is the Church of Christ, to which pagan society is extraneous. 3dly. That, therefore, between such a society and the Church of Christ there is a perpetual warfare, waged on the part of the Church by the spiritual weapons of the word—"non gladio sed lingua."

Heathenism is no more ; yet, in many respects, the complexion of modern society is as pagan as when St. Peter first bent his steps along the "Via Sacra," to plant the emblem of salvation on the highest pinnacle of the seven-hilled city, or when St. Augustine landed on the shores of Albion, to announce to Ethelbert the glad tidings of the Gospel. Many nations have apostatized from the faith and from Christ. In the words of the Psalmist : "The gentiles have raged and the people devised vain things. The kings of the earth stood up and the princes met together, against the Lord and against his Christ." Countless thousands, even in our large cities, within the very shadow of a Christian temple, are unregenerated pagans, in nowise under the jurisdiction of Mother Church ; others, though they have received a doubtful Baptism, have never known or acknowledged her authority. The State has revolted, as a whole and in its public life, from the unity of the Christian dispensation. In this respect, writes Cardinal Manning, it differs *toto cælo* from mediæval society. The ancient world was without the unity of the Church *de facto et de jure*; the modern world is without it at least *de facto* ; and this has changed the moral conditions of the subject. The Church never, indeed, loses its jurisdiction *in radice* ; but, unless the moral condition of the subject justify its exercise, it never puts its forth.<sup>1</sup>

These few reflections will suffice to convince all fair-minded American Protestants, that their fears of "papal aggression" are wholly unfounded. Upon closer inspection and analysis of the subject, the spectre which haunts them will prove to be nothing but an innocent optical illusion. It is conjured up by inherited prejudice, and will be readily dispelled by a little closer acquaintance with Catholic principles and claims. Briefly, all their objections are met by simply assuring them that, on the part of Catholics, they have nothing to dread from complete union of Church and State ; because, in this country, the essential conditions for complete union of Church and State, in the Catholic sense, are wanting, and therefore such a union is absolutely impossible.

But the case is altogether different in a civil society of Christians united in the profession of the same faith. Such a society is distinguished from others in that it consists of the same members

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<sup>1</sup> Reply to Mr. Gladstone's *Vaticanism*.

as the Church. The same individuals, therefore, are bound by a twofold obligation—an obligation towards the State, whose immediate and direct aim is to promote the temporal felicity of its subjects, and an obligation towards the Church, whose mission is to insure the eternal bliss of mankind. Their study upon earth must be, according to the prayer of the Church, “so to pass through temporal goods as not to lose those that are eternal.”

The Catholic State, therefore, in respect of the Church, is like a circle intersecting another circle, having some points in common, while others lie without its periphery. Some of its political and social relations may be dictated by purely temporal considerations. But many others will have a religious bearing. The peculiar views of political parties about national finances and national banks, about free-trade and protective tariff, about a gold and silver standard, about standing armies and military posts, may be matters of indifference from a religious point of view, but the education of youth, the laws regarding divorce, the licensing of places destined for public amusement, the management of asylums and reformatories, and a hundred other things of a like nature, are all of vital importance to the Christian believer; and upon these his conscience and his Church claim a hearing. Now upon all, or nearly all of these, men like the Rev. Mr. Talmage and the Rev. Mr. Snyder hold opinions widely different from those held by the authorities of the Catholic or the Anglican Church. One denounces as immoral and degrading what another recommends as moral and refining. Yet the State, which is the guardian of public morality, must of necessity take some stand in regard to these matters; and, therefore, whether it will or not, it must conform its conduct to the ethics of the one or of the other. “There can be no political or social problem,” said Proudhon years ago, “that has not behind it a religious dogma.”

Nothing, therefore, is more inaccurate or misleading than the bold and broad assertion, which seems to have become an axiom with certain schools of thought, that the Church has nothing to do with politics, because they lie wholly outside of her sphere. Were politics only the petty wranglings and squabblings of parties quarreling over the spoils of office, the assertion might be allowed to pass unchallenged. But politics, in the nobler and truer sense of the word, deal with the proper administration of public affairs, and the conduct of moral agents, with all their duties and responsibilities, with all their rights and privileges. And in this sense the assertion, that the Church has nothing to do with politics, because they lie wholly out of her sphere, is certainly incorrect. For the Church embraces as her sphere the whole range of conscience and moral obligation; and politics are simply the expression



of the public conscience or of "the conscience of the State," as Mr. Gladstone very appropriately calls it. So long as the general politics of a country are conformed to the moral law, the government will be administered in the true interests of the people. When they have become corrupt, the nation will soon fall a victim to the rapacity of unscrupulous factions. Politics represent the collective morals of society. The ethics which regulate the actions of the individual, the ecclesiastical laws which bind the private Christian in his personal relations with other men, become politics in the government of states. The civil ruler or sovereign is bound by those laws in his official capacity no less than in his private life; and within the limits of these laws, the subject owes his ruler fealty and civil allegiance. Both the one and the other admit the same objective standard or rule of morality. They freely embraced Christianity; but, having once embraced it, they are bound by its laws.<sup>1</sup>

#### IV.

Perfect union of Church and State is, therefore, a necessary consequence of such a condition of civil society as we have just been supposing. It is no longer optional either with the ruler or with the subject, but a stringent obligation resulting from their common religious convictions.

For, the civil society of Catholics, argues Cardinal Tarquini may be viewed under a twofold aspect, viz. : *materially*, in as far as it is a collection of individual believers, and *formally*, in as far as it pursues the specific end of a civil society. And from neither point of view can it be indifferent to the interests of the Church, or deaf to her voice.

Viewed materially, that is simply as a collection of individual believers, attentive to their Christian duties, the social body is bound to have at heart the welfare of the Church, which is the same as the spiritual welfare of all its members; and to listen to her warnings, which are identical with the warnings of their consciences. To be wanting in this respect is a virtual denial of the faith and treason against God, whose will all the citizens recognize in the authoritative utterances of the Church. Men enter her vast spiritual communion, with all their relations towards their fellow-men, the king with his sceptre, the soldier with his arms, the lawyer with his brief, the diplomatist with his mission to foreign parts, the writer with his pen, the scientist with his theories; and in all their relations with others, public no less than private, they are bound by the laws of the Gospel, as interpreted for them by the infallible teacher to whose authority they submit. For the

<sup>1</sup> Cfr. Card. Manning, *Four Great Evils*, p. 76.

supreme spiritual jurisdiction of the Church extends over the entire field of faith and morals ; and the end which she proposes to herself is final and absolute, subordinating and influencing all other ends. In a thoroughly Catholic commonwealth, therefore, complete union of Church and State is the natural condition of society ; a severance of that union is a crime, an act of infidelity, a breach of a sacred trust. To that union, as well as to Christian wedlock, we may apply the words of Christ, "What God hath joined, let not man put asunder."

We shall come to the same conclusion if we consider Catholic civil society formally, that is, in as far as it pursues its own specific end as a society. For such a society, as is manifest, must promote the temporal welfare of man, not absolutely but relatively, not independently, but dependently on the eternal destiny for which he was created.

"The end," writes the Angelic Doctor, "which the civil ruler must propose to himself and others is eternal bliss, which consists in the possession of God." And again : "Whosoever is required to do a work directed to something else as to its end, must take heed that his work be adapted to that end. The smith makes a sword, so that it may be serviceable in battle ; the builder constructs a house, so that it may be suited for a dwelling. Since, therefore, the end of this present life is heavenly bliss, it is a part of the ruler's duty so to order the present life of the multitude that it may be a preparation for heavenly bliss ; to enjoin what will aid men to reach their eternal destiny, and, as far as in him lies, to forbid what will prove an obstacle." Now, this eternal destiny the Catholic believes it impossible for him to reach, except in the bosom of the Catholic Church and by obedience to her precepts. For him conscience, religion, and Church are convertible terms ; conscience is only the monitor reminding him of his obligations, religion is the collection of those obligations and of the dogmas underlying them, the Church is the accredited depository, the custodian and the interpreter of those dogmas and obligations. Whether this belief is well-founded or not, whether the human intellect is capable of attaining to absolute certainty concerning religious truth, or is doomed to be forever the victim of doubt, all these are questions belonging to the domain of dogmatic theology, and foreign to our present purpose. Suffice it to remark in passing, that religious truth, once found, obligates the State, no less than the isolated individual ; the judge on the bench and the popular delegate in the council chambers of the nation, no less than the priest in the pulpit, or the sexton in the vestry. "Thou hast confessed the sins of Charles," said Soto to a powerful monarch, "confess now the sins of the emperor."

A Christian sovereign has one set of duties as a private Christian, and another set, not less stringent, as a Christian ruler. "As a private Christian," writes St. Augustine, "he is bound to conform his private life to his faith; as a Christian ruler he is bound to make and enforce such laws as are conformable to his faith. Thus did Ezechias, when he destroyed the groves and shrines dedicated to the worship of idols; thus did the king of Ninive, when he induced all the citizens to appease the wrath of the Almighty in sackcloth and ashes; thus did Nabuchodonosor when he forbade his subjects to blaspheme the God of Israel. . . . When the kings of the earth did not yet serve the true God, but devised vain things against the Lord and against his Christ, impiety could not be prohibited by law; because the laws of the land rather increased it. But now that the prophecy has been fulfilled which says, 'All the kings of the earth shall adore Him, all the nations shall serve Him, who will dare tell the sovereign: 'Take no heed whether your subjects defend or attack the Church of your God; it is not your duty to see if the citizens be religious or irreligious, believers or unbelievers?' As well might you say to the ruler: 'It is not your duty to see if the citizens be moral or immoral.' Or tell me, is it less criminal in the Christian soul to be unfaithful to her God, than in the wife to be unfaithful to her spouse?'"

When God laid the first foundations of human society, He said: "It is not good for man to be alone; let us make him a help like unto himself." Behold here the aim of all society—to give man a help like unto himself, a help conformable to his nature and his needs. Now, is a help conformable to his nature and his needs, if it does not assist him in the prosecution of his last end? And what is his last end, but eternal salvation? Catholic civil society, therefore, cannot prescind from the eternal salvation of its members, whose attainment is the direct object of the Church. In other words, the Catholic State cannot logically disconnect itself from the Church to pursue its own private ends. Even a partial disunion or separation introduces a fatal dualism, which reason as well as revelation must condemn. For, as St. Augustine argues, the happiness of the State rests on the same foundation as the happiness of the individual citizen—"non aliunde beata civitas, aliunde homo." To understand the real malice of this partial separation of Church and State in a Catholic community, or, what amounts to the same thing, of political indifferentism in religious matters, it is sufficient to remember that it cuts off civil society from the benefits of the redemption, which come to us through the true Church as through their channel.<sup>1</sup>

Referring to the advocates of this partial separation, Pius IX.

<sup>1</sup> *Conf. Card. Hergenroether, Church and State, passim.*



declared in his well-known address to the prelates assembled from all parts of the world for the canonization of the Japanese martyrs, that "those men destroy totally the necessary connection which, by the divine will, exists between the natural and the supernatural." And Monseigneur Pie, the pious and illustrious Bishop of Poitiers, commenting upon these solemn words, remarks that, what is called "the spirit of the age," claims the right of living according to the dictates of unaided natural reason alone, and considers that it cannot forego that right without signing its own death-warrant. Hence it logically rejects revelation, or a supernatural manifestation of God's good pleasure, as an infringement upon the "Rights of man," defended by Voltaire and Thomas Payne. Herein consists the essence and the virus of *Naturalism*, which is the political creed of many who would shrink from it with horror in the intercourse of private life. "Very many," observes the learned prelate, "throw themselves into the arms of this naturalism, more or less specious, more or less gratifying to fallen man. Their intellectual pride is flattered by it, and their other passions are not molested. Holding on to a few principles of natural morality, they escape the humiliating and often painful supervision of a divinely constituted authority, and are left to their own devices."

Like an experienced and skilful physician who makes the diagnosis of a case at a glance, Pius IX. pointed to this as the chief ailment of modern society. "You are aware, Venerable Brethren," wrote the Holy Father in the memorable encyclical dated 8th December, 1864, "that in these times there are found not a few who apply to civil society the impious and absurd principles of naturalism, and who do not blush to maintain that the good of public society and of civil progress imperatively demands that human society be established and governed without any more regard to religion than if it did not exist at all, or at least that no distinction be made between true and false religions."

And here we beg to note incidentally that by these words the Sovereign Pontiff did not mean absolutely to condemn partial separation of Church and State or the practice of political toleration extended to dissenting creeds, when Christian civil society is not in its normal condition which he presupposes. What he does condemn, and what every Catholic must condemn with him, is the doctrine that the system of total, or at least partial, separation described by him is in itself the best and most favorable to progress and enlightenment. As though Christ were not in "the true light which enlighteneth every man who cometh into this world!" As though man were morally free to grope his way through the dark and intricate mazes of modern social and political life guided solely by the small, flickering torch of natural reason!

## V.

But we must hasten to give at least the skeleton of another argument which addresses itself more directly to the understanding of the worldly and carnal-minded who relish only the things that are of earth.

If you ask any of this class of men what they consider the mission of civil society to be, they will promptly reply that it is the temporal felicity or well-being of man upon earth. Well then, assuming their premiss, we argue: The temporal felicity or well-being of man in civil society depends, in a great measure, upon perfect union and harmony of mind and thought. But perfect union and harmony of mind and thought are unattainable without unity and agreement in religious matters. Therefore the temporal felicity or well-being of man in civil society depends, in a great measure, upon unity and agreement in religious matters.

But unity and agreement in religious matters are morally impossible without perfect union of Church and State. Therefore the temporal felicity or well-being of man in civil society depends, in a great measure, upon perfect union of Church and State. Therefore civil society must promote that union by all the lawful means in its power. To understand the full force of this argument it is well to remember that, according to St. Augustine's definition, society is an assemblage of men living together in concord—a harmonious multitude of intelligent beings intent upon the pursuit of happiness, and so far from clashing or interfering with each other, that they give each other mutual aid and assistance. Its perfect type was found among those early Christian communities, of which the Sacred Text records that "all were one heart and one soul." And how is that union of heart and soul to be attained if there is diversity of opinion, or perhaps dissension, concerning the most important of all questions that can engage the attention of man concerning his eternal destiny in the world to come and the means by which he is to reach it? Union of heart and soul is attainable only through truth, because the intellect is made for truth, and it will not rest except in the possession of truth.

It is all very well to "respect one another's religious convictions," as men are now fond of expressing themselves. Yet it frequently places us in the most embarrassing circumstances. It is all very well to say that we shall "agree to disagree;" we all understand that often this is the only course left us in a community divided upon religious issues. But it could not have been intended by Christ when He elevated human society to the supernatural plane, and proposed to it the attainment of a higher and nobler aim—the realization of that divine ideal, of which even Plato and Aristotle seem to have had some faint foreshadowings. There is



scarcely anything so conducive to social happiness as a free and unconstrained expression of our inmost feelings, or anything that so mars it as a forced reticence and reserve concerning those things that are uppermost in our minds and that constitute our purest and holiest pleasures. Nor, indeed, is it possible to be so guarded as never to wound the religious susceptibilities of others. He that knows himself to be in the possession of religious truth will seek to communicate it to others, or, at least, he will consider himself called upon to defend it against real or fancied aggressions, and will justly prefer his duty towards his God and his conscience to courtesy towards his fellow-men.

In a community divided upon religious matters it is impossible to avoid bickerings, animosities and strife without falling into what is infinitely worse—absolute religious indifferentism. Need we allude here to the religious wars which have at different times devastated many fair provinces of Europe, or to the scenes which have disgraced even our own brief national existence? Only a few years ago a minister of the Gospel felt inspired to inaugurate a religious war, and to lay before Congress a formal petition to remodel the Constitution with the view of depriving Catholics of the privileges and immunities of American citizenship, and there have existed at various times, and now exist, organizations whose avowed purpose is to disfranchise all that acknowledge the spiritual sovereignty of the Pope. Let us assume, for the sake of argument, that all these persons are *in bona fide*, that they are animated by the purest motives and think that they are doing a service to God; or, if you will, let us suppose that they are enthusiasts, zealots, bigots, religious maniacs; this will only strengthen our position. As a matter of fact, all religious movements not conducted by the true Church of God, usually begin in fanaticism and end in apathy or systematic contempt of all forms of religion. Such, as both history and our own experience testify, has been the logical outcome of the Protestant Reformation. Surrounded by a thousand jarring, wrangling sects, each claiming to be the mouthpiece of heaven, the peace-loving citizen too often ends by being thoroughly disgusted with them all, and, first in public and then in private, gives up the practice of religion and perhaps even the belief in Christianity. Many go further still: disinclined, or unfitted by nature and education, to make a special study of the questions that agitate the religious world, they satisfy themselves that any effort to find the truth must prove abortive, and conclude that not only Christianity but all religion is a huge swindle and imposture.

The State is even more embarrassed than the private individual. It is bound, on the one hand, to safeguard public morality, and yet, on the other hand, it cannot presume to sit in judgment on



questions of Christian morality any more than on questions of Christian dogma. Both belong to the spiritual order, and therefore fall directly under the supervision of the Church. In brief, as Garcia Moreno used to say, the Christian State must be the right arm of the Church. But how can it be the right arm of the Church if the Church is represented only by an ever-increasing number of warring sects? How can it be the guardian of public morality, if the highest ecclesiastical courts return contradictory judgments as to what is moral or immoral? The civil authorities are puzzled where to draw the line, and, despite their best intentions, they run the risk of practically favoring immorality and irreligion. Thus it happens that, wherever the State does not recognize the authoritative decisions of the Catholic Church, the laws affecting public morals are becoming daily more and more relaxed. There may now and then be restraining causes which will temporarily stay the progress of the evil, but the State, as such, is utterly helpless. Separated from the Church, it has no objective standard or criterion of Christian morality, and, therefore, it cannot efficaciously enforce morality. The wider the breach between the secular and the spiritual, the more rapid will naturally be the decline of public morality and, therefore, of public peace and happiness. Hence it is that, in many lands, there goes up from every side the wail of the Latin poet :

Sævior armis  
Luxuria incubuit, victumque ulciscitur orbem."

Pius IX. was right, therefore, when, speaking of Catholic civil society, he condemned the following proposition: "In our age it is no longer expedient to maintain the Catholic religion as the only State religion, to the exclusion of all other forms of worship."

It is scarcely necessary to remark that the word "State religion," as here used by the Holy Father, points to a real union of Church and State in the Catholic sense, and not to a mere semblance of union, such as is still kept up in certain countries in which the State has rejected not only the authority of the Catholic Church, but Christianity itself. Yet, may not some advantages accrue to religion and to society from a purely external union between the ecclesiastical and the civil power, from diplomatic relations between their respective representatives, from concordats by means of which a *modus vivendi* is agreed upon, in brief, from the accidentals of union when the essentials are wanting? Many American Catholics, who judge other lands by our own, will answer emphatically: "No, there can be no advantage in such a sham union. It simply comes to this, that, for the sake of a miserable allowance, paid

by the State out of the ecclesiastical property which it has robbed, the Church is kept in perpetual bondage. The sooner she shakes off her shackles, the better it will be for her. The Holy See will then be free to promote the most worthy persons to ecclesiastical dignities; the clergy, dependent upon the faithful, instead of an infidel government, will labor zealously among them and for them; the laity, in their turn, will take an interest in Church affairs, because they have a share in them, and all will appreciate their religion the more, because it costs them something. Let Catholics abroad learn a lesson from us, and very soon religion will revive and flourish among them."

This reasoning is certainly very specious and, at first sight, appears convincing, but it proceeds on the assumption that the conditions elsewhere are the same as among us, and that what is possible here is also possible there. Now, nothing could be further from the truth. Here the faithful have long been accustomed to give generously to the Church; there, on the contrary, they have been supported by the Church. Here even the common people can easily lay by a little of their earnings; there the masses are starving for want of the necessities of life. Here the Church is mostly composed of those whose ancestors for generations had to fight for their faith; there the Catholics have not yet learned to defend their rights. Here there is an inherited love of conservatism; there any wild theory, broached by some daring leader, carries away the crowd. Here there is a vigorous public opinion which, as a rule, makes for righteousness; there the fatherly interest of the Sovereign Pontiff seems at times to be almost the only safeguard of religion and Christian civilization.

Whether the diplomatic intervention of the Holy See will suffice for any length of time to restrain the forces of lawlessness and impiety within their present bounds, God only knows. The indications are that, in several countries, the usurpers of popular rights, who have foisted their rule upon the nation, are bent upon bringing about a complete rupture with the Church. Should they succeed in their attempt, there is no foretelling what persecutions may burst upon those unhappy lands. For human perversity has reached its climax. The Vicar of Christ knows this full well and does his utmost to protect his flock from the ravening wolves. If he is forbearing and goes to the very limits of concession and conciliation, it is not for the sake of earthly gain, but for the sake of immortal souls which are in jeopardy. The seeming union between the Catholic Church and the infidel State, kept up by the Holy See, is meant to prevent a real union of Church and State of the Protestant type—that is, a subjection of the Church to the State. For there is no disguising the fact that

the more union of Church and State in the Catholic sense diminishes, the more union in the Protestant sense increases. "A free Church in a free State" is a figment or an imposture of infidel politicians, intended to deceive the unwary Christian. The Church and State are not like two forces moving in parallel lines without ever crossing each other's paths. They rather resemble two planets revolving in their respective orbits, but often coming within the sphere of mutual attraction. They are constantly and necessarily acting and reacting on each other. The only question is whether the spiritual shall preponderate over the material or the material over the spiritual; whether the State shall be the willing auxiliary of the Church or the Church the unwilling slave of the State.

It is not the Pope only who advocates perfect union of Church and State. The bitterest enemies of the Church are quite as pronounced as he upon the subject, only they wish to bring it about in a different manner and for a different purpose. Not to mention the Tsar of Russia, in whose hands the schismatical State-Church is nothing but a powerful political engine, it is well known that Bismarck's day-dream was the establishment of a strong State-Church, of a great national Church, which should unify the various portions of the new empire under the "Kaiser" as pope and the Prince-Chancellor as high camerlengo. What particular set of doctrines was to be taught as of faith divine, whether that of the conservative Lutheran Church or that of the handful of apostates from the ranks of Rome, styled Old Catholics, was a secondary consideration. The main point was that everything should redound to the glory of fatherland. The cardinal principle of the national religion was to be statolatry—that is, adoration of the State, of the great and worshipful Prussian empire and of its tutelary genius, Prince Von Bismarck. "Allah is God and Mahomet is his prophet."

Whether a perfect union between Church and State, in the Catholic sense, will ever again be established, whether a full reconciliation of the secular with the spiritual will ever be effected, it is vain to inquire. "This much at least is quite certain," wrote a learned contributor to the *Dublin Review* years ago, "that they can never come to a sincere agreement unless one or the other of the parties suffer a change of principles and becomes what Scripture calls 'a new creation.' The governments must submit to a baptism, or the Church, by proving unfaithful to God, must relinquish her office of teaching the truth, and, as a necessary sequel, must perish altogether. For the religion of atheism has hitherto not assumed a tangible shape. Only a complete revolution in thought and feeling can give peace to the world. Such changes we see little reason to anticipate as yet; the dawns of



hope that we can trace in the sky are very faint; nor would we altogether trust them. It is more consonant with the tone of present literature and with social habits and tendencies to hold that a long conflict is still to be fought, and that troubles are likely to thicken in the course of the next few years. But here at all events is a master-key to the problems that so confuse our public life, if we have the skill to apply it."

R. J. M.

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### HYPOTHETICS.

**I**F man never conceived ideas other than those forced upon him by experience, it would be difficult to understand the benefit of possessing an intellect at all. Susceptible merely of impressions from without, he would gradually accumulate a knowledge of the present and the past; but every striving after future progress would be a plunge into the dark, and any real development resulting from the effort would be the product, not of calculation, but of chance.

All there is of advancement, of civilization, all that makes human history worthy of the race, is the outcome of that form of anticipation which we call hypothesis. Without a succession of hypotheses, science would be at a standstill, literature would lose half its treasures, and even the interest of the daily press would begin to fail. We should want a new name for a world consisting solely of facts, and for a race unable to think or act outside the confines of the actual.

Hypotheses are the dolls and Noah's Ark of grown-up mankind. No observant mind can fail to recognize this. Prophecy, even as a mere exercise of imagination, lifts us above the monotony of dull present facts. Let us only imagine how things may go on in the future, and the history of times to come becomes more possible than the history of the past. Hypothesis does not claim to be prophecy, but it possesses even a greater charm. Whole generations of boys, and men too, will be delighted with Jules Verne, because he excels in the production of a novel world by the skilful use of a hypothesis. It has become a favorite mode both of advocating and refuting socialism, to assume its universal acceptance, and picture the state of the world in a hundred years to

come. These are delightful trivialities, amusing and not useless; they serve to pass an idle hour, and may end in giving point and interest to an aimless life.

But when it comes to serious work, the use of hypothesis calls for a treatise, and the value of its product for a censorship. In Mark Twain's modernized fable of the fox and crow, the nineteenth century bird, wiser than its ancestor, firmly clutches the cheese with its claw before attempting to sing a note. Yet even in this wise, modern world we still see mouths opened to announce some revolutionizing discovery, and dropping in the act the hypothetical "if" on which the truth of that discovery depends. So long as the cheese is there not a sound can be uttered; swallow it, digest it, turn it into solid substantiality and strength, then sing your song at will. So long as the "if" is in the premise, no true find has been made. Work the "if" into a truth, and we will not wait to be revolutionized by your discoveries; we will revolutionize ourselves.

Yet, even as necessity is the mother of invention, so hypothesis is the preceptor, the tutor, the go-cart and leading strings of discovery. Necessity says you must do something. Hypothesis tells you how to set about it. Hypothesis gives no truth to its products, but it anticipates the unknown and the desirable, colors them with probability, gives goal, direction and incentive to the search. No man will begin explorations till he has some notion what he is about. He must have something definite to look for, or some definite place to look in, and in either case some consideration to make search worth his while. To look for a needle in a haystack is not so hopeless after all. The man knows what he is looking for, and where to look for it. But he must first have an inkling that there is a needle there, and he must be badly in want of one before the task will be worth his while. Offer a reward of £1000 for every needle found in that situation, and, putting aside fraud, I fancy not a few needy souls would be found hanging round the farm-yards of the country, making furtive pokes into the haystacks whenever they thought themselves unseen.

We leave out of count discoveries made by chance. Those that come from laborious investigation need a definite starting-point and a definite direction. The starting-point must be an unsolved problem—a question asked, but not answered, or not satisfactorily answered. It must be a question worth a solution, one that the world is interested in, or will be interested in, when it hears of it. The world is interested in the question whether Mars is inhabited, whether there are new gases to be found, whether the validity of human knowledge can be rendered impregnable to doubt. Here are three types: the first supplies a definite object and a definite

place where to look for it; the second provides an indefinite object, but a definite field; the third supplies the object itself, and only asks the explorer what can be made out of it.

But given the object and the field of search, a motive to make labor worth the while, and a laborer willing to work, nothing but an intelligent anticipation of results will tell the laborer how to set about it. If life in Mars is to be discovered, no good will come of spying through a telescope, multiply its resolving power as we will. We must study spectra, and look for life-supporting air; we must study life itself, and find out under what minimum of conditions life can subsist. We shall end in discovering a possibility or an impossibility, and perhaps must rest content with that. If a new gas is to be discovered, we must cultivate suspicions about the purity of known gases, pry about after adulterations, test weights and volumes, practice every kind of violence to obtain chemical resolvents. To silence the clamor of the sceptic and the agnostic, the idealist and the advocate of methodic doubt, each man must satisfy himself of the validity of his own knowledge, learn all that has been said for and against it, abolish or set up systems, reduce all adversaries to a contradiction, wring out their confession, prick their inflated skin, let the bad gas out, make them empty and dumb.

Samuel Taylor Coleridge was as brilliant in mind as he was indolent in body; there was no limit to his schemes, and every limit to their execution. During his lifetime he talked about his "great work" of philosophy just as if it were in the press. When he died he left the legacy of writing it *ab ovo* to another man.<sup>1</sup> One of his schemes embraced the whole range of human knowledge. Of this he wrote the preface and the table of contents, and then stopped. This preface touched deeply on the science of method. It was a favorite theme with Coleridge; over and over again in his works he insists on "the necessity of a mental initiative to all method:"<sup>2</sup>

"In order to make your facts speak truth," he once observed, "you must know what the truth is which ought to be proved—the ideal truth, the truth which was, consciously or unconsciously, strongly or weakly, wisely or foolishly, intended at all times."<sup>3</sup>

A somewhat paradoxical speech, which those who do not know Coleridge might take for an encouragement of huckstering philosophers. What he meant, however, was this:

<sup>1</sup> J. H. Green, the pupil of Coleridge, who expounded the doctrine of his master in a two-volume work, entitled *Spiritual Philosophy*.

<sup>2</sup> *The Friend*, vol. iii., p. 133.

<sup>3</sup> *Table Talk*, p. 234.



"No investigation in the non-mathematical sciences can be carried on in a way deserving to be called philosophical, unless the investigator have in himself a mental initiative, or, what comes to the same thing, unless he set out with an intuition of the ultimate aim or idea of the science or aggregation of facts to be explained or interpreted."<sup>1</sup>

In the preface just mentioned (which, unfortunately, I cannot now lay my hands on) Coleridge illustrated this view by the example of Columbus, fortified against all difficulties, and undaunted by every kind of physical and moral obstacle, to carry out and bring into reality the hypothesis of a western route to the Indies. Great discoverers, he observes, seem to possess an intuition almost amounting to second-sight; a power of perceiving meanings in small indications, which ordinary minds regard as chimerical.<sup>2</sup> So keen is their vision, so strong their hope, that they will stake lives and all, confident of the result. "*Robur et aes triplex*" surround their heart, because the light of prophecy is in their mind.

Such hypotheses are regarded by the general as maggots in the brain; and maggots they remain, till the result converts hypothesis into fact. Then, the discoverer is hailed as a genius; till then, as eccentric or mad. Dryden's epigram on the kinship of great wit to madness is true, not only in the sense in which he originally intended it,<sup>3</sup> but in this secondary sense, that success or failure in results determines which, in the opinion of the world, it shall be.

In order to succeed, it is not enough to build up a complete logical structure. Out of logical structures we build libraries, not worlds. Truth is secondary where amusement, not instruction, is the aim. Given that it is novel men will buy and read; but it remains "so-and-so's system," and never becomes the system of the human race. It is all very well, says humanity; but where are the facts?

It is another tale when hypothesis, wedded to enthusiasm, gives birth to great realities. James Watt wrote no books, published no theories, blasted no trumpets, tickled no prurient ears; but he boxed in an almighty power, tamed it, let it out to drive the world. Emerson tells us how he did it better than I can. He says:

"Steam was till the other day the devil which we dreaded. Every pot made by any human potter or brazier had a hole in its cover to let off the enemy, lest he should lift pot and roof, and carry the house away. But the Marquis of Worcester, Watt and

<sup>1</sup> Note to the same place, by H. N. Coleridge.

<sup>2</sup> "Knowing much of the past, alike from the teaching of others and from their own experience, they are apt to perceive the future as with the true eye of the seer, and surprise the thoughtless with seemingly prophetic decisions." So George Moore (*The Power of the Soul Over the Body*, chap. v., p. 215.)

<sup>3</sup> "*Nullum magnum ingenium sine mixtura dementiae.*"—*Seneca*.

Fulton bethought themselves that where was power was not devil, but was God; that it must be availed of, and not by any means let off and wasted. Could he lift pots and roofs and houses so handily, he was the workman they were in search of. He could be used to lift away, chain and compel other devils far more reluctant and dangerous, namely, cubic miles of earth, mountains, weight or resistance of water, machinery, and the labors of all men in the world; and in time he shall lengthen and shorten space."<sup>1</sup>

So do great men engrave their own effigies in the hearts of the race, not by their speculative endeavors, but by their practical productions; and only by their hypotheses so far as they issue in solid facts. Again, who does not feel himself a better man, and the human race a better race, after reading about Schliemann's discoveries at Troy? Yet a mere boy of seven was Schliemann when his mind conceived and anticipated the fruits of that mighty life-work. From those tender years he talked and thought of this, and of all other things only for this. "Thanks to God," he writes in his old age, "my firm belief in the existence of that Troy has never forsaken me amid all the vicissitudes of my eventful career."<sup>2</sup> "And who," asks Professor Virchow:

"Who would have undertaken such great works, continued through so many years—have spent such large means out of his own fortune—have dug through layers of *débris* heaped one on the other in a series that seemed almost endless, down to the deep-lying virgin soil—except a man who was penetrated with an assured, nay an enthusiastic, conviction? The Burnt City would still have lain to this day hidden in the earth, had not imagination guided the spade."<sup>3</sup>

Imagination, not as a source of delusion making fancies mimic facts, but as a creator of possibilities, director and incentive of energy—the initiative of severe inquiry, ending in facts year by year more duly appreciated at their proper worth—the death-blow of historic scepticism.

It is not always so; other and equal efforts, with less light in the eye and less balance in the mind, bring forth untimely fruits that struggle through a spasmodic existence and die. Not long ago, Professor Piazzi Smyth thought that he recognized in the Great Pyramid an epitome of human science, history and religion.<sup>4</sup> How it all got there he showed by an obscure passage from Josephus. That it really was there he proved by a careful description of the monument. It exhibited the progressions of the solar system. It squared the circle. It established the true dimensions of Noah's ark and the Tabernacle in the wilderness. It gave divine sanction to the English system of weights and meas-

<sup>1</sup> *Conduct of Life*, No. 1, p. 24.

<sup>2</sup> *Ilios, City and Country of the Trojans*, p. 5.

<sup>3</sup> Preface to *Ilios*, etc., p. 9.

<sup>4</sup> *Our Inheritance in the Great Pyramid*. By Prof. C. Piazzi Smyth, F.R.S.S.; L. and E. Astronomer Royal for Scotland. London, 4th ed. 1880.

ures. It contained *in nucleo* the whole of divine revelation; of whose creed the main article was "I believe in the sacred cubit of 25.025 inches," and whose baptismal vow was expressed in the formula: "I renounce the metric system, with all its works and pomps." It exhibited the chronology of ancient times, epitomized in stone the world's past and future history, and indicated unmistakably the end of the Christian dispensation.

The world smiled, amused with so novel a curiosity. The Royal Society accepted the indignant resignation of so ingenious a member with complacency.<sup>1</sup> The world of science *can* be very severe, the world of sense very much amused, until hypothesis is reduced to fact.

Yet the world in great masses can be very lax, if you can only touch on or flatter its feelings and its prejudices. About the time this theory was promulgated, there existed a multitude of men and women ready to receive it. "Our Inheritance in the Great Pyramid" was condensed into popular form, and appeared amongst a flood of six-penny 8vo. pamphlets under such titles as these: "The British Lion and the Tribe of Judah," "The Lineal Descent of Queen Victoria from King David," "Cui bono?" "Forty-seven Identifications of the British Nation with the Ten Lost Tribes of Israel," and the like. From what we can recall of our early devouring both of these pamphlets and of the proceedings of "the Anglo-Israel Association," the history of the British people was given only as far back as their Assyrian captivity, the period before this being already recorded in the Old Testament. Queen Victoria was the lineal successor of David. The three lions on the royal standard were the lions of the tribe of Judah. The Coronation Stone at Westminster, once the crowning stone of the Scottish kings at Scone, was identified as the ancient Stone of Destiny from Tara. This Stone of Destiny now turned out to be the identical Stone of Bethel, which served as a pillow for Jacob's weary head.<sup>2</sup> It was brought to Ireland by the royal daughter of Zedekiah, under the guardianship of Jeremiah the prophet, who anointed her queen of Ireland. She ruled over the Tuatha de Dananns—that race which, with the Milesians, was then in joint possession of the land. These people, as their name implies, were the remnant of the tribe of Dan. In their wanderings they had not only preserved their name, but had impressed it on the geography of Europe in the rivers Dniester, Dnieper, Danube and Don.

The theory was in full blossom just when agrarian disturbances

<sup>1</sup> *Ib.*, p. 657.

<sup>2</sup> For the documentary basis of this part of the story, see Stanley's *Westminster Abbey*, Appendix, p. 492.



were rife, But the ancient Isaac had foreseen that long ago. Did he not say that "Dan shall be like a snake in the way, a serpent in the grass, that biteth the horse's heels?"<sup>1</sup> and did he not instantly add, with intense anxiety, "I will look for Thy salvation, O Lord"? The dream of Nebuchadnezzar was not omitted. England was the stone cut out of the mountain without hands, that smote the feet of iron and clay in a tabulated series of victories over France and Spain from remote times down to Waterloo. No one could move without a verse to back it up. The prince of Wales went to India, but one of the prophets told us that long before. When Beaconsfield came back triumphant from Berlin we remembered the prophecy that in those days ten men should take hold of the skirts of a Jew. As a religious sanction for the rampant jingoism of the time the theory gained wide popularity, and amongst a considerable section of "Bible Christians" the identity and glorious future of the British nation became a creed, against which it was blasphemy to utter a doubt.

But it is not only among the unlearned majority that such credulities are rife. In the higher walks of advancement we have heard many an enthusiastic cry of triumph subside in shame. Twenty years ago (to revert to a theme already touched upon) rationalistic criticism was trampling down the remains of antiquity, ignorant that under those ruins lay a power ripening for its destruction. With the siege of Troy and the Julian origin of Rome, the sacred history of the law and prophets fell into discredit. Homer, Virgil and the Jewish Canon were alike the exponents of exploded myth. It was taken for granted that before the early Greek historians there existed neither education, literature nor culture. Writing was an unknown art at the very time when the Pentateuch and the Books of Kings claim to have been written. In those days the geographical knowledge of each tribe was confined to its own narrow territory, and travel and foreign empire were alike unknown. Whatever had come down to us in writing was to be judged not according to any ancient eastern standard, but by the stringent code of accuracy which we of the present century have just begun to desire, and have as yet failed wholly to secure. As a canon of veracity, our own ignorance of secular corroborative testimony for the statements of Scripture was sufficient to rob those statements of all credibility. All this, added to a world of German textual and psychological speculation, was an exercise in hypothetics—an æronautic effort in the region of intellect—an endeavor to fly unsupported alike by earth and air. The Bible, while regarded as sacred, presented many difficulties.

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<sup>1</sup> Gen. xlix., 17, 18.

Let us regard it as a secular document, and see whether those difficulties disappear. The policy was successful. The difficulties disappeared with the Bible which presented them.

But there was faith and reason still left on earth—faith natural and divine. Schliemann, Petrie, Layard and Botta, Schrader and Bliss took to their spades instead of their pens—looked out for something to write about before beginning to write—preferred grubbing and digging for facts under ground, to creating fancies in the clouds above. They melted the wings of Dædalus, they strangled the rampant scepticism, they re-established the belief of Europe. Out of the dirt-heaps of Mysia rose the Troy that was. Men walked again in the footprints of Priam. The everlasting monuments of Egypt became volumes of history. The Amorite, the Hevite, the Moabite again dwelt in the land. Scholars revisited the free libraries of Nineveh, and learning a new alphabet in their old age, began to share in the literature of four thousand years ago. Everything which the relentless force of modern criticism had proved false, the still more irresistible force of ancient documents proved true. It was what Prof. Huxley has called “the great tragedy of science; the slaying of a beautiful hypothesis by an ugly fact.”

A greater and more sudden blow never fell on the pride and self-sufficiency of man. Never was there a sharper exposure of inflated ignorance. “We are just beginning,” says Prof. Sayce (himself, if we are to believe the press, something of a stumbler in the subject):

“We are just beginning to learn how ignorant we have been of the civilized past, and how false our ideas have been in regard to it. We are just beginning to realize that the fragments of Hebrew literature contained in the Old Testament are the wrecks of a vast literature which extended over the ancient oriental world from a remote epoch, and that we cannot understand them aright except in the light of the contemporaneous literature of which they formed a portion. . . . The period of scepticism is over, the period of reconstruction has begun. We shall find that the explorer and decipherer have given back to us the old documents and the old history—in a new and changed form it may be, but nevertheless substantially the same.”<sup>1</sup>

The rabid search for new hypotheses which distinguishes our age, may end in most cases by an advancement of the truth they are intended to destroy. In most cases however, the promulgation of new and distinctive theories are loud in their profession of a desire to ascertain the truth, and not to destroy it.

Thus the author of “Supernatural Religion,” brings himself before the English world as an exponent of the German destructive criticism on the plea of “contributing towards the establishment

<sup>1</sup> *The Higher Criticism and the Monuments*. Rev. A. H. Sayce, S.P.C.K. 1894. Pp. 24, 25.

of truth in the minds of others who are seeking for it."<sup>1</sup> And at the same time observes that :

"To no earnest mind can such an inquiry be otherwise than a serious and often a painful task ; but, dismissing preconceived ideas and prejudices derived from habit and education, and seeking only the truth, holding it, whatever it may be, to be the only object worthy of desire or capable of satisfying a rational mind, the quest cannot but end in peace and satisfaction."<sup>2</sup>

What the author of "Supernatural Religion" attempted against the New Testament, Colenso had already tried against the Old. Failing to recognize the three degrees of falsehood—the fib, the lie, *and the statistic*—the Bishop of Natal, armed with German ordnance and helped by his own arithmetical proficiency, deduced from the statistics of the Pentateuch the historic falsity of its narrative. The whole of his ponderous work reeks with professions of devotion to truth. "God's will must be done," he says, regretfully. "The laws of truth must be obeyed. . . ."<sup>3</sup> Prefixed to each volume stands the motto :

"We can do nothing against the truth but for the truth." St. Paul, 2 Cor., xiii., 8.

He commits his first volume "to the hand of Almighty God, beseeching Him mercifully to accept and bless it, as a feeble effort to advance the knowledge of His truth in the world." He believes "that in endeavoring to do faithfully to the best of his power such a work as this, he is but discharging, however imperfectly, his duty as a minister of the National Church . . ." and, "feeling sure that whatever pain its publication may cause to many excellent persons, the truth will prevail at last, . . . he heartily thanks God that life and health have been spared to him to bring the work to a close."<sup>4</sup>

Now all this is very hard to believe. Not because sincerity and love of truth are *a priori* to be confined to one party or one set of writers ; nor yet because sincerity and love of truth are the natural accompaniment of loyalty to old beliefs as such. It is hard to believe because, when a man is really pained at the loss of his old belief, and is really "seeking only the truth" at all costs, he will at least rigidly forbid speculation to run ahead of discovery—refuse to draw categorical conclusions from hypothetical premises—and decline to assert as a matter of course what he knows is a matter of unestablished assumption. The bare fact that an au-

<sup>1</sup> *Supernatural Religion, an inquiry into the reality of Divine Revelation.* Longmans. 1874. Preface.

<sup>2</sup> *Ib.*, Introduction, p. 19.

<sup>3</sup> *Bp. Colenso on the Pentateuch.* Part I. Preface, xxxvi.

<sup>4</sup> *Ib.*, Part iv., Pref. xxxviii. ; Part ii., Pref. vii. ; Part ii., Pref. xxxlv.



thor is even *tempted* to these excesses indicates the very prepossessions he so eagerly disclaims. How far such writers actually yield to such a temptation is evident from the eagerness they show to make out the strongest possible case against their former belief—how of two suppositions they fix on the least favorable—how in course of their argument the “if” drops out, and the hypothesis assumes the disguise of a demonstrated fact.

How such ingenuous professions of loyalty to truth can coexist with so sophisticated a use of hypothetics is to most minds an inexplicable mystery. The professions are so honest, the practice so dishonest. Yet we can hardly venture to charge such revolutionizers of belief with deliberate hypocrisy. There is in fact a deadly and widespread fallacy abroad nowadays regarding the human intellect. This fallacy I have nowhere seen so ably treated as by Dr. Mozley in his “*Essay on Blanco White*.” That fallacy, he declared, consists in the impression “that the intellectual part of human nature is no department of human probation.”

“Every one allows that man is tempted, and is capable of sinning through the flesh; but it seems there are some who deny that he is capable of sinning through the intellect. . . . The Gospel dispensation has mainly introduced this deeper, larger, and more searching morality. It conducts a man to a more ample development of his moral nature than he ever enjoyed before. The Church watches anxiously over the department of the human intellect, and cautions man against his dangers there. She tells him you may not see so clearly sin here as you do in the bodily instance; it is not so palpable as ocular, tangible sin is, but it is as real. Look into yourself; do you not feel an excitement, a stimulus, a pungency in pursuing an intellectual process? Does not a particular movement, accompanied with pleasure, carry you along? Examine this, and see if it has not the same substantial liability to sin that an operation of animal nature has. . . . As the undisciplined bodily appetite rushes into grossness, so the undisciplined intellect abandons itself to a lie—the former issues in carnal sin, the latter in the sin of heresy.”<sup>2</sup>

Again, explaining the pain alleged of these writers in attacking formerly accredited beliefs, he observes :

“A life of pain gone through in pursuit of truth, and the consequence in part of that pursuit, seems to give a man authority, creates interest, and attaches a character of heroism to him. An infidel tells us, in his justification, that his unbelief gives him much pain; that he has followed his doubts at every stage with reluctance and uneasiness; that he has got nothing by the course his mind has taken, and is a disinterested witness; he requires confidence and trust on that score. The fact of the pain he informs us of we do not doubt. Man is naturally a believing creature. Unbelief violates a real part of his nature, and unbelief is therefore pain. But this pain is neither a voluntary nor a self-mortifying one. He pains one part of his nature to gratify another. The intellectual element, imperious, proud, and aggressive, is mistress, and he humors her at the expense of better feelings. . . . If the intellect can sin, its successes must produce mental misery, as the natural consequence of a violated nature,

<sup>1</sup> *Essays Historical and Theological*, vol. ii., pp. 142, 149.

<sup>2</sup> *Ib.*, pp. 142-4.

and the use of a morbid internal stimulus. . . . This is a martyrdom in a sense, and who would pray for it?"<sup>1</sup>

And finally :

"Amongst the ideas that have been abused and that have been distorted, this one of the search after truth stands foremost. A splendid and majestic phrase has covered a process that will not bear inspection."<sup>2</sup>

Hence it is fair to conclude that hypothesis professedly sought under cover of a desire of truth, in a generation where "truth" is "regarded as a kind of property; an article of mental success; not revered as an object, but appropriated as a thing,"<sup>3</sup> are to be doubly suspected and doubly investigated. And that such hypotheses may rise not only from the desire of truth itself, or even of novelty and fame, but possibly also from a passion for the pursuit of an idea, and a morbid love of the search for solutions and for "situations" in the intellectual life, in preference to the stable possession of truth itself.

Another phenomenon of hypothetics presents itself in that nine-days' wonder, known as the "Clementine theory," which, on account of the recent controversy at Manchester, caused some stir in England during the past year. This theory, professing to trace the growth of the Roman claims to the credulous acceptance in the third century of the spurious "Clementine Recognitions," seems to have originated in a passing suggestion made by Dr. Salmon,<sup>4</sup> and has been painfully elaborated by Mr. Puller. The motives which actuated this latter gentleman are thus expressed in his own words :

"It is the sense of the importance of helping my brethren to have clear and true views on the matter [of the controversy with Rome] which led me to . . . give this course of lectures. I confess that I enter on them with fear and trembling; not for any doubt as to the side on which the truth lies, but from my consciousness of the very imperfect way in which I shall be able to handle the subject, and for the dread that I may do more harm than good by my treatment of it. I will ask your prayers that I may be helped and guided to say what shall tend to promote God's glory and the church's well-being and the good of souls. I will do my utmost to be fair and accurate. . . . I do not want to gain a victory by any assertions or arguments which will not stand the test of investigation."<sup>5</sup>

This profession is satisfactory enough. But look at the practice. Mr. Puller boldly and confidently takes up an heretical and manifestly worthless document, obscure in origin, uncertain in date, on the face of it possessing neither authority, influence nor

<sup>1</sup> *Ib.*, pp. 140-145.

<sup>2</sup> *Ib.*, p. 145.

<sup>3</sup> *Ib.*, p. 146.

<sup>4</sup> *The Infallibility of the Church*, p. 361 seq.

<sup>5</sup> *The Primitive Saints and the Church of Rome*, F. W. Puller. Longman's 2d ed, 1893, Lect. I., pp. 3, 4.

respectability, and openly rejected by the consentient voice of those very fathers who are supposed to have been duped by it,<sup>1</sup> and sets up a scarecrow like this, without pretence of proof or justification of his conduct, to frighten men away from facing the plain facts of the Roman supremacy.

What, we ask, can explain such a barefaced advance in hypothetics, and such an endeavor to clothe hypothesis in the garments of established fact? What, we ask, except the desperation of men who would fain hope, with a show of decency, to cling to the name, after rejecting the central principle of patristic Catholicism? Such a device, as patently fallacious as it is clumsy, reminds one of those second-rate artists, who, being obliged to represent angels with unmistakably fleshy limbs, are forced, *par consequence*, to mount them on equally solid looking clouds, to prevent the forces of gravitation from having their due effect.

But though every kind of absurdity may follow from accepting conclusions regardless of the hypothetical nature of their premises, the greatest advances in human knowledge have started from a hypothesis, converted by the process of investigation into a fact. The world, born and bred for thousands of years in the conceit that our globe was the centre of the universe, blundered on in its explanation of the heavenly phenomena. The poets invented the Chariot of Phœbus; Ptolemy reduced mythological astronomy to a science; the vulgar imagined that the sun stole back unobserved by night to the starting-point of its daily race. Individual theologians were imbued with the error, but Augustine and Aquinas had left on record the uncertainty of our understanding of Scripture, and the Church was divinely held aloof. Then came Copernicus to cut the traditional system out of the world's belief. It was only hypothesis against hypothesis, and had little chance. He was not much heard. Galileo, following him, was determined to be heard, and stepped out of his own department into the enclosed garden of Theology. He knew *that* would fetch the point, and it did. Censures fell upon him; punishments were inflicted; but he had been heard. As the time went on the astronomical question got disentangled of its theological weeds. The faults of the man were forgotten, the truth of the system survived. Under the incentives of a bold hypothesis men finished their searchings by finding that hypothesis a fact and its consequences a revolution in human belief.

The successful issue of this experiment, more than any other, tended to force on the human mind the value of hypothetics in the advancement of knowledge. It provided all materials for the for-

<sup>1</sup> *The Roman Claims*, Father Bernard Vaughan, S.J., pp. 67, 89.



mation of a canon and criterion of the use of assumptions. If, on the commonly received ground-work of principles, no solution of a seemingly not insoluble question can be found, let the contrary assumption be made the basis of a new investigation. This will put every old fact into a new relation, and is bound to lead to the discovery of new facts impossible before. The evidence of new facts added to old ones will soon tell either for or against the new hypothesis, which will end by being elevated into a fact or high probability, or else in being proved highly improbable or false. The new hypothesis will then be modified as far as necessary, or abandoned for a third, and so on, until, by a series of closer approximation, the solution is reached, whether in the confirmation of the old by the new, or in the establishment of the new by the joint evidence of both.

We need not, however, necessarily restrict the use of this canon to cases like that just described. Given any series of phenomena, the question to be solved is this: What is the nature of the force or cause producing these phenomena? A mind limited to facts of actual experience would be incapable of finding a solution. But a mind possessing initiative would give the imagination free play.<sup>1</sup> It would matter little how extravagant the imagination may be, so long as the curb of logic is ultimately applied, and no conclusion is credited with a higher value than its premises allow. Time may be wasted by too wild an hypothesis, but that is merely a question of personal convenience. However wild it be, take it, stick to it, be consistent with it, and see how the facts arrange themselves under it; if in perfect order, that is sufficient recommendation at present. Investigate further on the strength of it, frame experiments, anticipate results, try the experiments, and observe whether real results correspond to anticipation; something positive or negative is sure to come of it.

Nevertheless, imagination is at times an unruly colt, and there is such a thing as the unhinging of human minds through giving the fancy too free a play. Men get attached to "the imagination of their hearts," yield to the fascination of extravagance, begin to dream of fame and of revolution in the world of science. Their wild chimera grows into a monster, like the imprisoned genie dragged up by the Arabian fisherman, who could only be got back into his bottle by a stout denial that he ever came out of it.<sup>2</sup> Such abuses of hypothetics, however, are only *per accidens*, and can be avoided by a man of sober judgment who will carefully observe the following corollaries:

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<sup>1</sup> The observations of Prof. Tyndall on this subject are too well known to need reproduction; as, for example, *Fragments of Science, On the Scientific Use of the Imagination*, etc.

<sup>2</sup> *Arabian Nights*, "Story of the fisherman and the Genie."

(a) Because a consistent system can be built up on a given hypothesis, this does not prove the truth of that system, so long as the hypothesis remains an hypothesis.

(b) If a system explains all these facts alleged or known, this *may* indirectly prove that system to be true. But it does not follow that its fundamental hypothesis is true, until it be shown that on no other hypothesis could the system be founded on the facts explained.

(c) When this has been done, the hypothesis becomes an ascertained fact—not by the consistency of its results (*vide a*), nor yet by the truth of its results (*vide b*); but by the exclusion of every other hypothesis, and the necessity of this one.

(d) Consequently, the initial hypothesis is proved true when it is transferred from the beginning to the end of the process; when the conclusion of the system is the hypothesis converted by legitimate logic into an ascertained fact.<sup>1</sup>

(e) Nor is this a vicious circle. The work of an hypothesis is not to lay the first principles, the premises of a science, but to investigate and determine the direction of the search. It is by search, not by hypothesis, that the first principles must be discovered and their truth be made clear, and from these must follow logically the conclusion which at the beginning was presupposed *as a term, not as a basis*, of demonstration. “The final cause,” as philosophers say, “is first in intention and last in execution.” The hypothesis is the final cause of investigation, attracting and eliciting the activities of the agent; the same proposition, stripped of its hypothetical character, is the final effect of its activity.

This canon, or rather the instance which brought it into notoriety, gave occasion to one of the most far-reaching revolutions in philosophy the world has seen. In the eighteenth century (if we except the Catholic universities) scholastic philosophy had become well-nigh obsolete. In the previous century Descartes had invented that system which should take its place. The old scholastics always began with the principle, founded on universal experience, that in the human mind certainty was prior to doubt. Descartes reversed the order and assumed that doubt was prior to certainty. His hypothesis was never ascertained to be a fact; but even as a doctrine, methodic doubt was only a lame success,

<sup>1</sup> It is amusing how obvious a truth often appears, after it has once been discovered and made evident:

“Scientific anticipations,” says Cardinal Newman, “are commonly either truisms or failures—failures if, as is usually the case, they are made on insufficient data—and truisms if they succeed; for conclusions, being always contained in their premises, never can be discovered” (Turks, Lect. IV.). Yes, but in such cases we are apt to forget that our knowledge of the conclusion is due entirely to the initiative of the mind which formulated the premises.

and attempts towards mending it were made by Leibnitz and Wolff. Locke rejected the new hypothesis without giving fresh force to the old; he unconsciously instigated scepticism, which was dragged out of his system and developed by Hume. The abandonment of the old first principles had not thrown much light on the subject. Metaphysics had become hopelessly bogged. Kant of Königsberg was watching the struggle. The state of things before him led to the question whether metaphysics were possible at all. He was too ignorant of scholastic philosophy to plant his finger on the point whence the confusion had arisen. He accepted blindly the hypothesis that doubt was prior to certainty. He must look round for some other fundamental principle from which to make a departure. He found it in contradicting the truth taken for granted alike by the old school and the new, viz., that the mind conforms itself to the object of its knowledge and not the object to the mind. A brilliant thought broke upon his mind—the unformulated “canon of the contrary-hypothesis,” which had produced such marvellous effects in astronomy. The account of the inspiration is given in his own words:

“It has hitherto been assumed that our cognition must conform to the object, but all attempts to ascertain anything about these objects *à priori* by means of conceptions, and thus extend the range of our knowledge, have been rendered abortive by this assumption. Let us then make the experiment whether we may not be more successful in metaphysics if we assume that objects must conform to our cognition. . . . We here propose to do just what Copernicus did in attempting to explain the celestial movements. When he found that he could make no progress by assuming that all the heavenly bodies revolved round the spectator, he reversed the process and tried the experiment of assuming that the spectator revolved, while the stars remained at rest. We make the same experiment with regard to the intuition of objects. If the intuition must conform to the nature of the objects, I do not see how we can know anything of them *à priori*. If, on the other hand, the object conforms to the nature of our faculty of intuition, I can then easily conceive the possibility of such an *à priori* knowledge.”

On that hypothesis is built the “Critik of Pure Reason.” If that hypothesis be a fact, then things must be, on the whole, as Kant describes them. The “Critik of Pure Reason,” in so far as it keeps to its express subject (viz., the procedure of human knowledge), is consistent enough. But taken as a whole, Kant’s teaching will not hold good. To the student of Kant this is clear. From one point of view it issues in Pantheism; from another, in absolute scepticism; from a third, in a somewhat elevated, but heterodox theism. What Kant himself really meant to hold is worthy of all praise, but this in spite of his system. Ardent admirers say he is misunderstood, but *securus judicat orbis terrarum*; the world is still tearing Kant’s remains to pieces, and finds the task an easy

<sup>1</sup> *Critik of Pure Reason*. Pref. to 2d ed., p. xxviii. Meiklejohn’s translation.



one on account of the looseness of connection between part and part. To maintain such a system as a whole and all its parts requires a mind wide enough to embrace contradictories at once.

We have the greatest admiration alike of his genius and of his personal character and the keenest enjoyment in studying his works. We speak purely of the hypothesis which instigated him and the results he has attained. These results may be briefly stated as follows :

1. If the mind is *not* conformed to the object, but conforms the object to itself, then our intellectual processes must be such as the bulk of the " *Critik* " describes.

2. If so, it follows that knowledge is confined to phenomena, that supersensible knowledge is impossible and metaphysics a fraud.

3. If all this be true, it follows that man is subject to a "natural and unavoidable delusion," since we cannot attain that which we are naturally impelled to believe we do attain. And this delusion reaches its highest point just when man reaches his highest dignity—in his intellectual relations with God, his exercise of freedom, his immortal destiny.

Supposing then, that in spite of these appalling results, Kant's system were in itself a logical whole, what has it done towards establishing the truth of the hypothesis on which it is built? Absolutely nothing. The supposition retains its hypothetical nature from first to last—a monstrous "if" exulting as a giant to run its race, and only clad now and then in categorical garments just to hide its nakedness. Moreover, it is evident from the outset that Kant has no intention of proving the hypothesis at all. He takes it as a foregone conclusion, and the reader is likely to do the same, unless he keeps a sharp lookout on the procedure. But the world, stupid and gullible as it is in some respects, and in matters which appeal to the passions or touch the experiences of life, is in the long run a shrewd distinguisher, and refuses to be quickly and permanently moved till it knows the reason why. It rebelled against Copernicus and his hare-brained hypothesis. But Copernicus changed his notes for gold, converted his hypothesis into a fact, advertized it through his posterity and won his way to victory. He used the canon, and fulfilled the corollaries too. Kant used the canon, but neglected the corollaries, and the world, refusing to catch the forced enthusiasm of the few, declines to be moved, leaves transcendentalism standing in the cold, because the world waits in vain to see the Kantian hypothesis turned into a fact.

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<sup>1</sup> *Id.*, Meiklejohn, p. 264.

Yet the world ought to feel grateful to Kant, for the gems of thought which lie buried in his bulky writings. One of these, admirable alike for its acuteness and its humor, will form an apt conclusion to this sketch :

“The usual test, whether that which any one maintains is merely his persuasion, or his subjective conviction at least, *i. e.*, his firm belief, is a *bet*. It frequently happens that a man delivers his opinions with so much boldness and assurance that he appears to be under no apprehension of his being in error. The offer of a bet startles him and makes him pause. Sometimes it turns out that his persuasion may be valued at a ducat, but not at ten. For he does not hesitate, perhaps, to venture a ducat, but if it is proposed to stake ten he immediately becomes aware of the possibility of his being mistaken—a possibility which has hitherto escaped his observation. If we imagine to ourselves that we have to stake the happiness of our whole life on the truth of any proposition our judgment drops its air of triumph; we take the alarm, and discover the actual strength of our belief.”<sup>1</sup>

We wonder whether the Sage of Königsberg smiled or was grave as he wrote these lines.

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<sup>1</sup> *Ib.*, Meiklejohn, p. 449.

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PROTESTANTS AND THE PRINCIPLE OF  
AUTHORITY IN RELIGION.

THE statement that the religion of most of us, of those especially whose faith has remained unchanged, is, to a great extent, hereditary, is, we suppose, somewhat of a truism. If so, it is, like most truisms, apt to be overlooked, and will most certainly bear repetition. In the case of Catholics the child passes, almost imperceptibly, from the authority of the parent—generally of the mother—to that of the priest, and finds the teachings learned in his earliest infancy confirmed by him whom he has been taught to recognize as entrusted with Divine authority. The bias of hereditary training being, moreover, far stronger than most of us imagine, this unbroken succession of authority tends, in the majority of persons, to a firm, if somewhat unreasoning, faith. That it is as well that it should be so, who can doubt? That such a faith approximates, very nearly, to that of the “little children” of whom our Lord bade us take example, is surely self-evident. A faith like this, even if assailed—as assailed it is almost sure to be—will be strong in the fact that there has never been any conflict of authority, never any contradiction between the lessons learned in infancy and those learned in later years.

That such a faith is, however, not altogether complete is also undeniable. We need, in order to be able to “give a reason for the hope that is in us,” to fulfil that other apostolic injunction, “Examine yourselves whether ye be in the Faith.” That is to say, that the mere fact that priest and parent have taught us exactly what our parents and theirs in turn and ever backwards have believed, does not, of itself, prove that teaching true. The “tradition” thus inherited may be, and doubtless is, a valuable witness to the sincerity of our belief, but is not necessarily an evidence of its truth.

All this, however, may be regarded as beyond the province of a layman, who can lay no claim whatever to any knowledge of theology. The point of principal importance in the present instance is the fact that the faith of Catholics being, as it must be, to a great extent hereditary, and deriving from that very circumstance a large measure of its hold upon the great mass of men and women, also gains a very material assistance from the absence of any conflict of authority, of any contradiction in its teachings. That which we learned at our mother’s knee, which we learned more



fully at our first communion, again, and yet again, as life drew on, must, and does, influence us by the mere fact that it is utterly and entirely consistent with itself. It is for this very reason that we know it to be true. Not for this reason only, but certainly for this among many others. This self-consistency, so manifest, so unquestionable, entirely satisfies that ultimate court of appeal—humanly speaking—the inward conviction of the individual. Beyond that, how is it possible for us to go? “If our heart condemn us not, then have we confidence toward God.”

But it is this principle of authority in matters of religion as it concerns Protestants—that is, devout Protestants in good faith—that we have at present to deal with. Missions to non-Catholics, to those particularly known as “evangelicals,” have been prosecuted of late years with much zeal and fervor, and, doubtless, with a large measure of success. The Bull of our Holy Father Leo XIII., pronouncing Anglican orders null and void has for the present, at least, made the Anglican question of less immediate moment. Our would-be “Catholic” friends in that communion must be allowed a reasonable space of time in which to recover from their very natural soreness of disappointment. They expected the impossible, and have got nothing. It was, therefore, only fitting that at the last Catholic Truth Society’s conference in England, the question, “How to reach the Nonconformists,” should have received practically more attention than any other.

If among Nonconformists—our Anglican brethren style them “dissenters”—you include the small remnant of the once-powerful “evangelical” party in the Church of England—their sympathies being much more with the former than with those of their own communion who incline to “sacerdotalism”—we may, possibly, as being ourselves an ex-“evangelical,” be allowed to discuss, as briefly as may be, some aspects of this question with which we are familiar. It is, of course, perfectly true that the main facts of the relations between Catholics and Nonconformists have become generally known to those who have studied them, but it is also none the less true that, inasmuch as the experience of each individual convert must, of necessity, differ from that of every other, so that experience, though chiefly of interest to the person most concerned, may serve to throw some fresh ray of light on what still remains, and must continue a difficult problem. In other words, every one who has been either an “Evangelical” or a Nonconformist, before the grace of God led him or her into the true Church, may help to make the inner workings of the Protestant mind more clear to Catholics, who must needs know them in order to win them to the Faith.

Having simply stated the fact that, though now a Catholic, by

the grace of God, we were for many years a strict "Evangelical," and the further fact that of all our immediate relations, we are, so far, the only Catholic, let us deal, to the best of our poor ability, with the principle of authority in religion as it concerns devout Protestants.

Their religion—it has many by-names, but it is, to all intents and purposes, one and the same in what they love to call "fundamentals"—is, to a greater extent, if possible, than that of Catholics, a matter of inheritance. How else account for their true devoutness combined with an intense hatred of all that savors of "Popery," to take no other instance? Were it not for the strength of hereditary bias how many would remain Protestants in an age of disintegration such as this is? It is, as a simple matter of fact, the force of habit, of training, which enables men and women who must otherwise, one would think, yield of very necessity to the assaults made upon their faith from all sides, to remain true to the lessons learned in their early years. That is to say, that the principle of authority in religion, so far as it influences Protestants, is dependent for its very existence upon the force of hereditary training. In other words, the religious authority of Protestants is, as to its origin, parental authority.

Herein consist both its strength and its weakness. Its strength, inasmuch as the force of habit is immeasurably greater than we are inclined to concede; also, for the reason that parental training, aided by parental example, and acting on the mutual affection of parents and children, tends, as it must naturally tend, to strengthen the force of habit. With many persons, in the case of women especially, the fact of living in constant association with a pious mother, or, after her death, in constant, loving memory of her, of itself makes that mother's creed something sacred, something which it would be an insult to her, an insult to God Himself, to question or to doubt. How can that be erroneous which she believes and practices, the faith in which she lived and died? Would it not pain her, even in Paradise—the thought is illogical, unreasoning, if you will, but very natural, even if half-unconscious—were we to forsake the faith that to her was all in all? This is, I admit, but a faint shadowing of the reality; but it is, I maintain, a true description, so far as it goes, of a fact of daily experience; of a fact, moreover, which constitutes not, by any means, the least bitter part of that sacrifice which every convert makes.

But, herein, also consists its weakness. Setting aside the responsibility which it lays upon the parent—in which Catholics, of course, have a very full share; setting aside, also, the dangers arising from any personal inconsistencies, which, of itself, constitutes the gravest part of parental responsibility, for Catholic as

well as for Protestant—there arises, in the case of the latter, a menace to this authority from which that of the former is happily free, the danger, I mean, of contradiction between what is taught by the parent—both by word and example—and what is learned in later life. The child, in each case, is told, “This *is* the truth of God ;” but, as an ultimate issue, the Protestant parent—were the question asked in words, as it must be, at times, in thought—“How do you *know* that is truth?” must, necessarily, answer in some such phrase as this, “Because I am convinced that it is so.” Beyond that appeal to personal conviction, to personal spiritual experience, what other answer can there be? The weakness, therefore, lies in this, first, that should either the experience of the child, which invariably precedes conviction, or the conviction itself, which is the outcome of a long series of uniform experiences, fail for any reason (of which there may be many) to correspond to that of the parent, there ensues, as an inevitable consequence, a weakening of the authority of religion itself (as taught), that authority having been hitherto identified with that of the parent.

This does not, however, by any means constitute the sole weakness of the Protestant principle of authority, dependent, as it must be, on the authority of the original individual teacher. Difference of temperament alone may cause that want of correspondence between the spiritual experiences (and consequent conviction) of the child and those of the parent, but such a divergence may be, and has been, overcome by the working of a stronger, or purer, or more concentrated will on one less trained, less certain of itself. The failure to see things spiritual in the same light as the parent, may be, will doubtless be, regarded as an evidence of an “unconverted” state; the emotions aroused by affectionate entreaties, by the prayers and tears of a fond mother, will be mistaken for the wished-for convictions, and all will be peace again for a while.

The weakness, therefore, chiefly consists in the *possibility* of a conflict of authority. That of the first teacher—the parent—is accepted during childhood, not only as a necessity, but as a matter of course, with simple, unquestioning faith. That of the next teacher, schoolmaster, minister, as the case may be, will be accepted at the outset very much in the same way; coinciding, as it most probably will, with that of the parent, the teacher being of the parent’s choosing. But as the years go on there must, sooner or later, come a time when the boy—the girl is less exposed to the danger, but it exists even for her—must choose his own teacher in things spiritual. Should his temperament closely resemble that of the parent who trained him, that is, should a special maternal or paternal phase of hereditary bias be unusually strong in him, he will in all probability choose one whose teachings conform, in



"fundamentals" at least, with those with which he has always been familiar. This familiarity in such a case would naturally have made those teachings dear to him for their own sake, as well as for the sake of her from whom he first learned them. If not, if there has been that want of correspondence of which I have spoken, a gulf bridged over by illusory feelings and emotions, then no familiarity can make such teachings more than simply tolerable, at best, for fear of paining the parent whom he loves.

But the choice, be it for good or for ill, must be made, and he who can honestly choose the path wherein his parents walked with God is surely to be accounted happy. But there is no strong probability, amounting almost, if not altogether, to a moral certainty, that he will do so. He does not pass, like the Catholic child, from the teachings of his mother to those of the priest, to find that both speak the same language, that the living, visible authority of the Church to which both mother and priest appeal is ever one, invariable and divine. The teacher whom he may choose, or whom circumstances stronger than ourselves, that mock our wisest plans, may choose for him will either teach him the same lessons that his mother taught him or cause him to unlearn them slowly but surely. It depends on so many things, trifles we are apt to call them, accident, temperament, want of filial affection; Protestants give the causes many different names, and judge those harshly by whom they are influenced, but there is, after all, only one cause, the inherent weakness of the Protestant principle of authority.

Thereafter, the choice once made, who may foretell the issue? In this, at last, we reach the chief danger that menaces this principle of authority, namely, that such a conflict must, of its very nature, and does, as a matter of fact, lead to a denial of all authority in religion. If the first teacher chosen contradicts, in certain well-defined points, the lessons inculcated by the parent, it follows by an unavoidable sequence that, should these new teachings fail to correspond to the boy's experiences and to the conviction which springs from them—his only tribunal of ultimate appeal—for any of the various reasons that led to the same results in earlier life, there must ensue a refusal, more pronounced this time, since there is little or no affection involved, and the influence of inherited tendencies (which always retain *some* influence as regards his relations to his parents) is wanting, to accept the teachings themselves. That is to say, that if he follows out his course to a logical conclusion, which but few of us do, he will pass from teacher to teacher until he ends either in utter unbelief or in the fold of the Catholic Church.

In this very weakness, then, of the Protestant principle of

authority, and in the consequences which that weakness involves, consists—could we but persuade them to see it—the clearest possible intimation of the duty of Protestants in respect of the Catholic Church. Authority there must surely be, inasmuch as they cannot deny that every parent has authority to teach his child what he himself believes, at least until the child (boy or girl) reaches an age at which he or she is supposed to be capable of choice. If there is none after that, what is he to choose? Why, indeed, should he choose at all? Moreover, if there is no authority except that of the parent—limited to a certain definite period of the child's life—what proof is there even of this authority? But, if parental authority does not actually exist, and is, in a certain very definite sense, divine, there must surely be *some* authority to correspond to it, to which we are equally bound to submit. If so, where is it to be sought for, and how is it to be known?

Parental authority, however, being, as stated, divine in a very real though limited sense, must also, on that very account, be—in so far as it is divine—infallible as well. And this for the very obvious reason that any authority that claims our allegiance must at least believe in itself. A doubtful authority is a self-contradiction. The parent who instructs a child in the principles of a faith about which he or she is uncertain, is surely guilty of a heinous moral fraud. There may be, and need be, no actual claim, no definite consciousness of personal infallibility; there must be a consciousness of moral certainty—"Ye shall *know* the truth"—otherwise the disciple will be quick to detect—for children's minds are keener than we realize—the half-expressed note of *uncertainty*, an uncertainty of which we ourselves may be scarcely conscious, which we should, probably, deny strenuously were we brought face to face with it.

It amounts in fact to this, that the conviction which is the fruit of a long series of consistent experiences is, of its very nature, equivalent to that implicit confidence with which a true Catholic accepts an infallible decision of the Pope. Moreover, the unquestioning faith with which a child believes the teachings of a parent is surely a proof not only that the authority on which those teachings rest is divine—of which there is no doubt—but is, as we said just now, in a very real sense infallible. Not only so, but if the child is to submit to that authority not merely of constraint, but by conviction; is to accept its teachings not simply because he must, but because he really believes them, he must accept them on this ground alone, "This must be true, because my mother says so."

An unsatisfactory position, if you will, yet it is, after all, practically that of every very young Catholic child as well. The parent



is infallible first, and then the Church; for the Protestants, the parent is infallible—to all intents and purposes—after that . . . ? There is the weakness of their case, could they only see it. But it remains true, nevertheless, that the child believes *solely* on the authority of the parent. If he or she can continue so to believe until experience has developed into conviction, that conviction constitutes “good faith,” and the moral certainty of it is equivalent, *while it endures*, to that of the Catholics. If, however, from any of the causes specified there results that absence of conviction, of which so much has been said, there is no longer “good faith” on the part of those who, from *whatever* motive, remain content with a mere formal or habitual allegiance to their original creed. “He that loveth father or mother more than Me is not worthy of Me.”

Since, therefore, in order to gain the attention of “Evangelicals” and Nonconformists, that we may win them, if possible, to “the truth as it is in Jesus,” we must endeavor, as far as we can, to enter into their feelings, we have ventured to insist, even at the risk of repetition, on this point of authority as not only divine—if it has any claim on our allegiance—but also, in effect, infallible, in the sense of being founded on a moral certainty. Further, that since every devout Protestant has, at one time or other, accepted this parental authority as divine and infallible—though not, so to say, “in set terms”—we may surely ask them what other authority is to replace it, supposing that it should fail for any cause? Nay, even supposing it to continue all through their later life (in memory or in fact), that from conviction, from deliberate choice, they have accepted the parent’s creed, may we not fairly ask them, “On whose authority?” If the answer be, “On that of my father’s or my mother’s life,” the next query is, obviously, “On whose authority did they accept it?” which reduces the whole series of beliefs to a matter of tradition, confirmed by individual conviction. But of the two the tradition comes first and is, in fact, the starting point, if not the cause, of that succession of consistent, and, probably, general, experiences which result in individual conviction. If so, if the foundations of the Protestant principle of authority be actually tradition and conviction, wherein does it differ from that of Catholics?

As to its essence, wherein but in this that the authority to which Catholics submit is not only divine and infallible, but one, immutable and eternal, “the same yesterday and to-day,” of which even its bitterest enemies admit that “Rome never changes;” that its claims to our allegiance are confirmed by the invariable experiences and the unalterable convictions of countless millions during nineteen centuries, by an unbroken chain of tradition; finally, by the fact, so often insisted on, that for a Catholic there is no fear of



any possible contradiction between the teachings of our parents and those of the Church. Whereas, for the Protestant, although the original authority in religious matters is accepted with an unquestioning faith, that authority must either be replaced by another—accepted, if at all in any *real* sense—in the same way, or must remain the sole foundation of the faith of the individual. In this latter case the acceptance depends either on the personal conviction of the disciple or on that of the teacher, practically on the concordance between the two; a concordance which, from its very “accidental” nature, offers no security of permanence. There remains, however, this fact, namely, that any *real* authority must be, to all intents and purposes, Divine and infallible. In other words, the genuine acceptance of any authority to which our convictions lead us to submit must involve a moral certainty that its teachings are “the truth.”

The objection may here be made that no Protestant has ever claimed individual or corporate infallibility; that, on the contrary, the assertion (the *fact*) that the Church is infallible is one of the chief difficulties that Protestants have to overcome. To which we answer, that if the preceding argument has any force, the Protestant principle of authority in matters of faith involves of its very essence—if it be not a myth, or an arrant hypocrisy, which God forbid—a moral certainty founded on conviction, which conviction (let me repeat it) is the growth of a long series of consistent experiences. Further, that such authority, accepted with the unquestioning faith (is not *all* true faith of this nature?) which a moral certainty inspires, is to all intents and purposes infallible, otherwise there is either no genuine submission to it or an utter want of logical consistency, either self-deception or hypocrisy.

Is the objection disposed of? We may be told that but few of us pursue the moral certainty upon which our faith must rest, otherwise it is delusion, superstition and not faith at all, to its ultimate source. That if this be true in the case of Catholics, which proves what we have said about the “hereditary” nature of the faith of most of us, still more is it true in the case of Protestants, who, if consistent, should be either Catholics or agnostics. Admitted; nevertheless, we maintain that the moral certainty which, is the outcome of the conviction of a Protestant *in good faith*, is for him as real (*while it endures*) as that with which a Catholic, *also in good faith*, accepts the teachings of the infallible Church of God.

Let us give an instance of what we mean by moral certainty, an instance, by the way, drawn from our own experience. We know a man, now growing old, who has been a devout and consistent “Evangelical” all his life. To him “Popery,” with all that savors of it, is as false as “Protestantism” is to us. Of his own faith he

has absolutely no doubt, probably he never has had. The experiences of a lifetime have confirmed that conviction with which, when he came to the age of choosing, he accepted as "*the truth of God*" the faith that his mother taught him, and which, till then, he had accepted, on her authority, as implicitly as a devout Catholic accepts the teachings of the Church. By inheritance, by temperament, by training, by a life-long series of consistent experiences, his conviction has grown fixed and unalterable, unless by a miracle, that what he believes he has been taught by the Holy Spirit of God Himself. Were he in very deed conscious of personal infallibility, he could not be more morally certain that he is "right" than he is now.

The position of such a man is surely as easily to be understood as it is, apparently, unassailable. Asked such a question as this: "Suppose that you and I were to choose some verse of Scripture whereon we differ, and that if each of us were to kneel down and ask the guidance of the Holy Spirit, with equal sincerity, should we then necessarily agree?" he would answer, "Any man who *really* asks such guidance *must* be taught the truth." To the further question, "Suppose we still differed, what then?" We know not how he would reply, unless it were to say more emphatically, "He *must* be taught the truth." Which is equivalent to "He *must* agree with me, because I *know* that I am right." Humbly, be it noted, and without a suspicion of spiritual pride, without saying, in so many words, "*You* are wrong, because *I* am right," but it amounts to that. He would be the last to claim infallibility, the first to condemn the claim of the Catholic Church, but *he is morally certain of the infallible guidance of the Holy Spirit.*

That is practically the Protestant principle of authority in matters of faith. It is not *called* authority except in the case of parents, nor recognized as infallible in the sense which we attach to the word. But the parent's authority over the child is an authority God-given, the parent's teaching must be accepted without question, therefore it is, to all intents and purposes, divine and infallible. When the child comes to choose he or she must choose to believe as the parent believes, *or* some other faith. In the first case, the choice will be decided by conviction, plus temperament, plus filial affection, plus tradition. In the second case temperament will undoubtedly be the dominant factor—certain forms of faith, such as Methodism, Broad Churchism, Ritualism, having their peculiar attractions for certain classes of minds—aided by what we call "accidental circumstances." But in either case the faith chosen must rest upon a moral certainty, otherwise it is not faith in any true sense.

When, therefore, we seek to understand our Protestant brethren

ren, as we must do if we are ever to win them to the truth as we *know* it, we find that they are men and women "of like passions with ourselves;" that their faith, in all its varieties, rests for each individual upon conviction and tradition, is, for each individual, a moral certainty. As the only Catholic member of a devout, consistent Protestant family, we venture to assert, subject, of course, to correction by those who have a wider experience, that a possible point of agreement is to be found in this fact, namely, that there is a principle of authority in religious matters common, in a limited but very real sense, to Catholics and to Protestants, an authority which rests upon tradition and conviction, and which results in a moral certainty, which Catholics and Protestants, inasmuch as they submit to it in those things which concern our eternal welfare, evidently recognize as divine. If divine it must be true, if divine and true it cannot deceive us; therefore it is infallible. But if morally certain, divine, true and infallible, must it not also be one and the same for all men? How comes it, then, that although apparently the *same* authority is binding on Catholics and Protestants alike, the result is an evident and fundamental difference? Where does the flaw lie?

Is not the answer sufficiently plain? On the one hand, a uniform, unbroken tradition of nineteen centuries confirmed to the point of moral certainty (the proof, in one sense, of infallibility) of countless millions who have proved the sincerity of their convictions by their lives and by their deaths. On the other, a multiplicity of mutually-contradictory traditions, dating back three centuries at most, confirmed by the convictions of those who adhere to them by personal choice or from force of habit. On the one hand, an authority not only recognized as *one*, divine, true and infallible, but proved to be so by the consistent experiences of unnumbered generations. On the other, an authority tacitly acknowledged as divine, a moral certainty of (individual) infallible guidance. The one authority admits of no doubt, fears no possibility of self-contradiction, *knows* itself to be divine, and therefore claims to teach men infallibly. The other, obeyed only because chosen, only so long as it suits us; which does, in fact, speak with different voice to different men. Could we but persuade our brethren that there is indeed but *one* authority, that of the *one* "Church of God," that as there is one Lord, so there is only *one* faith, divine, true, infallible, would they not hasten to join with us so that there might at last be "one Fold" under the "One Shepherd."

F. W. GREY.



## THE CLERGY AND THE SOCIAL PROBLEM.

IT is a common thing in these days to regard "the priest in politics" as a patent anomaly. Protestantism has established a complete divorce between things secular and spiritual, temporal and eternal. The intense contrast between the puritanical Sabbath with its almost ghostly solemnity and the thrifty workdays of the week, exemplifies the principle in point. Owing to the further logical development of "individualism" in faith, we find public religion rendered impracticable to a large extent through multiplied subdivisions of belief and authors, and gradually committed to private enterprise, until it comes to be a matter which the State abstracts from and ignores. As far as the people or rulers retain Christian principles, religion will indirectly and informally affect politics to a certain extent. A man who, in his heart, believes in the sanctity of marriage will not vote for measures which weaken the marriage bond. His religion influences his politics because he has got a conscience. If the majority are of his mind, it is as clear a case of religion entering into politics as when a mediæval Pope put down his foot and forbade a measure hostile to Catholic morality. The difference is that in the latter case the authority of religion was publicly recognized. It is perfectly evident to those who believe in liberty of conscience that the clergy of all denominations are bound in conscience, as professing to be God's ambassadors, to use their whole influence in the interest of what they hold to be right. Indeed, this is the duty of every man, and of the clergy only in a greater degree. Furthermore, if they use their influence to the advantage of their own sect, provided it be without injury to others, they are no more to be censured than the representatives of any other interest in the country. The limits of this due interference in political matters is reached only when the matter is one which in no way bears on morals or religion. But those who think at all deeply, will recognize how easily questions which at the first proposing seem purely secular and indifferent, ramify in their consequences, and entangle themselves with supernatural interests. Hence he must needs be a man of very bounded horizon who would content himself with pulpit platitudinizing and prefers a calm indifference to questions which affect the morality of millions. No doubt many such are to be found in every denomination, but one can hardly view them as ideals of the Christian priest, who by profes-

sion should be a man, not merely of public but of catholic and cosmopolitan spirit.

Least of all to the Catholic priest is such an attitude of supine apathy becoming—to him who is the inheritor of that grand conception which reached its fuller development in the middle ages, of a marriage between an universal church and an universal empire; a conception which, perhaps, has yet to come to a fuller maturity as the social and political problems which are now crushing us to earth find their solution in a truer and nobler brotherhood of nations than Charlemagne ever dreamt of. Body and soul, members and head, wife and husband, these and similar are the analogues of secular and spiritual, State and Church—"a free Church in a free State" understanding by freedom, not mutual indifference but the greatest possible facility for healthy development which is secured by mutual aid and co operation. Both alike, in the Catholic conception, have for their end man's happiness here and hereafter. Their separation, much more their hostility, cannot but be disastrous. The miserable past may teach us that the terms and conditions of their union and harmonious working is a problem yet to be solved, seeing that those former solutions have been fatal to the liberty, now of one, now of the other. That the very nature of things postulates imperatively their co-operation is a truth which the experience of godless politics is making daily more evident. Every plantation that the heavenly Father has not planted shall be uprooted, and the violent, unnatural divorces of religion from politics cannot but lead to unnatural issues. "*Quos Deus conjuxit, homo non separet.*"

Urged by these considerations, we contend that the priest ought to have, as he always has had and will have, his voice in politics; that, in the way his profession allows, or rather invokes, he should use his whole influence for what he conceives to be the greatest possible happiness of the greatest possible number. The anti-clerical and the secularist may strive to exterminate the cleric, but while he is to the fore he has no moral option but to cry aloud and spare not where the interests of truth are concerned.

Now, if the priest has his part to play in politics, still more is he bound to interest himself in the social question which bears so much more directly on the ethical and religious development of mankind. Let us assume for the present, against certain liberal optimists, that there *is* an urgent social problem pressing for solution, a problem touching the rights of the laborer, that is, of the numerical majority in every civilized community. Granting this, is it possible or tolerable that the Catholic priesthood should maintain an attitude of apathy and indifference? Waiving the question as to whether there is or is not an injustice to the poor

crying to heaven for vengeance, or an extreme of misery crying to charity for succor, the very fact that there are so many who assert the existence of such evils is reason enough to make indifference in the clergy inexcusable. Were it but the cry of a few fanatics or interested partisans here and there, prudence might disregard it, but the clamor of a multitude is not without cause, and is always worth attending to.

It is hardly needful to insist on the truth that a concern for the temporal necessities of the poor, quite apart from their spiritual well-being, is an essential part of Christian charity. Not merely as a bait or allurement to higher things, but for its own sake, the alleviation of pain, hunger, misery, ignorance, degradation, is a good work which Christ counts as done to himself. There is a pseudo-charity which has no real feeling for these ills, but condescends to them in the spirit of bribery, and regards their relief as a fair means to a good end: Not so Christ, who rebuked those who followed him only for the sake of the loaves and fishes, and on another occasion pitied the starving crowds who had listened to Him for three days, and were about to return, weary and fasting. Doubtless, the tender commiseration He showed for their sickness and want moved them to hear Him as one who really loved them, and had a keen interest in their *entire* welfare. But this is not to follow Him for the sake of loaves and fishes. True charity is the quickest road to influence; but true charity does kind deeds for kindness' sake, and not merely for some other end, however high and holy.

Therefore, the mere alleviation of the necessities of the poor, apart from all spiritual considerations, is a duty binding on all Christians, and more especially on the clergy. May we not even say that, in order of time and urgency, it is a principal duty, though not in order of dignity and necessity? This principle is involved in St. John's argument: "If a man love not his brother whom he hath seen, how can he love God whom he hath not seen?" which seems to mean, if a man is not moved by what is natural, sensible, evident, how can he pretend to be moved by what is remote, spiritual, inferential; if he is indifferent to starvation and bodily suffering which should appeal to his very first and most fundamental instincts of benevolence, with what face can he go about distributing tracts and good advice? For the higher rests on and grows out of the lower, and grace presupposes nature. There is much of this pseudo-spirituality abroad which refuses to admit that any mere temporal evil, *as such*, is worthy of a Christian's compassion, which is eminently calm and philosophical in contemplating the sufferings of others, and armed with trite consolations as to the inestimable moral advantages and chastening



effects of transitory afflictions. No Christian can deny these advantages, but they do not in any way lessen, however they may compensate for the inherent bitterness of the chastisement. It is a mistake to be wiser than God or more spiritual than Jesus Christ. If He afflicts us for our good it is always unwillingly; and the slightest twinge of pain or throb of heartache finds in Him a tender compassion beyond all measure of human sympathy.

A zeal for souls which does not presuppose an affection of pity for the poor human body and human heart is a delusion not far removed from hypocrisy. Therefore we conclude that, viewed merely as a question concerning the existence of a great deal of unnecessary human suffering and injustice, the social problem is one demanding the close attention and keen interest of the Church and the clergy. Certainly no one who knows the history of Catholic Christianity can fail to see the great stress it has always laid on what are called the "corporal" as opposed to the "spiritual" works of mercy. Whole orders and congregations have existed who have made the temporal sufferings of mankind their principal care, and if they have made use of the resulting opportunities of doing spiritual good as well, yet this is something incidental and by the way. Nor does the Church interpret the words: "I was hungry and you fed me" and the rest, as directly signifying the satisfaction of spiritual cravings, but first of all in their natural sense of bodily hunger, thirst, and all manner of want and misery.

Now, if a compassion for this or that individual case of distress is an outcome of charity, a wider-seeing charity will inspire a zeal for the relief of the collective misery of the masses where such exists. When Christians were yet "a feeble folk," a little leaven hid in a great mass, almsgiving was necessarily left to private enterprise and unsystematic, but when greater powers were put at the Church's disposal, and she rose in secular influence, her care for the poor became universal and organized. The precept of charity binds the Christian State and its legislators as stringently as it does the individual. All those wonderful means which a divinely directed progress has put into the hands of modern governments for the prevention and relief of destitution, and for the moral elevation of the people, give that precept a width and depth of meaning hardly suspected in by-gone days. One must not undervalue individual efforts in behalf of the distressed, which will always be a necessary supplement to public measures, and which are so invaluable to the giver as means of drawing out all that is best in the human heart. But as things are in modern society, which, though professedly non-Christian, is still dominated by much Christian sentiment, it would be criminal negligence in a Catholic priest, or a minister of any denomination, to use anything

less than his whole influence in favor of universal and public remedies so far as they are feasible and expedient.

The priest is one destined to the service of man, and of the whole man, body and soul. Nor is his ministry merely to individuals singly, but to all collectively, to society, to the State. He differs from other public men in that he views secular problems explicitly in their bearing on morals and religion from a higher standpoint; and in the methods which he uses, which are, as a rule, individual and confined to the category of moral, rather than of political or material power. When, however, we consider the social problem in the light of those spiritual interests which are the priest's highest, if not always his most immediate concern, indifference to it becomes still less excusable. We have already noticed the fact that although it is repugnant to Christianity to use works of mercy simply as a bait or bribe to allure men into an outward conformity with religion, yet when such works are evidently done out of genuine kindness, and would as evidently be done apart from any ulterior result, they cannot fail to dispose men to lend a willing ear to their well-workers. It is hopeless to persuade a hungry man to come to a mission if one shows a calm and philosophical indifference to the emptiness of his stomach. He will naturally be skeptical about one's tender interest in his spiritual welfare. Nor will it mend matters very much if he is relieved in such a way as to imply a contract of "do ut des." So with regard to the masses. If the clergy in any locality are indifferent to their needs, or if their interest is inspired solely by some other motive than sympathy, however high and holy, they will perhaps not undeservedly lose that loving, loyal trust and affection which is a *sine qua non* for their spiritual influence. Wherever, on the contrary, they display (as in Ireland) a genuine sympathy and fellowship with the sufferings of their flocks, there they are followed as Christ was followed by the crowds, who, seeing His love for their bodies, could well believe in his love for their souls. Here, of course, we assume that the masses must be at all times the Church's principal care. "Pauperes semper habetis vobiscum." Whatever exaggeration there may be in Lasalle's estimate, which represents the laborers as 90 per cent. of the population of Germany in his time, or in Henry George's, who allows a similar percentage to England at the present day, it is hardly an exaggeration when applied to the 200,000,000 of the Catholic Church. Were we dealing with a secular society, we might maintain that a numerical minority was in point of ability and worth a true majority, and deserving of prior consideration. But here the Church is essentially individualist, her ultimate end being the salvation of souls, and no man, from this point of view,



is worthy of more consideration than another. The interest of the *numerical* majority of her children is therefore the Church's chief interest; that is to say, the interest of the laboring classes. She, like her Divine Master, views the multitudes that follow her so faithfully through all ages, and is moved with compassion because they have nothing to eat.

Again, if it is hard for the rich to enter into the kingdom of God, it is in some ways still harder, not for the poor, but for the destitute and degraded, and perhaps for the same reason, namely, that both are concentrated on the things of the body; the rich on luxuries and superfluities, the destitute on the bare necessities of subsistence. Of course, the error of the latter is eminently excusable, especially where destitution is the child of misfortune, not of sin. "Having food and raiment, let us be therewith content," says the Apostle; but he lays no such duty of contentment on those who have neither. Destitution and vice play into each other's hands. So far as vice takes the lead there will always be a sediment of misery in spite of the most ideal social economy. But if there is anything in present social or political institutions which forces the weaker classes into destitution, and thereby into vice and degradation, it is imperatively the duty of the priesthood to investigate the evil, to see if it be remediable, and then to use all its influence to effect the remedy. Of course, destitution never forces free-will into vice in any individual case, if, by force, we understand that which produces psychological necessity; but the fact remains that the temptations and pressures due to destitution, as a general rule, do inevitably lead to moral corruption. Although civilization need not go on to sanctification, yet it is (at least a certain degree of it) a prerequisite for the establishment of anything like a stable Christian community. No doubt there is something in Christianity for the lowest intelligence and crudest morality to lay hold of and strengthen itself by; but every mental darkness and moral obliquity is an obstacle to its full development and a potential source of danger to its purity and persistence. The cause of civilization, truly conceived, is the cause of God and religion. Both tend to the fullest possible perfection, mental and moral, of the greatest possible number, and though religion carries on the work where secular civilization drops it, yet up to that point they are co-operant for one and the same end. It is, then, in the interest of religion that all should co-operate cordially for the removal of the cause of destitution and degradation. It may be denied that such inculpable destitution exists, or that it does so to any notable degree. It may be said that the evil exists of necessity, and that no political or social reform can be devised which does not involve the like or greater evils. Yet none of



these statements must be taken for granted, but they demand the serious consideration of the clergy, whose interest it so closely concerns.

Another reason why the clergy are bound to interest themselves in the social problem is that the question is really, at root, an ethical question. This is coming into clearer recognition every day, even in the writings of non-Christian sociologists. We hear the older economists very deservedly reproached for their abstract and unreal treatment of man as a money-getting animal, with a complete ignoring of his many other and infinitely complex springs of action. We are told that what is really wanted is a yet unborn "science of human nature," which, of course, involves ethics as one of its subordinate sciences. We find candid avowals from the most hostile quarters that, rightly or wrongly, man has always been, must always be, a religious animal, and that religion is one of the prime movers in social life. And when we examine the problem for ourselves we see how it all hinges on notions which belong to ethics and to natural religion, such as desert, justice, remuneration, selfishness, altruism, equality, property, liberty, fraternity, personality, the State, its origin, constitution, functions; the end of man, here and hereafter, his true perfection, development, and many other questions all more or less ethical, and, therefore, indirectly religious. Much as "Chair-Socialism" may be despised as theoretical and impractical by short-sighted "men of action," yet those who read history know how, in the long run, there is nothing so practical as theory, and that many a revolution was first conceived by an idle theorist dreaming in his easy-chair. The social question is one to which, as guardians and disseminators of religious and philosophical truth, the Catholic clergy, at all events, are bound to give their full attention. It is no small matter to decide whether, under the existing system of competition, the laborers are or are not suffering an injustice; and if they are, whether it is a material or a formal injustice. Yet this is only one of the grave doubts suggested by what is called the "Social Problem." The fact that socialism has made its appearance only in countries imbued with the aroma of departing Christianity is due to its being, according to some, a perversion; according to others a development of certain Christian principles touching equality, fraternity, property, riches and poverty. To whom does the true exposition and defence of Christian principles belong except to the clergy of the Catholic Church?

Laveleye, ("*Socialisme Contemporain*") takes it for granted that the present interest displayed by the Catholic clergy in Germany in the social question has for its sole motive the triumph of the

Church. Seeing that political power is passing into the hands of the masses, seeing that little is to be hoped for at the hands of monarchs and nobles, seeing that by apathy in the past they have to some extent alienated the trust and loyalty of the millions, the Black International hopes to retrieve its lost influence by some sort of an alliance with the Red. It is not in any hostile spirit that this criticism is made. Laveleye freely allows that the triumph of the Church is a spiritual cause, an unselfish end. There is none of that vulgar narrowness which views the Roman Church as a commercial speculation. Yet there is a latent insinuation that the triumph of the Church is a distinct cause from that of the popular temporal welfare; that it is simply as means to this higher but wholly distinct end that the clergy want to identify themselves with the prominent movement of the day, which in our time happens to be socialism. Such critics have no adequate notion of the Church's mission, and fail to see that her cause includes that of civilization as the greater includes the less.

It is only in keeping with the history of the Church's development by natural events under the guidance of Providence, that the initiative in many causes which she has subsequently made her own, should be taken from without. Thus heresies have been instrumental in the evolution of her dogma. They have roused her to condemn explicitly what before she had condemned only implicitly, or perhaps had in no way ever touched upon. They have drawn her out and revealed to her her own mind. We ourselves individually often are ignorant as to what we believe, or what we like, or what we do, until some opposition exposes us to ourselves. So it may freely be conceded that the social question was raised, not by the Church, but by those outside her, perhaps by her opponents. Yet, the question being raised, she is bound to consider it, and formulate her mind on the subject. She is bound to protest against any false or immoral solution of it; to sift the true from the untrue, the wheat from the chaff, and to adopt it and make it her own. That the Church never interested herself about this precise form of the social problem in past ages only means that it did not then exist. About the cause of the slave, and the poor, and the oppressed, she has interested herself in every age and country where she has had liberty and scope, and has not been made the tool of selfish factions and private ambition. Whatever her misfortunes and afflictions have been in that line, her principles, her faith, her aspirations are eternal, irrepressible, and ready to break out and assert themselves unchanged as soon as the contingent restraint is relaxed. Therefore the charge of self-interest made against the Church's recent activity in the matter is narrow and unmeaning. Even were she using the

movement as a means to her highest end, that end is eminently an unselfish and benevolent one. No doubt it is an end which, in the eyes of many anti-religious socialists, is wholly vain and delusive; or even mischievous and obstructive to material progress; and so far their hostility to what is called "Catholic Socialism" is logical enough. But if they accuse clerics of feigning sympathy with the social question in the interests of religion, may we not retort very justly against those who are so obviously using it in the interests of irreligion and immorality? Can we credit those with a disinterested zeal for benevolence, justice, right, equality, fraternity, liberty whose first principles or negations are fatal to every one of these much-abused and perverted notions? It is to save the ignorant and undiscerning masses from these would-be "angels of light" that the Church has roused herself in these days, if not to the solution of the problem, at least to the scrutiny and detection of false solutions, which would result in a state of things "worse than the first" seven times over. We hope, then, we have said enough to justify abundantly the activity shown by the Catholic clergy in Germany and elsewhere with regard to the great question of this day and of the immediate future. If, as Professor Nitti hints ("Catholic Socialism"), in certain countries they seem to be lethargic and inactive, it may be that there the question is not so burning, or that the clergy are few and overworked, or not sufficiently educated to deal with the question. Be this as it may, wherever the question does come to the front it is one which intimately concerns the interests of religion, and even if it did not, it is one which concerns the higher interests of humanity, and as such it cannot fail to enlist the keenest attention and sympathy of every priest who recognizes himself to be the representative of the Healer of the Nations.

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THE PROTEST OF COMMON SENSE AGAINST SOME  
COMMON NONSENSE.

IT is undoubtedly a fact that a great many Catholic laymen, to whom there have never been afforded opportunities of receiving systematic and comprehensive instruction on the subjects of Catholic faith and its ancillary philosophy, are disposed to seriously mistrust the ability of common sense to vindicate itself in the matter of religion and sustain its dignity before the eyes of the skeptic, the unbeliever and the scoffer. The insinuations of the first, the denials of the second, or the ridicule of the third may cause not the shadow of an alteration in the personal attitude of such a Catholic towards the teachings of Holy Church, but he stands abashed, silent and embarrassed before his antagonist, impotent to voice the blessed convictions which possess his soul, and so retires in confusion from the contest, pursued by the cheap derision of the seeming victor, who unduly felicitates himself on the superior readiness of his tongue.

Some Catholics of this sort are even inclined to regard as rash and presumptuous the conduct of those of their brethren in faith who are not so ready to yield to the clamor of opposition in matters of religion, opining that the deliverances of a layman on such subjects are, to say the least, hazardous and superfluous, when there are so many men who have pledged their lives to God's service, for the spread of the saving truth and the frustration and extermination of ubiquitous error. But the priest cannot always be at hand to confute, with his learning, the errors and heresies with which the Catholic layman is daily confronted, and the stand for truth must largely be maintained by men of mere common sense, with no actual and technical acquaintance with Catholic theology and philosophy. It is indeed rash in the inadequately instructed layman to venture a defence of certain points of detailed Catholic doctrine, ability to discuss which implies the possession of information acquired only by long and laborious study; but the anti-religious thought of the day is not attacking such doctrines, for the good reason that its assaults are directed against the very fundamental beliefs upon which those doctrines rest. And these fundamental, primary beliefs are within the mental possession of the plain, common-sense man, and can readily be developed into explicit consciousness when one questions his inner self, not in that spirit of arrogance which flings the gratuitous lie into the very face of mild-speaking truth, and, like "jest-

ing Pilate," will not wait for answer, but in that spirit of confidence in the ultimate pronouncements of consciousness which becomes the sane man who has not committed himself to some of the nondescript absurdities which parade the intellectual world of to-day, labeled philosophy, and denying the fact of being itself.

It may probably be retorted that such primary beliefs, beyond all others, require for their defence against antagonism the trained philosophic mind, and that when common sense is challenged regarding them, something distinctively transcending common sense is needed to stand and give adequate answer to the challenge. In purely philosophical matters, Reid endeavored to state the whole case of common sense, and only succeeded in making himself quite as unintelligible and unconvincing to ordinary minds as the theories he combated, and St. Augustine seems to argue against common sense when, writing of the fundamental notion of Time itself, he exclaims: "*Quod ergo est tempus? Si nemo ex me quærat, scio: si quærenti explicare velim, nescio.*" What, then, is time? If no one asks of me, I know; if I wish to explain to one who asks, I know not. (*Confessions*, xi., 14.)

But the great African saint and philosopher did not mean that interrogation as to Time reduced him to ignorance of its significance. The import of his declaration is simply to the effect that he could conceive, but not comprehend, the idea of Time, and he did not hesitate to intimate that the idea was one which, being in itself fundamental, could only be obfuscated by attempts at definition. But surely St. Augustine would not have felt the slightest embarrassment in confessing his inability to completely define the idea of Time to one who ventured to deny that he, or any one, could have such an idea. He would probably have answered that Time is time, and would have stoutly maintained before his antagonist that, to say the least, his own assertion was just as weighty as the other's denial. The rich substratum of our intellectual life defies analysis, but it imparts meaning and order to all the minor coruscations of thought. The reasons of its existence cannot be confined within the limits of definition, but nevertheless announce themselves in the inner sanctuaries of thought with indisputable credentials of sovereignty. Ultimate principles compose the real wealth of intellectual life, and when we are asked to express them in demonstrable terms, we may well avail ourselves of the philosophy of the enamored Juliet, and retort that "They are but beggars that can count their worth."

Surely, if the profound and saintly Augustine, with mind illumined both by singular graces and by vast learning, did not hesitate to declare the incompetence of human thought to grasp within an act of complete and detailed comprehension the basic

truths of religion and philosophy, the ordinary man of common sense need feel no shame when forced by importunate questioning to the same predicament. When the tiresome skeptic, who lays the flattering unction to his soul that the ceaseless projection of interrogations is indicative of the highest wisdom, demands an explanation of the ultimate truths which form the regulative basis of all healthful religious and intellectual life, the plain man of common sense need draw on no high intellectual powers to reply that these truths cannot be explained for the very simple reason that they are ultimate and self-evidential. Of course, such a reply may only excite the disdain of the skeptic, who affects a supreme contempt for belief in any centres of intellectual rest—any standard of truth “which verifies itself and stops the question” (Poland, “Truth of Thought,” par. 7), but would rather think, and think, and think everything away into a maze of absurdity. All the logic of Aristotle is incompetent to demonstrate what cannot be demonstrated, but which goes to form the reservoir from which all demonstration proceeds; and hence the plain man of common sense is just as effectual, or ineffectual, towards silencing the skeptic, completely enamored of his folly, as would be one who had mastered all attainable knowledge.

There is a pretty story of a learned and beauteous lady of Padua, daughter of the famous jurist, Giovanni d'Andrea, who frequently lectured before her father's pupils on philosophy and jurisprudence, and who, whilst lecturing, concealed herself behind a curtain, lest her hearers

“Should let their young eyes wander o'er her,  
And quite forget their jurisprudence.”

So the ultimate pronouncements of truth are delivered from behind a veil which cannot be penetrated by mental vision. They do not come forth, armed and truculent, to compel by force men's allegiance to them, for the very simple reason that it is man's supreme dignity, and at the same time his supreme responsibility, that he may believe or not, just as he will; but they do come forth with a power of calm convincingness which cannot be withstood by any candid man who has not some eccentric theory to maintain, or who has not become addicted to a habit of persistent and unreasonable interrogation directed towards all things.

The dual aspect of the ultimate truths of religion and philosophy, as propounded by the Catholic Church; their interior obscurity and their exterior luminosity, and the embarrassing consequences which must necessarily flow from their denial, has been well adverted to by the profound and ingenious Donoso Cortes, in his famous essay on Catholicism, Liberalism, and Socialism :



"It should be known that there is no mystery amongst those which faith teaches and the Church proposes to us which does not unite in itself, by an admirable disposition of God, two qualities which ordinarily exclude each other—obscurity and evidence. Catholic mysteries are like bodies at once luminous and opaque, in such a way that their shadows can never be brightened by their light, nor their light obscured by their shadows, remaining perpetually obscure and perpetually luminous. At the very time they shed their light over creation they keep their shadows for themselves; they make everything clear, and can themselves be made clear by nothing. They penetrate everything, and are themselves impenetrable. To him who admits them there is no obscurity but their own; to him who denies them, day becomes night, and his eyes, deprived of light, find nothing but obscurity in all directions. And yet men in their blindness prefer denying to admitting them; light appears intolerable to them if it come from a sombre region, and their gigantic pride condemns their eyes to eternal obscurity regarding the shades found in one sole mystery as a greater difficulty than those that extend in all directions."

In earlier ages the propagandists of Pyrrhonic doctrines were few and far between, and their teachings were known only among the learned classes, the ordinary man being too busily engrossed in the concerns of external life to indulge in philosophizing and introspection. As Brother Azarias says, in his admirable little volume on "Aristotle and the Christian Church": "Small place had philosophy in the intelligence of the child of Nature, just emerging from his woodland home, with his simple habits and few wants." But in the more effete civilization of the last three hundred years, amongst those who have not been nurtured on truth, such as propounded by the Catholic Church, the attitude of doubt, interrogation, and denial has grown most popular, producing two types of adherents—the professional and the amateur, the adept and the tyro. England is fairly entitled to the rather dubious distinction of having produced the leading representatives of the former class; men who have maintained so dogmatic and contemptuous an attitude of mind towards all those convictions which the human race holds nearest and dearest, that the Duke of Argyll indignantly exclaims of them, that "they would stare into the very burning bush itself, without a thought that the ground on which they stand must be holy ground."<sup>1</sup>

There is no humility, no reverence, no consciousness of unworthiness in these men. Could a new Addison arise to dissect the head of a modern agnostic or atheist, he would doubtless have to report, as the "Spectator" did of the dissection of the beau's head, that the "*elevator*, or the muscle which turns the eye towards heaven, did not appear to have been used at all." (Spectator, 275). They have declared their independence from all theological beliefs, and have reiterated *ad nauseam* that they cannot believe what is not explanatory in the terms of ordinary knowl-

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<sup>1</sup> *Reign of Law*, chap. ii.

edge. "When you confront us with hypotheses," says Frederic Harrison, "however sublime and however affecting, if they cannot be stated in terms of ordinary knowledge; if they are disparate to that world of sequence and sensation which to us is the base of all our real knowledge, then we shake our heads and turn aside." What a mad independence is this! It is the independence of destitution—the independence of one who would lay waste his inner life and call it peace! They declare that the imagination stands paralyzed before such conceptions as are implied in the belief in God and immortality, and that consequently they must "shake their heads and turn aside." But let these men only divest themselves of the wretched egotism of their souls, and give heed to the suppressed admonitions of their inner nature, and there will come a struggle, and, as Hallock says, "When the time for a struggle comes, the imagination that affirms may be more than a match for the imagination that denies." (*"Forum,"* vol. ii, p 586.)

The fundamental convictions of religion form one of the most universal and oft-repeated experiences of the human kind. In the light, then, of that dominant agnostic philosophy of the day, which insists on the testing of all things by the indubitable facts of recorded experience, what possible argument can there be against these convictions? And this experience is not one which may be challenged as being possible only under certain and limited conditions, for the force which gives rise to it is persistent. Adverse argument, superficially understood facts of Nature, and the aberrations of intellectual pride and despair, may render an individual mind unresponsive and repellant to this force, but there is ever a general tendency to fall back to the old lines of thought. When there is a successful effort made to readjust the mind, with all its acquired load of facts, observations and conclusions, back to the old condition—and this condition is unquestionably a lowly one of humility and spiritual prostration—there follows an immediate correspondence with the persistent force of objective religion which sends the proud philosopher to his knees, and brings from his lips an humble and unconditional credo. The fact that certain men have never undergone any such experience no more militates against the truth evidenced by such experience in other men than does the fact that one born blind has never beheld the sun call into question the existence of that luminary. Such men have no "spiritual optics," and they read the universal scroll of things with a dull, undiscerning eye, which can obtain no insight into its real and divine significance; just as Peter Bell could see a primrose in a primrose, and nothing more. The reasons why such men wish so earnestly to disengage their minds from all control, or even suggestions, of the supernatural, are quite obvious, and

the truth has been told them very frequently and undisguisedly of late ; by few with more bluntness than by Prof. Mivart, in a quite remarkable and characteristic article, entitled "Professing Themselves to be Wise, They Have Become Fools," published in the AMERICAN CATHOLIC QUARTERLY REVIEW, Vol. XVI.

There may be no hypocrisy in some of the teachers of agnosticism and atheism ; they may sincerely believe what they indoctrinate, but their beliefs are unquestionably the results of their inclinations and wishes, rather than of their unbiased intellectual research. They wish there were no God, no hereafter, and suppressing relentlessly every admonition of their inner nature that there is a God, is an hereafter, they exert all their ingenuity of mind towards the bolstering up of their predilections, and at last attain an actual belief in the shallow fallacies which they teach.

The tyro in skepticism, agnosticism and kindred isms is an insupportably tiresome individual, who has nibbled at Spencer and has committed to memory some of the materialistic aphorisms of "philosophers" such as Tyndall and Huxley, Buckner, Vogt and Haeckel, and their imitators. This is the individual the Catholic of common sense meets almost daily, and common sense is quite competent to expose the vapidty of his arguments every time he opens his mouth to enunciate some choice dictum gleaned from his favorite authorities. Such a one tells the Catholic in a defiant, don't-you-wonder-at-my-daring manner that he does not believe in God or immortality because the existence of the one or the certainty of the other cannot be demonstrated. It is generally a young man or a young woman who makes this bold, bad declaration—one who has yet to learn that it is absurdly foolish to affect a cheap and untenable singularity ; and that the questions he or she so triumphantly puts have been completely answered a thousand times.

The man of common sense, when confronted by positive or hypothetical denials of the existence of God or of immortality, has always at hand a ready answer which cannot be too much insisted upon. "If there were no God, no immortality," he may say to the skeptic or to the unbeliever, "you or I could have no such ideas." And the simple reply of the common sense man cannot be answered, whether in his crude way of thinking he consider the ideas of God and immortality within him as of un-mixed supernatural origin, innately implanted by God in the act of creation, or whether he have a vague intuition of the unquestionable significance of that power of the human mind which reads between the lines, as it were, of the presentments of sensible experience, discerning the ulterior and theological import of phenomena, and abstracting therefrom ideas which the commonest



common sense and the most profound candid philosophy must recognize, and does recognize, as indubitably beyond the scope of material causes.

"But listen," remonstrates the skeptic, "to the explanation of the origin and genesis of religious notions as given by Spencer"; and then he proceeds to read long passages from the First Part of the "First Principles," or from the seventh chapter of the "Data of Ethics"—passage pregnant with exemplifications of the cardinal and subversive error of materialistic evolutionary philosophy; the error of superior, overshadowing effects produced by inferior, inefficient causes. Homogeneous nebulosity, into which a force inducing instability is arbitrarily introduced, without any explanation whatever as to its origin, is made to produce heterogeneous coherence; effects are made to multiply themselves, evolving into conditions of segregation, equilibration, etc.; inorganic matter is made to produce organism, and organism, life; sentient life produces mind, etc., and so on along the whole category until the backward course sets in, and dissolution proceeds to impel everything back to a condition of chaotic collapse. And thus, in a most inconsiderate fashion, the agnostic proceeds to satisfy all the *a priori* requirements of his philosophy, wresting the aspect of every fact of nature and of history in order that it may square with his bias of thought, and then he calls upon the world to admire his work as the very perfection of inductive, synthetic reasoning. This is, indeed, a strange philosophy—one that would have made an old-fashioned scholastic philosopher, with mind permeated by convictions regarding efficient causes, stand amazed and aghast.

And, by the way, with what reason does a philosopher who believes that all things must evolve and dissolve in ceaseless alternation, and who must therefore consistently maintain that dissolution is just as important a process in the endless flux of things as evolution is; with what consistency, may it be asked, does such a philosopher propound any ethical doctrines at all, since according to his philosophy moral chaos and dissolution is just as important and necessary a condition of affairs as moral order? It may, of course, be readily replied to this objection, that evolution is the present process, and that consequently rules of conduct promoting progressive and ascensive moral evolution are now the proper thing; but it may in turn be asked of the evolutionist how he determines within himself that evolution is now in order, and that the time for dissolution has not yet arrived? The evolutionist impatiently replies that the question is an absurd one, and appeals to the fact that man holds in contemplation unattained ideals, and that he further is irresistibly conscious of the obligation incum-

bent upon him to strive as he can to attain the realization of such ideals. "As life has advanced," writes Spencer, "the whole accompanying sentiency has become increasingly ideal." ("Data of Ethics, par. 12.") But what a whole begging of the question is this! It is the same old weary story of puny causes accomplishing relatively great effects. What under the sun could have influenced the first forming of ideals in the primitive intelligence, fresh in its evolutionary ascent from the bonds of matter? What adequate causes could induce any intelligence, with its origin in a purely material basis, to look upwards and forwards, when the whole history and philosophy of its being would tend to influence it to look backwards and downwards? There is but one adequate reply to this simple objection, and it involves an almost ludicrous aspect of the evolutionary hypothesis, and consequently it is not one that the evolutionist cares much about availing himself of. It is this: that the universal scheme of things started (if the expression be allowed by the evolutionist) in a developed condition, and that dissolution was the first order of change; therefore, dissolution having reached its consummation, evolution then sets in, implying the gradual and progressive recovery of pre-existing conditions. If the evolutionist wishes to take refuge in such an absurd notion, he is quite welcome to it. In the meantime, the man of common sense denies and rejects *in toto* such explanations of evolutionary psychology as advanced by Spencer, for the simple reason that he opens his argument with throwing into sentient organism an intrinsically engendered element which sentiency cannot yield—the element of mentality busying itself with ideals.

Not only is it a necessary truth, recognized by all who have not committed themselves to an irrational denial of the existence of necessary truths—that an effect cannot transcend its cause—but it is a corollary truth that a cause must be superior to its effect, for the very obvious reason, that to produce an effect equal to itself a cause must inevitably exhaust itself and become annihilated in the act of production. Hence the mind abhors the notion of a cause producing an effect equal to itself, but also declares that the cause must survive the effect; and in this survival is manifested the superiority of the cause over the effect. These indisputable facts suggest a ready, common-sense notion of the Infinite. Given the sum total of finite things, the necessary existence of their cause before their creation, and also the survival of such cause after the act of creation, and its implied superiority to the product, and you have the Infinite. It is not necessary to suggest any further elucidation of this indirect demonstration of the existence of the Infinite, but enough it is for the present to show that we have thus placed before the mind an object of consistent, logical



thought THAT IS NOT FINITE. And what is that which is not finite?

"Meanwhile," writes Spencer, "with exasperating disregard of all philosophical consistency, "there has been developing the ghost theory." ("Data of Ethics," par. 44.) Has there, indeed? May we be permitted to inquire of the "apostle of understanding" from what efficient and precontaining cause the ghost theory asserted itself in the evolved savage? Why, in the name of all that is reasonable, should the savage, or even the highly evolved and civilized man, with mind produced and evolved solely from material causes, entertain any thoughts concerning what is non-material? The ghost theory of the savage can only arise from the inherent religiosity of his mind, and the fact that he fixes upon the spirit of his departed chief or relative as the objective point towards which to direct his religious sentiments, simply argues deficient intellectuality, and further argues against the agnostic and pantheist, that it is the natural and spontaneous impulse of man to direct his religious thoughts and aspirations towards a definite and semi-comprehensive end, rather than towards the vague and unknowable.

That men have always thought of and aspired for God and immortality, is an argument in support of the real, objective validity of those ideas which common sense unhesitatingly relies on, and which nothing but the commonest nonsense can seriously impugn. It is just as natural for a man to be religious in the innermost recesses of his being, as it is for him to breathe; and if his baser nature held out to him the same solicitations to thwart his vital function of respiration, as it does to stifle the nobler aspirations of his soul, he would doubtless make the attempt. It might be said that such an insinuation contradicts the assertion just made, that it is natural for man to be religious, implying that it is more natural for man to seek the avenues of degeneration than it is for him to "lift his eyes to the mountains whence cometh life." But if any one choose to dispute which is the dominant nature in man, he is really not worth arguing with, and his position is either resultant from some insuperable bias of thought or from some puerile itch for affected and combative opinions.

From an evolutionary point of view, the irreligious or unreligious man is a startling example of degeneration and atavism. "Each function," says Spencer, "has some relation, direct or indirect, to the needs of life; the fact of its existence as a result of evolution being in itself a proof that it has been entailed, immediately or remotely, by the adjustment of inner action to outer action; consequently non-fulfilment of it in normal proportions is non-fulfilment of complete life." ("Data of Ethics," p. 30.)



What a cogent arraignment is this of Spencer's own philosophy! There can be no more acute incompleteness of life than is there in the life of that man in which there is systematically suppressed that overmastering function of the soul which may be designated as the function of worship, and which demands for its complete and adequate discharge that it be directed in well-defined channels towards some objective end, in whose coherence it may rest satisfied, and not towards a so-called end, before whose abyssal vagueness it could assume no attitude save that of mere wonder and paralysis of aspiration. Spencer argues, with truth, that the popular conceptions of supernatural power have been undergoing a gradual process of abstraction, but he insists on the "lame and impotent conclusion" that there can be no end to this process, and that it must inevitably culminate in the complete dissipation of all objective, definitive elements from religious ideas. "A life comes into a man," ironically says R. H. Hutton, of such doctrines, "the depths of which he cannot sound, and his very conviction that he has not the capacity to comprehend its fulness is to empty it of all significance!" (Essay, "What is Revelation?") Without adverting at length to Spencer's utter disregard of the well-established proofs that all existing religions among savage nations present unmistakable practices of exalted origin, and suggest, in their most degraded practices, traces of pure, theistic faith, rather than a progressive evolution from ever lower aspects of thought,<sup>1</sup> it may pertinently be called to mind that what he says of religious conceptions may be also said of the conceptions of human personality, as current in different ages and among different people. The popular conception of personality has undergone a process of abstraction, but does this fact justify one in absurdly concluding that such conception must finally be emptied of all coherence and significance, and that men must live out their lives without really knowing whether they had lived or not? The idea of personality is truly a most abstract one, and it is a vulgar mistake to hold that it is so completely comprehended that it may not be analogically attributed to the Supreme Being; and yet, notwithstanding its high degree of abstractness, this idea of personality, as applied to human beings, asserts its real, objective validity most unmistakably. In the same manner the idea of a personal God is one that no degree of abstractedness can cover over with the impenetrable veil of the Unknowable.

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<sup>1</sup> "Like an old precious metal, the ancient religion, after the rust of ages has been removed, will come out in all its purity and brightness; the image which it discloses will be the image of the Father; the Father of all the nations upon the earth; and the superscription, when we can read it again, will be—not only in Judea but in all the languages of the world—the Word of GOD."—Max Muller, *Science of Religion*, chapter i.

And this is the sort of religion—the religion of the Unknowable—which many supposed was to supplant all other religions! When the gospel of this religion is preached, and the sublimities of its indefinable, delusive and elusive *summum bonum* are expatiated upon as indicating the true goal of human endeavor and aspiration, one is reminded of how the mischievous Launcelot, in the Merchant of Venice, “tried confusions” with his “true begotten father,” who, being “more than sand-blind, high gravel-blind,” knew not his graceless son.

GOBBO—Master Young Gentlemen, I pray you, which is the way to Master Jew’s?

LAUNCELOT—Turn up your right hand at the next turning, but at the next turning of all, on your left; marry, at the very next turning, turn of no hand, but turn down indirectly to the Jew’s house.

GOBBO—By God’s sonties, ’twill be a hard way to hit.

And so the poor bewildered individual who asks the apostle of the Unknowable what he should do to lead the perfect life, what path he should take, will receive an answer like Launcelot’s reply to his father’s query, and well may he exclaim, with the nonplused old man, that “’t will be a hard way to find.” The religion of the Unknowable is truly one which directs man to turn to the right and to the left, with a final indirect turning into nothing at all; but the man of common sense is not “sand-blind and high-gravel blind,” and from such ambiguous doctrines he turns aside in disgust. He demands that the paramount concern of his life shall not be expressed in terms of absolute unreasonableness, and nowhere will he find the dignity of his rational nature so much respected with so ample a concomitant satisfaction vouchsafed to all the religious tendencies of his nature, as within the fold of the Church, which is truly—

“The very opener and intelligencer  
Between the grace and sanctities of Heav’n  
And our dull workings.”

The dabbler in modern philosophic literature has heard or read of a foolish doctrine called materialistic monism, teaching the production of all the diversified conditions of the universe from a simple material principle, and he is much disposed to consider this doctrine a very fine thing. He reproaches the man who maintains old-fashioned Christian convictions concerning creation, and tells him that he is adhering to a vulgar and exploded dualistic conception of the universal scheme of things. The cool, inconsiderate ease with which these advocates of purely materialistic evolution evolve everything from primitive diffuse matter, remind one of a story told concerning a certain old professor who

occupied the chair of philology in a university located in a town called Middletown. This old gentleman was a very profound and learned man, but his insatiable penchant for digging at verbal roots made him at times exceedingly wearisome to his pupils. He was, in truth, one of that class satirized by Cowper:

"... learned philologists who chase  
A panting syllable through time and space,  
Start it at home, and hunt it in the dark  
To Gaul, to Greece, and into Noah's ark."<sup>1</sup>—("Retirement.")

The old gentleman had been unusually expatiative one morning before his class, and had been holding forth on etymological intricacies with an earnestness and laboriousness which would have done credit to a Grimm or a Max Müller, when one of his pupils interrupted him, and, with an affectation of absorbing interest in the subject matter of the professor's lucubrations, arose and said:

"Doctor, has it ever occurred to you to trace the derivation of the name of our town?"

"Why, no," replied the professor. "Have you given the matter any study?"

"Yes, sir, I have," rejoined the young man, "and I am firmly convinced that Middletown is derived from Moses."

"Why, bless my soul," exclaimed the astonished professor, "in what manner have you arrived at such a conclusion?"

"Easily enough," imperturbably answered the young man, "by simply dropping 'oses' and adding 'iddletown.'"

And the process of reasoning by which the evolutionary monist satisfies his mind and endeavors to convince the world that everything is evolved from matter is just as grotesque as the etymological process by which the young student derived Middletown from Moses.

If these gentlemen who descant so largely on the dignity of their idea of the materialistic unity would exercise a fair modicum of common sense, they would speedily awake to the fact that their much vaunted doctrine is completely and irretrievably punctured by one of the primary laws of physics. It is the inevitable tendency of any physical body to consummate its activity and realize its potencies spontaneously, and this tendency can only be checked by the resistance of a superior power. Hence, if the original conglomeration of nebulous matter, viewed as a whole before any processes of segregation and individuation had set in,

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<sup>1</sup> Cowper's absurd contempt for certain branches of knowledge and learned research, concerning which he was in total ignorance, exemplifies in a striking manner a truth as expressed by J. S. Mill: "We know how easily the uselessness of almost every branch of knowledge may be proved to the complete satisfaction of those who do not possess it." (*On Representative Government*, p. 140.)



could not attain the developed conditions which resided within it potentially, save by slow processes of evolution, occupying countless ages of time, it must either have done so in obedience to the preordained plan of the Divine Creative Will, or it must have been resisted in its tendency to accomplish its development by an extrinsic, and, by necessary implication, an evil power. The first conception rejected, the other horn of the dilemma must be grasped, and hence the much talked of doctrine of materialistic monism, with its boasted unified conception of things, turns out to be a very vulgar dualistic conception after all—the dualism of Zoroaster and the ancient Persians. Nay, it is a dualism not even as respectable as the dualism of Zoroaster, for, according to the renowned Magian, Orumzd must in the end triumph over Ahriman, but the doctrines of evolution and dissolution, as expounded by Spencer, teach that a series of alternate and senseless triumphs will go on without end; now the principle of construction must prevail, and now the principle of destruction, and so on, *ad infinitum*. This is another doctrine at which the man of common sense “shakes his head and turns aside.”

There is another class of vagarists whom the Catholic of common sense almost daily encounters, and these, far from ventilating any obviously atheistic, agnostic or materialistic doctrines, congratulate themselves as being Christians of a very superior kind, and they usually manifest a large liberality of speech in communicating their complacent convictions. Their chief contention is that they have developed a deep power of insight into the real significance of the teachings of Christ, and they have deduced, as one of the principal and most salient features of their belief, the doctrine that worship by form and creed must be condignly abolished and relegated to the limbo of religious inadequacies. “The substance of Christ’s teaching was his doctrine of enthusiasm, or of a present spirit dictating the right course of action and superseding the necessity of particular rules. (Seeley, “*Ecce Homo*,” Chap. XXI.)

The position of these teachers has been amply discussed and their claims completely refuted (see article on “*Ecce Homo*,” by Cardinal Newman in the “*Catholic World*,” vol. iii.), but it may not be inopportune to say a few words concerning a book universally popular among those favoring a creedless, formless religion—“*Natural Law in the Spiritual World*”—from the pen of that prolific scientifico-religio-sentimentalist, Prof. Henry Drummond, especially the two chapters of that work which are most read by the Simon-pure Christians just adverted to—the chapters on “Parasitism” and “Semi-Parasitism,” attacking creeds, theology, worship by form, and chiefly church-going.

Professor Drummond is a most nimble theorist, hopping from one hypothesis to the other, as the fancy seizes him—now advocating the biological definition of life advanced by Spencer “as a correspondence with environments”; now adhering to the opposite doctrine as enforced by the Duke of Argyll in his “Unity of Nature,” where life is defined as a resistance to environing conditions that would engulf and destroy it; now claiming that the discovery of certain scientific laws has effectually dissipated the mysteries of the supernatural condition, placing man in possession of the profoundest secrets of eschatology, and now insisting on the unfathomable mysteriousness of the simplest laws of nature; now insisting on the strenuous and ceaseless strife required to prevent one’s spiritual nature from degenerating, and now urging that the attainment of salvation is the most easily accomplished task imaginable. Truly, the kaleidoscopic character of the professor’s “religion” is most astonishing and bewildering, and convicts him of being a waverer in religious matters, with about as much coherence and definitiveness of conviction as Bob Sawyer, of Pickwick fame, had with regard to the politics of Eatanswill—neither “buff nor blue,” but a “sort of compound of all kinds of colors.” And this is the sort of teacher who thinks he has a needed message to deliver to the world, calculated to allay the spiritual unrest so prevalent outside the Church! Truly, it has been an affliction of the age, that men with minds seething with all sorts of vague, undigested, and incoherent “views” on religious matters, and touched, moreover, by a most acute form of the *cacoëthes scribendi*, have not felt themselves restrained from disseminating their hazy ambiguous doctrines amongst millions of people so spiritually esurient that they will swallow with eagerness the most diluted concoction offered them. Professor Drummond’s book contains some very well-written chapters, notably his really fine chapter on “Biogenesis,” but his work as a whole, like all of its kind, reminds one of the caption placed by Dr. Johnson over the final chapter of “Rasselas”—“The Conclusion, in which Nothing is Concluded.” His religion and philosophy are mere bubbles, blown to generous proportions by a strong breath of conceit, but which speedily burst when contact is had with the requirements of common sense.

What Professor Drummond really knows about Catholicism may be correctly inferred from the following, which he adduces as a striking and shocking exemplification of the “parasitic” religion considered by him as engendered by the forms and practices of Catholic worship. “We can never dismiss from memory,” writes he, “the sadness with which we listened to the confession of a certain foreign professor. ‘I used to be concerned about re-



ligion,' said he, in substance, 'but religion is a great subject. I was very busy; there was little time to settle it for myself. A Protestant, my attention was called to the Roman Catholic religion. It suited my case, and instead of dabbling in religion for myself, I put myself in its hands. *Once a year,*' he concluded, '*I go to Mass.*'"

And a man so ignorant or so prejudiced as to accept and repeat, in sober earnestness, this absurd declaration as the testimony of a Catholic, is actually listened to by some as a pleader against the forms of Catholic worship! To use a strong expression of Macaulay's, made under less provocation than this, such conduct is "enough to make us ashamed of our species." Professor Drummond is a most entertaining writer at times, but he is touched with the prevailing weakness of scientific men of the day—the weakness which induces them to throw aside at times the tools of their profession, and to take up in their stead the delicate instruments of another profession, for which they have had no training, and to blunt them with their clumsy handling. His grand project for the abolition of all churches whatsoever, and the establishment of an independent, spontaneous faith, is as chimerical as the scheme of the Laputian wiseacres as described by Gulliver, which had for its object the complete suppression of all the formality of language. The professor magnificently concedes that there may be a little good in formal worship and in church going, but the whole body of his arguments is against such practices—practices without which religion could not and would not assert itself, and hence he and his teachings are completely, and without hesitation, rejected by sound common sense.

The arguments of men of Prof. Drummond's stamp seem to imply that man is an uncontaminated spirit, capable of serving and adoring his Creator with an unimpeded spontaneousness which needs no forms to excite or sustain it, instead of being, as he is, a weak, erring creature, reduced by his many deprivations and deficiencies to the necessity of exerting all his activities in accordance with such forms and methods as will insure to them the maximum of immunity from frustration by adverse influences, a necessity from which the activities of his spiritual life are by no means exempted. Hutton, in his somewhat remarkable essay on "The Incarnation and Christian Influences," eagerly embraces the doctrine of the Incarnation in an independent fashion, and declares his conviction that the truth of that doctrine places man in such close relationship to his Father that he needs no forms of faith to spur him on in his devotion. It is very true that the assumption of humanity by the Second Person of the Blessed Trinity brought men into closer and more direct relation to God, and



relieved theism of the oppressive idea of the dread, unapproachable solitariness of God which characterized Judaism; but the fact that the Incarnation brings man closer to his God does not interfere with the other fact that between God and His creature there lies an immensity of unaccomplished obligation on man's part, which, by reason of its vastness, must be worked in systematically. Christ made man's end more clear to him, and indicated the way and method of salvation, but the whole trend of His teaching goes to emphasize the fact that the gulf between God and His creature cannot be spanned without immense effort on the creature's part; no mere ebullition of "spiritual enthusiasm" will suffice to accomplish the great task. Face to face with his God, as it were, man is paralyzed by the imperativeness and massiveness of his obligations, and nothing but a methodization of his spiritual endeavors will relieve his spiritual aspirations of the stunning vagueness which would otherwise characterize them, eventually nullifying them and producing in their stead their "loathsome opposite."

It is the old, old story of a best way, and it were absurd to suppose that Christ would not have pointed out to man, unequivocally and definitely, the best way in which to shape his spiritual life into coherence; and of course, the best way as thus indicated by Christ would be the best way for all time to come.

Were it not for forms of faith man could not give expression to the religious aspect of his nature. When one places his mind into direct attitude towards the mere idea of the existence of God, his spiritual faculties are stunned, as it were, by vague and fruitless yearnings, and regulative rules of faith, which lose no value in being recognized as conditional necessities, coessential with the mortal existence of man, must assert themselves. A religious life unregulated by defined manifestations of its existence inevitably loses coherence, and dissipates itself into the thin air of spiritual egoism, and from such into something infinitely worse.

The Catholic of common sense, without any deep insight into theology or philosophy, may reply to the absurd charges of Drummond that, given the fact of God's existence, and the further fact that man's end is God, there is an antecedent certainty not only that there is a best formal way by which to accomplish that end, but also that that best way must be indicated for all time by an infallible source. For God, proposing Himself to man as his end, and revealing to him no aids towards the accomplishment of that end, would be a cruel, mocking God, and would belie His own goodness. Our infinite capacities are such that of ourselves we can do nothing really effectual towards reaching the Infinite, and therefore Christ, the Incarnate God, the bridge between the

Infinite and the finite, established and bequeathed to His faithful a method of salvation. This method, infallible as its founder was and is infallible, being prescribed for man, a social being, necessarily became embodied in an organized institution, the Church. It is impossible for the Church in an entirely impersonal way to be infallible, and as the life of any organization of human activities must always converge to a dominant, distinct and definite personality, so must the infallible power of the Church find its expression and exercise in that personality which may preside over the organization of the Church.

Many a Catholic does not appreciate his blessedness in having within the fold of the Church a centre of rest. He accepts his good fortune quite as a matter of fact, and discharges his obligations as a Catholic with perhaps a touch of perfunctoriness, and with a lack of realization of personal concern. But, of course, such is not the truth with regard to the vast majority of the faithful. If our Church had any inherent tendencies to engender religious parasitism, it would have gone by the board long since. Of course, there are people within its fold who are not capable of appreciating, with Newman, the great dignity and importance of the ego in religious matters; but the mental deficiencies of such people are not the products of the Church's methods, but are preserved by those methods from degenerating into something worse. Prof. Drummond expresses much righteous horror concerning the religion of the Catholic lower classes on continental Europe, a very trite subject of aspersion upon Catholicity which has been completely disposed of by Balmes. But, of course, it cannot be expected of a writer like Prof. Drummond to have any knowledge whatever of Catholic literature, and so he innocently repeats the old threadbare falsehoods which he has heard or read concerning Catholics and Catholicism. The undying and ever splendid, rejuvenescent vigor of the Catholic Church is an unmistakable indication of the personally vigorous faith of the great majority of her members. She encourages an active, independent frame of mind on the part of her children, but rightly insists that the truest independence is obtained when there is recognized the limit and scope of human possibilities. The experiment of withdrawing from her guidance has been tried, with results into which there can be rightly read no interpretation derogatory to the claims of the Church; and the only decent aspects of those portions of the civilized world whose people have lived upon a viciously practical extreme of Buckle's theory are such aspects as have been preserved to them by the irrepressible beneficence of Catholic teaching.

The confusion worse confounded prevalent outside the Church

has been well described by Drummond ("Natural Law," etc., p. 213):

"What is religion? What am I to believe? What seek with all my heart, and soul and mind? This is the imperious question sent up to consciousness from the depths of being in all earnest hours; sent down, alas, with many of us, time after time unanswered. Into all our thought and work and reading the question pursues us. But the theories are rejected one by one; the great books are returned sadly to their shelves; the years pass, and the problem remains unsolved. The confusion of tongues here is terrible. Every day a new authority announces himself. Poets, philosophers and preachers try their hands on us in turn. New prophets arise, and beseech us, for our soul's sakes, to give ear to them—at last in an hour of inspiration, they have discovered the final truth. Yet the doctrine of yesterday is challenged by a fresh philosophy to-day, and the creed of to-day will fall in turn before the criticism of to-morrow. Increase of knowledge increaseth sorrow, and at length, the conflicting truths, like the beams of light in the laboratory experiment, combine in the mind to make total darkness."

Is it to be wondered at that pessimism, with all its degenerating and enervating influences, has seized upon the minds of those who have rejected the bases of truth, and are futilely endeavoring to build up a new temple with the disjointed fragments? Is it surprising that Huxley has defined the exercise of man's most dignified faculty as the "malady of thought?" But the saddest phase of this lamentable state of affairs is that the self-sufficiency which has destroyed so much happiness does not seem to realize the wretchedness of its own condition, but is rather disposed to regard its degradation as elevation, and to consider the seething chaos of its mental world with the calmest self-satisfaction. The propagandists of modern infidelity and doubt have sought to tear from life all the truths that make it worth the living, advancing the most flippant, frivolous and unsubstantial reasons as sufficient necessities for the work of laceration. They have thrown millions of minds into the direst confusion, and have then impudently told them that the possession rather than the loss of the old religious truths has been productive of this confusion. Their exultant invitations to shallow, pessimistic thought, and the almost childish glee with which they propose the supposed possibilities of their irreverent criticisms are infinitely absurd—absurd, however, in a serious way, as being an exhibition of such "fantastic tricks before high heaven as make the angels weep."

But the magnificent structure of Catholic truth remains unshaken, secure for all time on the impregnable rock of Peter, and full of the divine life which shall prevail over the world. The Church will always have griefs to sustain and difficulties to contend with, but

"Nothing is a misery  
Unless our weakness apprehend it so."



We cannot be more faithful to ourselves  
In anything that's manly, than to make  
Our fortune as contemptible to us,  
As it makes us to others.

VINCENT D. ROSSMAN.

ST. LOUIS, MO.

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### THE MEANING OF SCRIPTURAL NUMBERS.

TO the casual reader of Scripture there doubtless does not appear any special significance in the fact that our Lord said that the good seed brings forth a hundred-fold, or in the fact that He spoke to them a parable about one, two and five talents instead of some other number, or in the fact that He chose just twelve Apostles. Such a reader sees the lesson to be conveyed without giving special heed to the numbers mentioned.

However, it is an undeniable fact that the Fathers, in interpreting Scripture, have written much to explain not merely the meaning of the text itself, but also to show why our Lord used the special numbers, one, two, three, etc., in preference to some other. In other words, the Fathers maintained that there was a symbolic meaning and a moral lesson in the numerical part of the parable or narrative, as well as in the doctrinal portion of the narrative.

In their day, and for centuries before, the intellectual bent was such that not only did words have their meanings, but numbers also were supposed to contain some mystic meaning, some symbolism, which would be clear to the initiated, at least, if not to the less privileged mortal.

So far has this symbolism become obsolete, that to-day, as I said, it does not strike the reader except in a few obvious cases, as, for instance, number three.

Some relics of the symbolism of numbers as a profane science are still to be found in the occult sciences and in various superstitious practices. These, however, are not of Patristic origin, but probably antedate the Scriptural symbolism of the Fathers, and come to us through pagan channels, which had their source in Pythagoras and his school, and perhaps even farther back still, in Egyptian mysticism.

For the better understanding of the symbolic value of numbers

in Scripture, a few words on Pythagoras and his system will not be out of place. It is claimed that Pythagoras, who lived about 500 B.C., was the originator of the theory of symbolism in numbers, although it is quite probable that what he taught was borrowed from Egypt. The fact is that very little is known about him with certainty, for so many fables have been invented that his life is a tissue of contradictions and absurdities. On account of these absurdities, St. Chrysostom speaks of him with great contempt. He says of him: "He performed many tricks of magic, for a man certainly cannot converse with cattle, as is related of him, except by the arts of magic. It is perfectly plain that a man who thus interviewed brute beasts could not be a benefactor to men, but rather a source of great detriment. In sooth, human nature was capable of a higher philosophy than this." St. Chrysostom then goes on to say that Pythagoras pretended that when men eat beans they devour the heads of their parents, and, what is more to our subject, that "all things are regulated by numerical laws."<sup>1</sup> In which words Pythagoras would seem to imply that a mathematical and fatalistic necessity governed all things. St. Chrysostom does not in this place explicitly condemn Pythagoras's use of numbers, but there is sufficient condemnation in what he said before and in what he says of him in another place, namely, that "Pythagoras had not a single sound notion of God"; that "Those things which even a widow knows among us, Pythagoras was utterly ignorant of."<sup>2</sup>

In spite of the uncertainty connected with Pythagoras, mathematics at any rate is said to have been much advanced by him and his school; he is said to have been the discoverer of the Pythagorean proposition about the square of the hypotenuse, which is familiar to every schoolboy.

Their philosophy seems to have been based on the mathematical and numerical relations of things. Substances were regarded as abstract numbers. Numbers were in some sense the elements of the universe. Each number, therefore, had its virtue.

In a few words, their doctrine was somewhat as follows:

One represents the origin of things; it symbolizes reason, because unchangeable.

Two represents matter, brute force, evil, the female sex; it is the symbol of opinion in philosophy, because unlimited and indeterminate.

Three represents mediation, the male sex.

Four represents justice, because the first square number, the product of equals; it also represents potential ten, because  $1 + 2 + 3 + 4 = 10$ .

<sup>1</sup> In *Joan. Hom.*, 2.

<sup>2</sup> In *Joan. Hom.*, 66.

Five represents reproduction; it is the symbol of matrimony, from the union of three and two, the first male and female number.

Little is said about number six.

Seven represents virginity, because it neither produces nor is produced by any number from one to ten, that is, it has neither factors nor product; hence, it is called *παρθένος* or *Ἀθύνη*.

The heavens and all nature are a harmony composed of seven notes. Longfellow has given us a few lines on this phase of Pythagoras's doctrine:

"Great Pythagoras of yore  
Standing beside the blacksmith's door,  
And hearing the hammers as they smote  
The anvils with a different note,  
. . . . formed the seven-chorded lyre."  
(To a child.)

Ten governs the universe.

Certain classes of numbers, such as odd, even and square numbers, had their special symbolism. The odd numbers represented the limited, the even that which was unlimited, because the latter could be perpetually halved, while the odd, one, three, five, seven, were indivisible, and hence limited. The place of honor seems to have been given to the odd number, as Virgil indicates in Alpheisbœus's invocation of Hecate.

"Numero Deus impare gaudet,"<sup>1</sup> which has been well rendered by our own Bard of Avon, "Good luck lies in odd numbers. . . . They say there is divinity in odd numbers, either in nativity, chance, or death."

Whatever uncertainty there may be about Pythagoras and his system, there is no doubt that the doctrine of the Neo-Platonists exerted an influence over the Fathers.

Philo, the Jew, is a type of this school. He flourished about 40 A.D., at Alexandria, where this school was centred. He has written extensively on the Old Testament, and is constantly discovering a deep symbolism in the numbers used.

As Philo was a Jew, his belief in the true God modified the pagan interpretation of numbers.

With him number one represents God; four is the symbol of the elements, the seasons of the year, justice; it governs music and all mathematics. It is the potential decade, as with Pythagoras, that is, adding the first four numbers,  $1 + 2 + 3 + 4$ , you get 10. Six is a perfect number, because of its divisibility in excess of all other numbers from one to ten; that is, it is the only number of the first ten, factorable by one, two, and three. On account of this divisibility it is a figure of the corporeal world.

<sup>1</sup> *Eccl.*, viii., 75.



Seven, on the other hand, denotes the incorporeal world, because, as we remarked in connection with Pythagoras, it is unfactorable, nor does it enter as a factor into ten. Therefore, it represents virginity. It represents peace and quiet, and is a type of the human mind, which dominates over the faculties of men and keeps them in peace and tranquillity. This notion is derived from God's rest after the six days of creation. This number is considered very fortunate.

One hundred denotes perfection, because Abraham was one hundred years old when he begat Isaac.

Ninety-nine is next door to perfection. It was in the ninety-ninth year that God appeared to Abraham.

The following passages from Philo will illustrate his doctrine and his method of reasoning: He wishes to explain why God adorned the heavens on the fourth day, and not on some other day.

On the first three days God separated the light from the darkness, created the firmament, the earth, and the sea, but on the fourth day the heavens received their adorning, because four is a perfect number, the cause and potentiality of ten, ten being the term of the immensity of numbers. Then he shows the relation of four to other numbers and to music, one represents a point, two a line, three a surface, four a solid, hence four is in great honor. He adds that four represents the elements and the seasons of the year.

After much of this sort, he concludes: "Since, therefore, number four has been accorded so many privileges, the Creator necessarily adorned the heavens on the fourth day with most beautiful and divine embellishment, namely, the light-giving stars."<sup>2</sup>

In another place, commenting on the six days of creation, he says: "There were six days, not because God needed time, but because the world should be created according to order; and number is proper to order." Then he proceeds to show how number six is the most fitting representation of the creation of the world, since six represents generation. (*Ibidem.*)

Whether Philo believed in the fatalistic necessity attached to numbers, as might perhaps be inferred from the way in which he speaks of the fourth day of creation, I shall not attempt to decide; however, it is certain that this fatalistic notion was repudiated by the Fathers, as we shall see later on in the case of St. Ambrose.

That the Fathers were indoctrinated with the Neo-Platonist views about numbers, there can hardly be any doubt.

Certainly there can be no doubt that even the greatest of the

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<sup>2</sup> *De Creatione Mundi.*

Fathers attached much importance to this symbolism, for according to St. Augustine, "The learned and studious esteem wisdom and number."

This assertion he proves in countless places, by his treatment of the numbers mentioned in the narrative of the Gospel. For instance, in his discourse on John v., where our Lord cured the man at the pool of Bethesda, who had been sick for thirty-eight years, he says: "Even in the number of years there is a type of infirmity. He had been eight and thirty years under his infirmity. I must now explain to you at some length how this number typifies infirmity rather than health. Attend carefully: the Lord will be present to me that I may speak what is suitable and that you may comprehend. The mystical number forty, *numerus sacratus*, is a symbol of perfection, as I believe you know. At any rate, the Sacred Scriptures prove it in many places. This is the number consecrated by the fast of Moses, of Elias, and of Christ." He asks himself in what the perfection of this number forty consists, then, by way of conjecture, offers two reasons, and after giving them, he adds; "whether the first reason or the second be the true one, or whether there be some other more probable explanation which is unknown to us, but which is understood by those better versed in these things, this much is certain, that some kind of perfection in good works is symbolized by the number forty."

St. Augustine, as you see, speaks conjecturally, but admits that there is certainly a symbolic meaning in number forty. He speaks in this conjectural way in several places: "Perhaps there is a suggestion in the very number."<sup>1</sup> Again, "the number hints at something symbolical" (*ibidem*). In expounding number one hundred and fifty, he says: "The Book of Psalms hints clearly enough that this number has a symbolic meaning."<sup>2</sup>

From this manner of speaking it is obvious that St. Augustine recognized some lurking meaning in the number expressed in the Scripture, but that he was doubtful as to the real meaning. In other places, however, he speaks more plainly and positively. In commenting on John vi., 19, "when they had rowed about five and twenty or thirty furlongs, they see Jesus walking upon the sea, and drawing nigh to the ship." St. Augustine says: "The very number of furlongs has a meaning which should not be overlooked," and then he proceeds to explain the symbolism of twenty-five and thirty.<sup>3</sup> Again, of number five: "This number is in special honor in the Old Testament."<sup>4</sup> "Number fifty," he says, "symbolizes a great mystery."<sup>5</sup> Again, in trying to explain the

<sup>1</sup> In *Heptateuch*, l. 4, § 2.

<sup>2</sup> In Psalm 89, § 9.

<sup>3</sup> In *Joan. Tract.*, 25, § 6.

<sup>4</sup> In *Heptateuch*, l. 4, § 2.

<sup>5</sup> In Psalm 150, § 1.

reason why in certain places in the Old Testament, when an addition is made the result is not always arithmetically exact, he says: "All these things, which appear to be insoluble difficulties, have without doubt some deep reason behind them; but I doubt whether all can be reconciled, if they be taken literally, especially in the matter of numbers, for in the Scriptures we believe, and rightly too, that numbers are symbolical in an eminent degree (*sacratissimos*) and full of deep mysteries (*mysteriorum plenissimos*); this we gather from those parts of Scripture in which we have certain knowledge that the numbers are of this symbolic character."<sup>1</sup> The importance attached to the symbolic meaning can hardly be doubted after these words. This is St. Augustine's testimony. St. Ambrose speaks in the same way. On the way out of Egypt the Children of Israel encamped forty-two times, "which number," says St. Ambrose, "teaches us many mysteries by reason of numbers ten, four, and two included in it."

Sometimes the number is chosen simply because it symbolizes perfection, as in the case of the six days of creation. On this subject St. Augustine thus speaks: "No one is so foolish as to dare to say that God could not have created all in one day, if He so willed, or in two days, if He so preferred, fashioning, for instance, the spiritual creation on the first day and the corporeal on the second, or creating the heavens and all their adornments on one day and the earth and all that it contains on the second. In one word, it was in His power to fashion the universe just when, how and in what time He pleased. Who will dare to say that anything can resist His will?" Then he proceeds to give the reason why six days were assigned to this work of creation. It is, he says, because number six is a perfect number, and symbolizes the completion or perfection of the work. He then draws attention to the passage in the book of Wisdom, xi. 21: "Thou hast ordered all things in measure and number and weight."<sup>2</sup> In passing we might remark that perhaps this passage, just cited, will explain the peculiar opinion of St. Augustine about the days of creation, which comes up for discussion in the treatise "De Deo Creante." While theologians and scientists are laboring to find plausible explanations of the exact meaning and duration of the days of creation, St. Augustine very simply disposes of the whole matter by saying that the day of Genesis is not a day at all, but that the whole narrative of the six days is an allegory, symbolizing a work brought to perfection in order and harmony.

Besides the general signification of perfection found in some

<sup>1</sup> In *Heptateuch*, l. 1, § 152.

<sup>2</sup> *Tract. de 42 mansionibus Filiorum Israel*,

<sup>3</sup> *De Genesi ad Litt.*, l. 4, § 7.



numbers, there are other numbers which, though of definite value, still denote universality or multitude, as, for instance, in the case of the twelve Apostles, the five wise virgins, the hundred and fifty-three fishes, as we shall see more at length later on.

It should be noted here that with all their reverence for the mystical meaning of numbers, the Fathers recognized the necessity of caution in the matter, and did not regard the hidden utterance of the number as oracular. For example, when Tichonius, the Donatist, had established seven laws by which Scripture could be interpreted with almost mathematical exactness, as he pretended, among which laws was one called the law of numbers, St. Augustine protested against the excess to which Tichonius carried his doctrine. "If," says St. Augustine, "he had said that these mystical rules open out some of the hidden recesses of the law, instead of saying that they reveal all the mysteries of the law, he would have spoken truth; or if, instead of saying that these laws will unseal every sealed mystery, he had said that they can unravel many mysteries, he would have said what was true and would not have destroyed the usefulness of principles which, if used with moderation, would be very serviceable."<sup>1</sup>

In another place St. Augustine repudiates altogether a certain interpretation given by some to number eight, because it militated against Scripture. From the passages we have cited, in which he attributes nothing more than a hint or suggestion to the number, or when he ventures merely as far as a conjecture, a perhaps, it is clear that, although much meaning was accredited to this symbolical interpretation, nevertheless the method was not used without caution. St. Ambrose was no less on his guard against Pythagoras. When commenting on the six days of creation and the seventh day of rest, he says: "Number seven is good, but we do not explain it after the doctrine of Pythagoras and the other philosophers, but rather according to the manifestation and division of the grace of the Spirit; for the prophet Isaias has enumerated seven as the principal gifts of the Holy Spirit. This number seven, like the adorable Triune God, who is without time, without limits, and the author of number, is not bound down by the laws of number."<sup>2</sup> In other words, this is a rejection of the fatalism of the philosophers, who circumscribed everything within numerical or calculable limits. We have already seen with what contempt St. Chrysostom speaks of Pythagoras.

In spite, however, of their caution, which sometimes goes so far as contempt, the Fathers speak with great respect for the mystical meaning of numbers. Even to the most sceptical mind there

<sup>1</sup> *De Doctrina Christiana*, l. 3, § 42.

<sup>2</sup> Letter to Horontianus.

can be no doubt that certain numbers have a special sacredness, as St. Augustine says: "There is no one who does not see that number three has a sacred character from its connection with the Trinity." And so for some other numbers connected with our Lord and His earthly mission, as, for instance, seven and eight, as we shall see later on.

The method of interpretation in use among the Fathers will become clear from a few illustrations, together with a brief outline of some of the principal meanings assigned by the Fathers to the numbers in Holy Scripture. In my illustrations I shall limit myself almost exclusively to St. Augustine.

1. One denotes unity, simplicity, the origin of all, God. St. Augustine has something on this number. After explaining number seven as the number of sanctification, and then showing how a certain perfection is found in number fifty, by squaring seven and adding one, he says: "One is added to signify that He who, on account of His sevenfold operation is represented by seven, is, nevertheless, only one," as though he had said God completes all things, God, who though one and simple, has a sevenfold, yea, a manifold power.

2. The doctrine about number two is not as definitely fixed as the doctrine on some other numbers. Two is sometimes bad, or unlucky; sometimes good. For example, the second day of creation was not commended for its goodness in Scripture, as were the subsequent days, the even-numbered animals in the ark were unclean. Matrimony, which is the union of two persons, and, consequently, represented by the first even or unlucky number, is not as good as virginity, which is represented by the odd or lucky.

St. Augustine, in commenting on John v., speaks indefinitely in regard to number two; in fact, what he says does not specially characterize or single out two from other numbers. He says: "Since some good is symbolized in number two, we find this good eminently in the twofold law of charity." He had shown the imperfection of number thirty-eight, the number of years of the sick man at Bethsaida, which wants two of the perfect number forty. To reach forty, some good had to be added to the imperfection of thirty-eight, and this good he finds in the two laws of charity.

3. Obviously, number three denotes the Father, Son and Holy Ghost; like some other numbers of Scripture it denotes universality; it symbolizes the soul, because of the three powers, and because it is an image of the Trinity; or, as St. Augustine says, because "we are bidden to love God in a threefold manner, with

our whole heart, with our whole soul, with our whole mind."<sup>1</sup> He says elsewhere "ternarius numerus in multis sacramentis excellit."<sup>2</sup>

4. Four denotes the four quarters of the earth, the four elements, the four seasons of the year, the four gospels. As three symbolizes the soul, or the spiritual, so four is the symbol of the body, or the corporeal. "It is evident," says St. Augustine, "that number four denotes the body, on account of the four well-known elements of which it is composed, and the four qualities, dry, wet, hot, cold. Whence also it is subject to four seasons—spring, summer, autumn, winter." He then adds: "These things are as plain as day. Elsewhere number four is treated of with more subtlety, but less clearness."<sup>3</sup>

5. Five is a specially sacred number in the Old Testament, because it represents the law, as symbolized in the five books of Moses. Five is also used to signify universality or an indefinite multitude, somewhat like number three. The first meaning is illustrated in St. Augustine's sermon on Psalm 143, where he speaks of David and Goliath. "David took five stones out of the brook, and put them into the shepherd's scrip."<sup>4</sup> "The five stones were the Law: for the Law is contained in the five books of Moses. And in the Law there are ten commandments affecting our salvation, to which all the other precepts are directed. Therefore the Law is symbolized both by number five and number ten. And for this reason David fought under the symbol of number five and sang to number ten, saying: 'I will sing to thee on the psaltery and an instrument of ten strings.'<sup>5</sup> And yet he did not cast all the five stones, but only one, for in the number of stones he showed the number of books, in the use of one the unity of those who fulfil the Law. For Unity itself fulfilleth the Law, that is Charity."<sup>6</sup>

The second meaning of number five, that is multitude or universality, is exemplified in the parable of the ten virgins, five wise and five foolish, whereby number five is understood the proper control of the five senses. The five prudent virgins are those who serve God by the right use of their senses, and hence the five prudent virgins denote thousands, all those souls who will enter into the kingdom of God.

6. Six denotes creation and generation, being the sum and product of one, two, and three, as we saw above in regard to the six days of creation. It denotes the Gospel, because it adds one to the Law, number five.

7. Probably there is no number more full of meaning to the

<sup>1</sup> In Psalm 6, § 2.

<sup>2</sup> Ad. Jan. Epist. 55, § 33.

<sup>3</sup> In Psalm 6, § 2.

<sup>4</sup> I Kings, xvii., 40.

<sup>5</sup> Ps. 143, 9.

<sup>6</sup> Sermo in Psalm 143, § 5.



Fathers than number seven, meanings, too, which would appear contradictory, unless we note the fact that there is very often some other number, in relation to which it is considered. Hence by varying the term of comparison, the signification varies.

Seven denotes the creature and whatever passes with man's temporal life, for man is divided between body and soul, the former represented by four, the latter by three, as we saw above. After the seven days of this temporal existence will come the eighth day, the day of judgment. It is for this reason, says St. Augustine, that the prophet Amos several times reiterates God's angry words, "For three crimes of Damascus, and for four I will not convert it," "For three crimes of Gaza, and for four I will not convert it," "For three crimes of Tyre, and for four I will not convert it," "For three crimes of Edom, and for four I will not convert him," "For three crimes of the children of Ammon, and for four I will not convert him," "For three crimes of Moab, and for four I will not convert him," "For three crimes of Juda, and for four I will not convert him," "For three crimes of Israel, and for four I will not convert him"<sup>1</sup> Three in these denunciations, St. Augustine says, represents the spiritual part, and four the corporal part of man, therefore all man's sins, spiritual and sensual, are here symbolized.

An interesting and curious application of this meaning of seven is found in St. Augustine's explanation of number seventy-seven. He reckons seventy-seven persons in the genealogy of Christ as narrated in St. Luke. Ten represents the Law, on account of the Decalogue. Eleven exceeds the Law by one, and therefore represents the transgression of the Law, that is to say, sin. Seven represents man in his double nature, spiritual and corporal. Hence the product of eleven and seven, which is seventy-seven, represents all the sins which man commit, and this is why St. Luke has seventy-seven persons, ascending from Christ, through Adam to God himself, "because in this number is represented the blotting out of all sins through baptism."<sup>2</sup> The idea of creation or the creature is found in number seven for another reason also, namely, because God labored for six days and rested on the seventh.<sup>3</sup>

Seven and eight are sometimes contrasted so that seven typifies the Old Testament, because the seventh day was sacred, and eight the New Testament, because the eighth day is sacred among us on account of the resurrection of Christ on that day.

But the most common interpretation is that which regards seven

<sup>1</sup> Amos i., 2.

<sup>2</sup> *Sermo de Concordia Evang. Matt. and Luc. in generationibus Domini*, § 33; *Sermo in Matt.* xviii., 21, 27, § 7.

<sup>3</sup> *Sermo xxiii. in Diabus Paschalibus*, § 10.

as the number of grace, the number of the Holy Spirit, on account of His sevenfold operation or sevenfold gifts. In this respect seven is very often contrasted with ten, the number representing the Law, because of the Decalogue.

Seven also often signifies sanctification because of its relation to the Holy Ghost, the Sanctifier, and because God sanctified the seventh day by resting after the creation.

Perfection in general is often symbolized by this number.

On the miracle of the seven loaves in St. Mark (viii. 1-9), St. Augustine says: "The seven loaves signify the sevenfold operation of the Holy Ghost; . . . the seven baskets of fragments the perfection of the Church. For perfection is very often typified by this number." Again, it denotes universality. "Number seven," says St. Augustine, "in which the type of universality is found, is attributed to the Church because of her universality."<sup>1</sup> He explains how universality is found in number seven when commenting on St. Luke, xvii. 3, 4. "If thy brother sin against thee seven times in a day, and seven times in a day be converted unto thee, saying, I repent, forgive him." Here seven means no matter how many times he sin against thee. "And why is it," asks St. Augustine, "that seven means as many times as may occur? An evident reason is in the fact that all time is included in the revolving cycles of seven days."<sup>2</sup> "Seven times a day I shall give praise to thee (Psalm, cxviii. 164), means I shall never cease in thy praise, for he who says seven times means all time, whence it is that in the revolution of seven days is included the passage of ages."<sup>3</sup>

8. Eight is sometimes the symbol of the judgment which will follow this life, which in its turn is represented, as we saw by number seven.<sup>4</sup> It also very frequently typifies the resurrection, and hence eternal beatitude, for it was on the eighth day, which is the first day of the week, that Christ rose from the dead.<sup>5</sup> I shall speak of this more at length elsewhere.

9. Nine is the number of the angels, on account of the nine choirs. Whether there is any connection between the number of choirs in the fallen angels and Milton's majestic lines embodying the pagan legend of Vulcan's nine days' fall from Olympus to Lemnos, is hard to say:

"Nine days they fell; confounded chaos roared  
And felt tenfold confusion in their fall."<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Ad. Jan. Epist.*, 55, § 2.

<sup>3</sup> Psalm, cxviii. 164.

<sup>5</sup> In Psalm 6, § 1.

<sup>2</sup> *Sermo in Luc.*, xvii. 3, 4, § 1.

<sup>4</sup> *Sermo in Marc.*, viii. 1-9, § 2.

<sup>6</sup> *Ad. Jan. Epist.*, 55, § 23.

<sup>0</sup> *Par. Lost*, vi. 871.

Again, perhaps, there is some special fitness in this relation of number nine to the fallen angels in the incantation of the witches in *Macbeth* :

“Thrice to thine, and thrice to mine,  
And thrice again, to make up nine.  
Peace ! the charm’s wound up.”

But, as St. Augustine says, when trying to solve a similar problem, I leave the solution of this to those better versed in these matters.

10. Ten denotes universality, because it contains seven, which expresses the creature, and three, which denotes the Creator, the Trinity. It also denotes the eternal reward, as figured in the denarius. Perhaps the most frequent meaning of all is the Law, on account of the ten commandments.

Thus we have a brief outline of the meaning of the first ten numbers. Examples, interesting and at times curious, might be multiplied to illustrate this meaning, but one or two will suffice.

No clearer and more comprehensive illustration of the doctrine of numbers can be had than in the passages of St. Augustine, in which he explains the symbolism of twelve as found in the number of Apostles, and of one hundred and fifty-three, the number of fishes caught by the disciples.

In commenting on St. Matthew, xix. 28, “Amen, I say to you that you who have followed me, in the regeneration, when the Son of man shall sit on the seat of His majesty, you also shall sit on twelve seats, judging the twelve tribes of Israel,” St. Augustine asks : “Will only twelve sit as judges? What about the Apostle Paul, will he be separated from the others? Far be it from us, he says, to say or even think such a thing. Will he take the place of Judas? This cannot be, for Matthias was elected in Judas’s place and filled up the number twelve. Then Paul will not be among the judges perhaps, or maybe he will judge standing, as there are but twelve seats. Not so, it cannot be that he who labored more than all the others should be obliged to stand up and judge.<sup>1</sup> St. Paul’s case, therefore, forces us to reflect and examine carefully why twelve seats are mentioned. We find other numbers in Scripture with the indefinite meaning of a multitude. For instance, in the case of the five wise and five foolish virgins. . . . The reason why five denotes multitude is because in the number five we see represented the proper conduct of the five senses of the body. All those, therefore, who live in proper restraint, no matter how many they may be, are repre-

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<sup>1</sup> 1 Cor., xv. 10.



sented by these five virgins. In the same way Dives,<sup>1</sup> while in torment in hell, said that he had five brothers. Here the Jewish people is understood, because Moses, the Lawgiver, wrote five books. Again, the Lord, after the Resurrection, bade the disciples cast their nets on the right side of the boat, and one hundred and fifty-three fishes were taken. . . .

By this number the Lord indicated the just in the kingdom of heaven. . . .

But how is it that there are only one hundred and fifty-three? The Scripture means by this number *millia millium*, thousands of thousands.<sup>2</sup> Read the Apocalypse, where you have a hundred and forty-four thousand from the Jewish people alone;<sup>3</sup> consider the number of martyrs, and the seven thousand of whom Elias speaks, who did not bend their knee before Baal.<sup>4</sup>

These surely exceed one hundred and fifty-three. Therefore, the hundred and fifty-three fishes mean not merely the small number of one hundred and fifty-three saints, but a multitude of saints and just, so that all those who are predestined to the resurrection of eternal life are understood to be comprehended in those hundred and fifty-three. St. Augustine then proceeds to show how the computation is made from one hundred and fifty-three to thousands of thousands. The Law has ten precepts, while the spirit of grace, by which alone the Law is fulfilled, is called septiformis, seven-fold. Therefore, let us examine this number seventeen, and see what it means. Ten represents the Commandments, seven the grace of the Holy Spirit, by which grace the Commandments are kept. Number seventeen, therefore, contains all those predestined to the resurrection, to the kingdom of heaven, to eternal life; that is, those who observe the Law by the grace of the Spirit, not by their own power and merit.

If you take the sum of all the numbers from one to seventeen, inclusive; that is,  $1 + 2 + 3 + 4 + \text{etc.}$ , up to 17, inclusive, you will get one hundred and fifty-three as a result. You will thus find that the immense number of all the saints is included in this small number of fishes. Therefore, as in the five virgins are included innumerable virgins; as in the five brothers of him who was tormented in hell thousands of the Jewish people are included; and as in the hundred and fifty-three fishes thousands of thousands of saints are included; so in the twelve seats not merely twelve men are represented, but the great number of the perfect." "And now," he says, "how is it that number twelve is not limited to the twelve seats, but extends to many? How is it

<sup>1</sup> Luke, xvi, 28.

<sup>3</sup> Apôc., vii., 4.

<sup>2</sup> Dan., vii., 10.

<sup>4</sup> III. Kings, xix., 18.

that all those who will come from all quarters of the globe are included in this number twelve? The reason is, because the universe embraces four parts, East, West, South and North, and because all those who are called from these parts are called in the Trinity, and made perfect in faith and obedience to the Trinity; since, therefore, thrice four make twelve, you see why it is that the saints who will sit on twelve seats to judge the twelve tribes of Israel include the whole world."<sup>1</sup>

This universality of twelve is set forth by St. Augustine in nearly the same terms when speaking of the vision of St. Peter.<sup>2</sup> The four corners of the vessel or sheet represent the four quarters of the globe, which Scripture frequently mentions, East, West, North and South. Hence, because the whole world was called through the Gospel, four Gospels were written. The vessel was let down three times to indicate the command given to the Apostles: "Go, baptize all nations in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost." "Hence is explained, as you already know, why twelve was the number of the Apostles. For not without a purpose did our Lord wish to have twelve, and so far is that number symbolical, that when one had fallen only one could be chosen in his place."<sup>3</sup>

A word or two more on number one hundred and fifty-three may be of interest, as St. Augustine, time and again, explains the mystical meaning of these fishes.

"In this number," he says, "as in others which are full of symbolical meaning, a wonderful mystery is contained." Ten represents the ten commandments of the Law, but the Law availeth not without grace; that is, number seven is added to ten. The spirit is added to the letter, for without grace the law is vain; 'the letter killeth, but the spirit quickeneth.'<sup>4</sup> The sacred writings bear witness to the fact that the Holy Spirit is represented by number seven, for number seven represents sanctification. . . . Where else do you find the first mention of sanctification unless on the seventh day, on which God rested from all His work?"<sup>5</sup> Fittingly, therefore, is the Holy Spirit represented by number seven. Isaias speaks of the sevenfold office of the Holy Spirit (xi. 23). Does not the Apocalypse mention the seven spirits of God (Apoc., iii. 1), while in reality it is one and the same Spirit, dividing to every one according as He will?"<sup>6</sup>

Therefore, adding to ten, the number of the Law, seven, the number of the Spirit, we have seventeen, the Law fulfilled in grace. This number has a subtle and interesting relation to one

<sup>1</sup> *Sermo in Psalm*, 49, § 8.

<sup>2</sup> *Sermo in Psalm*, 103, § 2.

<sup>3</sup> Gen., i. and ii., 3.

<sup>4</sup> Acts x., 9-16.

<sup>5</sup> II. Cor., iii. 6.

<sup>6</sup> I. Cor., xii. 11.

hundred and fifty-three. If you make seventeen the base of a triangle, from which the Trinity is evidently inferred, and ascend to the apex, subtracting one at each step, till you finally come to number one at the apex, you have all the numbers from one to seventeen, the sum of which is equal to one hundred and fifty-three. Therefore, not merely one hundred and fifty-three saints are here expressed as predestined for eternal life, but thousands are herein contained.

There are still other relations in one hundred and fifty-three. It is thrice fifty, with three added for the mystery of the Trinity. Fifty, which represents the descent of the Holy Ghost, is made up of  $7 \times 7$ , with the addition of one. One is added to signify that He, who on account of His sevenfold operation is typified in number seven, is nevertheless only one.

Therefore, not without a purpose are these fishes one hundred and fifty-three in number, *et magni*, large ones.

That some light may possibly be thrown upon Scripture interpretation by an understanding of the symbolic meaning of numbers has been sufficiently indicated by the above citations. Besides this, the symbolic meaning of numbers is of undoubted exegetical value in the interpretation of the Fathers. Some passages of the Fathers are absolutely unintelligible, if read by themselves without having recourse to other passages, in which the mystical doctrine of numbers is explained. This is notably the case in a passage of St. Ambrose, which is found in the Breviary in the Common of Martyrs.<sup>1</sup> As it stands it certainly contains much mystery and obscurity, and many a priest has been at his wit's end to try to make some show of sense out of it.

St. Ambrose is commenting on St. Luke, where he speaks of the beatitudes. He says: "St. Luke has spoken of only four beatitudes, while St. Matthew mentions eight, but in these eight those four are contained; for St. Luke has, as it were, embraced in his four the cardinal virtues, while St. Matthew has included in his eight a mystical number." And here the difficulty begins. "For," he continues, "many of the psalms are written for the octave, and you have the commandment to give a portion to eight, in which words, perhaps, the beatitudes are referred to; for as the octave is the perfection of our hope, so the octave is the sum of the virtues." "Pro octava enim multi inscribuntur psalmi, et mandatum accipis octo illis partem dare, fortasse benedictionibus; sicut enim spei nostrae octava perfectio est: ita octava summa virtutum est."<sup>2</sup>

A certain commentator on St. Ambrose says this passage is, to

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Brev. Rom. Comm. Plur. Mart.*, 2<sup>o</sup> low, 3<sup>a</sup> Noct., lect. 8<sup>a</sup>.

<sup>2</sup> *In Luc.*, vi. 20.



many, involved in more than Cimmerian darkness, and, I believe, the ordinary nineteenth-century reader, who is unacquainted with the symbolic language of the Fathers, will readily assent to his assertion. After this remark he proceeds to clarify the darkness.

Eight is a mystical number, for two reasons: First, as St. Ambrose says, because many of the psalms are written for the octave; secondly, because we are commanded to give a portion to eight.

This is certainly mysterious enough. Let us see if perchance we can get some light and understanding from other passages of St. Ambrose.

The first reason of St. Ambrose is, that many of the psalms are written for the octave; for instance, the sixth and eleventh. By the octave is understood the resurrection of the Blessed, as appears from many passages of both Greek and Latin Fathers, and from passages of St. Ambrose himself. For instance, in commenting on St. Luke, ix., 28: "About eight days after these words, Jesus took Peter and James and John, and went up into a mountain to pray, and the shape of His countenance was altered." "Why does He say," asks St. Ambrose, "eight days after these words? Is it not perhaps because he who hears and believes the words of Christ will see the glory of Christ at the time of the resurrection? For on the eighth day the resurrection took place, whence also many of the psalms are written for the octave." Here St. Ambrose shows very clearly his doctrine in regard to the connection between the octave of the psalms and the resurrection.

That this interpretation of the first reason given by St. Ambrose in the Breviary is correct, appears from the words which he adds, "for the octave is the perfection of our hope." Surely, if anything is the perfection of our hope, it is the resurrection and our eternal beatitude, as symbolized in number eight, the day of Christ's resurrection.

This same thought is found in many places of St. Ambrose. Perhaps it may be of interest to cite one or two.

When commenting on St. Luke, xiii., 10-11: "And behold there was a woman who had a spirit of infirmity eighteen years," he says: "In the infirm woman there is, as it were, a figure of the Church; when the Church shall have fulfilled the measure of the Law (No. 10), and of the resurrection (No. 8), she shall be elevated to the sublime height of perpetual rest, and shall no longer be able to suffer the oppression of our infirmity.

"This woman herself could not be cured except by the fulfilling of the Law and by grace; the Law in the commandments, grace in baptism, wherein being dead to the world, we rise again to Christ: for in the ten precepts is the perfection of the Law, in number eight is the plenitude of the resurrection."

Speaking of the eighth encampment of the Israelites at the desert of Sin,<sup>1</sup> where there was question of the liberation of the children of Israel from the servitude of Egypt, he says: "So in the resurrection, which is understood by the octave, there will be question of our liberation from the servitude of corruption. Let us, therefore, pray God that we may come to the eighth encampment, or, rather, that it may come to us speedily."<sup>2</sup> It seems pretty clear, therefore, by these passages, that St. Ambrose understands by "the octave" and "the perfection of our hope," as found in the Breviary, the resurrection and our beatitude, as symbolized in the eighth day, which was the day of Christ's Resurrection.

And now for the second reason of St. Ambrose, why eight is a mystical number. "We are commanded to give a portion to eight," "for the octave is the sum of all virtues." From the structure of the phrases in the passage cited in the Breviary these two seem to be correlative; that is, "we are commanded to give a portion to eight," and "the octave is the sum of all virtues," just as the other two phrases discussed above. "Many psalms are written for the octave," and "the octave is the perfection of our hope," appear to be correlatives. What, then, does St. Ambrose mean? "We are commanded to give a portion to eight." The commandment to which St. Ambrose refers is found in Ecclesiastes, xi. 2: "Cast thy bread upon the running waters: for after a long time thou shalt find it again. Give a portion to seven and also to eight: for thou knowest not what evil shall be upon the earth." The commentator to whom I referred above, who attempts to clarify this passage, says that by eight is meant universality, as St. Jerome and several others have observed. Wherefore, *octo benedictionibus partem dare* is the same as to give one's self to the practice of all virtues. And this is why St. Ambrose adds that the octave is the sum of all virtues. The reason why he says "perhaps," "fortasse," is merely to indicate that this is a metaphorical meaning, since the passage in Ecclesiastes refers to almsgiving, or else to indicate that there is here a mystical representation of the Old and New Testament, as St. Ambrose himself declares often in other places. Thus far the commentator in question. According to this view, "to give a portion to eight" is another way of saying to practice all virtues.

How is this idea of universality found in number eight? This signification is attributed to it in many passages of the Fathers. It seems to be based on the notion of perfection and completeness which is found in the Resurrection. For after the resurrection and our consequent beatitude, there will be eternity, the plentitude and perfection, the crown and term of the period of this life. This

<sup>1</sup> Num., xxxiii. 11.

<sup>2</sup> *Tract de 42 Mansionibus Filiorum Israel.*

idea is well brought out by St. Ambrose himself, in a letter to Horontianus, in which he explains the very passage of Ecclesiastes which we are discussing.

"The perfection of number eight was known to the writers of the Old Testament, for Ecclesiastes, xi., 2, says: 'Give a portion to seven, and also to eight.' The Hebdomas, seven, belongs to the Old Testament, the octave to the New, for it was in the New that Christ rose, and a day of new salvation dawned for all. It is for this reason that the Old Testament gave a portion to the octave in the solemnity of the circumcision."

Further on he continues thus: "Hippocrates, the father of medicine, divided man's life into seven ages; Solon into ten periods of seven years each. Therefore Hippocrates and Solon believed in seven ages or weeks of ages. In any case, seven is prominent in their theory. But eight introduces one, eternal age, in which we grow into perfect manhood, in the knowledge of God, in the plenitude of faith. It is the octave which hath renewed the whole man. Therefore the seventh age of the world is ended, the eighth has dawned upon us, the age of grace, which hath made man not of this world, but above the world.

"The hebdomas has passed away, the octave has come; yesterday is no more, to-day has come, that to-day on which we have been warned to hear and follow the voice of God. Therefore, that day of the Old Testament has gone, and a new day has come, wherein the New Testament is consummated, concerning which the Lord speaketh:

"Behold the days shall come, saith the Lord, and I will perfect unto the house of Israel, and unto the house of Juda a new Testament. Not according to the testament which I made to their fathers on the day when I took them by the hand to lead them out of the land of Egypt. Because they continued not in my testament: and I regarded them not, saith the Lord."<sup>1</sup>

St. Ambrose continues: "The priests of the Law, the tribunals of the Law have gone by, let us approach to the new priest, to the throne of grace."<sup>2</sup>

Thus it is that St. Ambrose exalts the octave in the priesthood, resurrection, and grace of Christ, and for this reason he wishes us "to give a portion to eight"; that is, to give ourselves to that universal, high perfection of all virtue, which frees us from the bondage of this world, and which is symbolized in number eight.

Thus the mystery of the passage we cited from the Breviary disappears: "Many of the psalms are written for the octave, and you are commanded to give a portion to eight, in which words,

<sup>1</sup> Heb., viii., 8, 9.

<sup>2</sup> *Ad Horontianum*, Epist., 45, § 4.



perhaps, the beatitudes are referred to ; for as the octave is the perfection of our hope, so the octave is the sum of the virtues."

By the octave and eight, St. Ambrose simply means all virtue and the future resurrection in beatitude.

From the preceding remarks and citations, which are little more than an imperfect outline of the doctrine of Scriptural numbers, one fact, in conclusion, is certain, that the Fathers made great account of the interpretation of numbers ; and I think it can be said with safety that there is more meaning in the numbers than we imagine, especially when men of mighty intellect like Augustine speak of numbers as they do. This conclusion is strengthened when we reflect on the testimony of chemistry, astronomy and science in general, in regard to the marvellous numerical relations which have been shown to exist in regard to time, distance, the construction of bodies, and many other phenomena. If we go back to those early days, when perhaps numbers as well as words had their meaning, it would be rash on our part to hastily condemn as foolish a word meaning or a number meaning simply because it belongs to a language which, to us, is obsolete. If, therefore, such a language of numbers did exist, it is not improbable that the great Master, in teaching His disciples, adapted His lessons to the methods in use at the time of His teaching. At the present day the numbers tell us merely plain, blunt facts, numerically counted, without any deep mystical meaning, such as St. Augustine was wont to find in them. But if we read them in the light of those who were much nearer to the true Light than we are, we shall at least hesitate to condemn a method of interpretation which, to us, has become almost an occult art ; and I think we shall be forced to admit one conclusion at least, that sometimes the numbers are of real exegetical value ; and perhaps they may even extend farther, and be of personal value, for in searching out the fulness of the symbolism as taught us by the Fathers, we may derive new thoughts and new light on the mysteries of the Gospel.

JOSEPH H. ROCKWELL, S. J.

WOODSTOCK.

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## Scientific Chronicle.

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### ARTIFICIAL SILK.

BOMBYX MORI was born of poor but honest parents. At least we have no honest reason for suspecting the contrary, though none but a fabulist of the Darwin school would pretend to tell us who they were or whence they came. As far as can be made out from vague historic guesses, he seems to have made his first appearance, as a full-fledged being in his own right, in China. A certain air of probability is lent to this opinion by the very order of the constituent parts of his name; for *Bombyx* is not, as might at first sight have been carelessly suspected, his Christian name. On the contrary, it is his surname, and has, as such, remained in the family even to the present time. His front name, for it is evidently an anachronism to call it "Christian," was *Mori*, just as *Craesi*, *Texor*, *Sinensis*, *Huttoni*, *Horsfeldi*, etc., were all scions of the same old stock, BOMBYX. The pith of the evidence is in the fact that the same inversion holds good in the case of Chinese proper names in general. Innumerable examples might be cited, but one or two will suffice for our present purpose. Thus, the well-known name, "Wah Sing," does not, as has, in some quarters, been rashly asserted, mean "Washing," even though members of the family have been, and, to our certain knowledge, are still engaged in the laundry business.

A proper application of the principles of sound philology would have made it evident that, since the Chinese cannot pronounce the letter *r*, the original form of "Wah" was "War," and hence that the members of this family were formerly soldiers. The name, then, of the individual in question is, in plain English, "Sing War," indicating that he used to sing, or yell, or, what amounts to pretty much the same thing, make Chinese music in war, *i.e.*, that he belonged to a military band. As another example, Hung Lam would be, according to our English way of writing it, Lamb Hung, since, as is well known, one of his remote ancestors stole a lamb and was hung for the theft, and in our idiom we prefer to put the cause first and the effect afterwards. One of Hung Lam's descendants was a butcher who made a specialty of dog's meat, and who consequently passed into history as "Hung Bow Wow" afterwards contracted into Hung Wow; they were all Hung anyhow.

The internal evidence then agrees with tradition that the first Mr. Bombyx was either a Chinaman, or that he emigrated to China at an early age. Reliable tradition has it that he was already an elderly, honorable, rich, and therefore respectable, citizen of that land at least 5000 years ago. The more advanced, or retrograde, Chinese themselves however, claim anywhere from 50,000 to 500,000 years of ancestry for

the gentleman. Still, it will not do to place too much confidence in their assertions, for we should then have finally to believe that the rest of the universe was created in China, by China, for China, merely as a highly ornamental tail-piece, of which the symbol is the everlasting Pig-Tail.

Be these things as they may, the *Bombyx* family multiplied and thrived amazingly, till its descendants became as fleas for multitude. They enriched their own land, and, in the course of time, sent out colonies to other countries, as Italy, Turkey, Greece, France, Spain and Portugal. The inhospitable climate of England did not agree with them, and they never could establish themselves firmly there. Even efforts to acclimatize them in the United States have met with but little success.

But wherever they have been known, they have commanded the respect and homage of all men. The leaders of men in church and state, as well as the ones led, the rich and the poor, the just and the unjust, the belles of fashion, the dames of folly, the devotees of prayer, even kings and queens, have bowed down before them, while art and science have followed in their train. Who are they?

Gentle reader, all that precedes has been put down in allegory. *Bombyx* is translated "Silkworm," and *Mori* means "of the Mulberry," so that, taken together, they signify the Mulberry Silkworm, the best, the best known, and the most important species, the one which feeds on the leaves of the mulberry tree. This is, of course, the proper place to enter the usual protest that the silkworm is not a *worm* at all, but a *caterpillar*, which, if it could know of the imputation, would certainly resent it as an insult.

The insect in its state of perfect development is a moth, with pale whitish wings, striped across with a broad brown bar. The caterpillar furnishes the cocoon of silk, the moth lays the eggs for a new generation of caterpillars. But as we do not just now intend to introduce a formal lesson in Natural History, we shall not weary our readers with further details on this point. For almost countless ages *Bombyx Mori* has supplied the world with silk. We have no tables of statistics at hand, but a single example will suffice to afford a glimpse of the enormous extent of this source of wealth. Great Britain alone imports annually of raw and manufactured silk to the value of something like \$100,000,000.

But is the silkworm, as some are beginning to believe, destined to share the fate of Othello? Will his occupation soon be gone? It is true he has not yet gone on a strike, nor has he yet even been "ordered out" by any mothish, or waspish, trades union, but there are indications that he soon may be. A sufficient cause of dissatisfaction will come to light in what follows.

According to reports from over the ocean, and which have found their way into the pages of the scientific press here, there is a considerable industry growing up in France, based on the manufacture of so-called silk from wood pulp. The process was invented by M. de Chardonnet, of Besançon. The exact method of preparing the wood pulp for this



purpose has not been made public, but the rest of the process is no longer a secret. It is as follows:

The pulp, thoroughly cleansed, and looking very much like thick gum, is put into cylinders, from which it is forced through pipes into the spinning department. Here the machinery is very similar to that of the ordinary spinning shed, except that one of the pipes passes to each machine. The pipes are supplied with small taps, fixed close together, and each tap has a glass tube about the size of a gas burner, at the extreme point of which is a minute aperture, and through this the pulp is forced. The glass tubes are called the "silkworms," and some twelve thousand of them are in use in the factory at Besançon. The pulp appears at the aperture as a minute globule. This a girl touches with her thumb, to which it adheres, and she draws out an almost invisible filament, which she passes through the guides on to the bobbin. Then, one by one, she takes eight, ten or twelve other such filaments, according to the thickness of the thread to be made, and passes them through the same guides on to the same bobbin. The subsequent details are practically those of ordinary natural silk spinning.

The chief difference between the natural and the artificial silk is in the greater lustre of the latter. The new product is said to take dye much more readily than the natural silk, but not to be quite so strong.

It is stated that a factory for the manufacture of this material is to be erected near Manchester, England, which will cost \$150,000. This does not strike one as a mighty undertaking, but those financially concerned probably consider it as yet but as a mere experiment, and so are trying to practice a little of the "better part of valor," lest, in case of an up-rising of the silkworms, their plans should be frustrated, and the wooden silk be driven from the field by the real, old, silk silk.

### SOME NEW POINTS ABOUT X-RAYS.

SINCE the last issue of this REVIEW, some new facts, and not a few new fancies, concerning the X-rays, have come to light. We have judged that a summary of the more striking ones would be sufficiently interesting to be allowed a place here.

(1) *Nature of the X-Rays*.—Mr. L. Fomm, in Germany, has obtained what he considers sufficient evidence of "interference" in the case of these rays, and from data experimentally furnished, concludes that the wave-length is at least fifteen times smaller than the shortest wave-length observed hitherto in ultra-violet light. The confirmation of his experiments, if it comes, will go a long way towards clearing up some of the mysteries that hang about this subject. After all, the name "rays" may yet prove to be no misnomer, and the value of the "X" may yet be found.

(2) *X-Rays of Different Kinds*.—Some one has lately claimed that he has discovered that the X-rays can be produced by the Wimshurst machine. This is a remarkable case of the re-discovery of a lost art, which, however, had not the misfortune of having been lost at all. We

knew all along that the Wimshurst would give X-rays, and virtually said so in our last paper on the subject. One thing nevertheless, of great importance, but which we then forgot to mention, has been further developed, and that is the proof that there are several kinds of X-rays, which differ considerably in their properties. A good account of this is given by Prof. T. C. Porter, of Eton College, who, working with a Wimshurst machine, has shown us how, at least, three kinds of rays may be produced at will.

He accomplishes this by a suitable arrangement of Leyden jars and resistance coils, but to enter into the minutiae of all this would be useless to the general reader. He calls them  $X_1$ -,  $X_2$ -,  $X_3$ -rays respectively. The difference between them is that their relative powers of penetration are very unlike. The  $X_1$ -rays pass easily through the flesh, but are arrested by the bones, which consequently throw a strong and clearly defined shadow on the fluorescent screen. The  $X_2$ -rays penetrate neither bones nor flesh well, and therefore give a shadow of the whole hand. The  $X_3$ -rays penetrate the bones almost as well as they do the flesh, and so great is their power, that they have lit up the fluorescent screen through nearly nine inches of solid brick, and thirty-seven inches of wood. It is evident that the choice of the kind to be employed will therefore depend on the object in view. Thus, to examine for a diseased condition of a bone, one should use  $X_1$ -rays. To examine a fleshy part,  $X_2$ -rays, and to look for a foreign object lodged in the body,  $X_3$ -rays. What more there is in store for us in this line it is useless to attempt to prophesy, but we are probably not yet at the end of the beginning, much less near the beginning of the end.

(3) *The X-Rays as a Criterion for Death.*—We once, long ago, came across a poem in MSS. with the gloomy title: "Meditations on the River Lethe." It consisted of forty quadruped lines, hitched up in quadrigal stanzas, and curiously enough, but fortunately withal, we can now recall but just one quadriga:

"Some people have a haunting dread  
Of being buried ere they're dead;  
But when they're buried, then they die,  
What horror in such grave to lie!"

We do recollect, however, that other lines ended with such cheerful words as: night, blight, fell, knell, yell, hell, sere, bier, drear, fail, pale, quail, wail, gloom, tomb. . . . The author was a young man, or rather a cross between a man and a boy, in college, who went under the nickname of "Calamity." This was his "given" name, at least it was the name given him by the other boys, but what his family name was we have completely forgotten. Poor fellow, he ended in an insane asylum for teetotallers, but left on record the same redeeming statement, that some folks are afraid they may be buried before they are properly dead.

There seems, indeed, to be some foundation for the belief, for learned essays, pamphlets, and even books, have been written in the endeavor

to prove the fact and to suggest some remedy. The whole business is summed up in the question ; " What is the ultimate criterion of death ? " When all the signs have been duly considered, the answer is, that the only certain criterion of death is the actual decomposition of some vital part of the body. In the case of the transpiercing of the heart by a sword, or in that of decapitation, even our friend Calamity would have no chance to entertain a doubt.

Just here the man of the X-rays steps in, and tells us that the true test is at last found, and that it is perfectly simple. He says he has discovered that dead tissue is much more opaque to the X-rays than is the living flesh. Therefore, in case of doubt as to whether you are ready for burial or not, all you need to do is to ask a friend to turn on the X-rays, and, with the fluoroscope, then and there, compare your " shadow " with that of some one who is surely very much alive. We have had no chance to try it as yet, and we wait anxiously for confirmation of the statement at the hands of competent and disinterested experimenters.

(4) *The Diagnosis of Diseases.*—It has been reported from Berlin that good progress is being made in the diagnosis of diseases, especially heart diseases, by the X-rays, but, in general, satisfactory details have not come to hand. In the case of asthma it has been observed that, during the spasms of coughing, the right half of the diaphragm becomes paralyzed, thus leaving the other half to do all the work. This accounts for the extraordinary distress occasioned by those spasms, and, in the hands of competent physicians, may suggest some efficient remedy.

(5) *Detection of Adulterations.*—Mr. Fernand Ranvez has attempted a certain number of analyses of food substances, by means of the X-ray, for the purpose of detecting adulterations, and has been rewarded with success. Chalk has been detected in flour, brick-dust in cayenne pepper, sand in spices, sulphate of barium in saffron, and many other similar sophistications. Of course, it is not expected that this method will ever take the place of regular chemical analysis, but in many cases in which organic substances have been adulterated with inorganic ones, the fraud will be easily found out, even by one who has had no scientific training in the line of chemical analysis. Success to it.

(6) *Curing the Blind.*—The daily papers, veracious as usual, on the strength of a telegram from San Francisco, started a rumor to the effect that a blind boy, colored, had been enabled to see by means of the X-rays. The story, buoyed up with the usual big, empty, head-lines, ran the accustomed course of newspaper sensations, and then fell flat, and lies so ever since. Stripped of newspaper nonsense, the simple fact was that the experiment was indeed tried, and the result was that the boy declared that he had seen a flash of light. Mr. Edison having been credited with the discovery, immediately denied having had anything to do with the case, but set to work to try the experiment on his own account. Two blind men were the subjects this time, and, after long and patient trials, they testified that they " could distinguish little points



of light." This falls very far short of the ability to see objects. The mere sensation of light, apart from the power to perceive the luminous or illuminated object itself, may have now an external, now an internal origin.

(a) For an example of the former case, close the eyes and direct them towards a strongly luminous object, as a gas jet, an electric light or the sun. The sensation of light will be quite strong, so much so that an interposed opaque body will cast a shadow, whose outline even may at times be vaguely made out. This cannot be called, in any proper sense, seeing an object; at its very best it could only be called seeing a shadow, and if this is all we can do to help the blind to see, it does not amount to very much. Many blind persons who can distinguish no object whatever, can yet perceive the difference between darkness and light.

(b) The cause of that sensation of light which is purely internal is always within us, but the sensation itself is completely overpowered when we are under the influence of the more powerful external cause. To observe it then we must exclude all light from the outside. The simplest and surest way of doing this is to wait till long after sunset, say till 9 or 10 P.M. on a moonless night. Then close the window-shutters and doors, extinguish all artificial lights, cover the head completely with a thick, black cloth, black velvet, for example, and then shut the eyes tight. In spite of all these precautions, and as many more as you wish to take, the darkness will not appear absolutely black. There will be a sensation, more or less pronounced, of light, but that light will be wholly internal, and will not enable you to discern any external object, however near to the eyes it may be placed.

Broadly speaking, this phenomenon is easily explained. The animal body is filled with a meshwork of nerves connecting every part thereof with the brain. Special organs have their special nerves. The organ of sight, the eye, is connected with the brain by a cable called the optic nerve, which itself is made up of an immense number of very fine nerves that have their origin in the retina. The true organ of hearing, the inner ear, consisting mainly of the labyrinth, with its cochlea, canals and fibres of Corti (not the curious external appendage usually called the ear), is connected with the brain in a similar manner. The nerves of taste start principally from the tongue, those of smell from the interior of the nostrils. The organ of the sense of touch is nearly the whole surface, interior as well as exterior, of the body. The epidermis or outer skin, the nails and the hair, have no nerves, and are incapable of sensation. Besides the five senses just enumerated, modern physiologists claim a sixth, which they call the heat-sense, for, say they, the sensation of heat is totally different from that of mere touch, and, moreover, it does not require contact, whereas that must always be present for the sensation of touch. But we do not know that a special set of nerves has been found for this heat-sense.

At any rate, it is through the nerves that the brain receives impressions from without, and translates them into sensations. They have been

likened to sets of telegraph wires, by which communications are kept up between the outlying districts and the centre, or capital, of the kingdom. The comparison is not, however, strictly exact. A telegraph wire will convey sound, or heat (and therefore light), or electricity (and therefore magnetism), either singly or all together. Whereas, neither heat-vibrations nor sound-vibrations are carried to the brain by the optic nerve, while light-vibrations are. Neither heat- nor light-vibrations are transmitted to the brain by the acoustic nerve, but sound-vibrations are. The vibrations by which the sense of touch is excited do not travel either by the optic, or the acoustic, or the olfactory nerves, but by a set peculiarly their own. Moreover, although we come to the knowledge of electricity and magnetism by means of our senses, yet we have no electric- nor magnetic-sense, and they must be transformed, as it were, into something that we can apprehend by one or other of the senses named above, before we can apprehend them at all, as, for example, into heat, or light, or sound, or perhaps into something that can stimulate the sense of touch.

There is another, and a very important, difference between the *rôle* of a telegraph wire and a nerve. If you start electricity at one end of a wire, what reaches the other end will still be electricity. If you set up sound-waves at one end of it, what reaches the other end will still be sound-waves, and so on of the rest. But if a nerve be stimulated, be the cause what it may, the result will be the sensation with which that nerve naturally has to do. It looks as if the nerve were not merely a carrier, but that it has a good deal to do as an efficient cause in producing the sensation. If, then, the optic nerve be compressed or touched at any point of its length, or disturbed in any way, we experience an internal sensation of light, which, however, we instinctively refer to the eye as if it came from an outside source. This is why a man who runs his head against a policeman's club, or sits down too suddenly on the ice, will "see stars," or mayhap a whole firmament of them, whose Right Ascension and Declination are to be found in no published catalogue. In the same way, pressure on, or contact with, the acoustic nerve will give rise to internal sounds that have no external cause. Thus, in some cases of catarrh of the Eustachian tube, every pulsation of the blood produces an internal sound that strongly resembles the beat of a muffled base-drum keeping perfect time with the throbbings of the heart. It is a weird experience, and one to which it takes a long time to get accustomed.

When we took up this thread we did not intend to spin quite so long a yarn, but, even if not highly ornamental, it may prove somewhat useful, and so we let it stand. But, alas, where is the promised "easy explanation?" Why, right here. Even in our normal condition of good health the flow of blood which nourishes the optic nerve, and the vital processes that are going on within it, suffice to stimulate it enough to cause an internal sensation of light without any help from outside objects. In the case of the sense of hearing, the acoustic nerve being generally less sensitive than the optic, the corresponding phenomenon is

rarely noticed, though some cases have been observed. If the optic nerve is paralyzed or dead, then one would suppose that no sensation of light, even internal, would be manifested, and that absolutely black darkness would be the result, and that neither X-rays nor any other rays could make any impression. The following case might perhaps tend to make us modify this opinion :

A short time ago, Dr. Louis Bell tried the X-rays on a blind man. The subject was a very intelligent man in middle life, who became blind five years ago as the result of paralysis. He is, to all intents and purposes, totally blind ; for while now and then able to catch a spark or faint ray of brilliant reflected sunlight, he is quite unable to notice arc or incandescent lights within a few feet of his face. The cause of his blindness is stated by the physicians to be paralysis of the optic nerve, substantially complete in both eyes.

On placing him a couple of feet from the tube and exciting it, he at once distinguished the illuminated area and described correctly its general dimensions and shape. The field of vision, however, seemed to be small. He was plainly able to distinguish the flickering of the tube. A metallic sheet cut off this vision entirely, and he was able to see a bunch of keys, the fingers, and so forth, shadowed on the illuminated surface of the tube.

Now, the interesting feature of the experiment was this: A sheet of cardboard cut off vision as completely as the metal, and the man could see forms and letters cut out of cardboard, as shadows against the tube. Closing the eyelids entirely shut out the effective rays, and he could get no trace of light from the fluoroscope.

In this case the X-rays produced no sensation of vision, for vision was stopped off by a medium highly transparent to such rays. On the other hand, certain rays delivered by the tube were clearly visible to him, although they were unable to pass through cardboard or the eyelid.

The effective rays were apparently not the ordinary ultra-violet ones, for an arc light, rich in these rays, is invisible to him, and he was totally unable to see any trace of a most brilliant volley of sparks delivered from a coil a few feet from his eyes.

What now have we here? These rays, which impressed themselves on the almost dead retina, are certainly not X-rays, since they were refrangible and formed an image of the tube. They are just as certainly not light, in the ordinary sense of the word, for to light rays the man's eyes do not respond. Neither are they ultra-violet rays, as we have already seen. What then? Are they, perhaps, still another set of rays not previously dreamed of? Perhaps; but, in any case, we seem to have stirred up a nest of hornets that bid fair to plague us for a long time to come.

(7) *Dangers and Injuries.*—In the last number of this REVIEW we said that no dangers had yet manifested themselves in the use of the X-rays. Since that date, however, serious troubles have occurred in quite a large number of cases, as well in this country as in other lands. We ask permission to relate two or three typical cases.



Professor Stine, of Chicago, gives the details of one that came under his own personal observation, and which we take the liberty of condensing. A patient had been exposed to a strong action of the rays on his back, for about two hours at a time, on each of two consecutive days. Nothing abnormal was noticed at the time; but in a few days an irritation and itching sensation were perceived over the parts onto which the rays had been directed. The skin became dark brown, or mahogany color, and, in a few days more, red and inflamed. It peeled off in due time, and left no unfavorable after-effects. "The whole occurrence resembled a bad sunburn," says the professor. Other observers have made the same comparison.

Our own experience with sunburns differs from all this in many particulars. When we were young and handsome enough not to care, we often gaily courted a sunburn.

Time . . . . A bright and glorious summer day.

Place . . . . A rowboat in a quiet bay.

Companions . Other fellows just as gay.

Occupation . A-fishing, but a-catching not.

Result . . . . Except a sunburn, mighty hot.

In all our experience there never was any question of weeks, or even of days, of incubation before the trouble broke out. That very same evening every friend that met us would be sure to ask: "Where did you get that nose?" And then they would ring the changes by emphasizing each several word in turn.

In the case of sunburn the first effect is the reddening of the skin, the inflammation. The second is the shedding of the epidermis, which is last in the X-ray burn. If you are pretty tough, a second or a third dose of sunburn will lead you to the third stage, in which you will turn brown, after which you are thoroughly seasoned, and can then stand any amount of exposure without inconvenience. Not so it seems with the X-rays, for, at least as far as has been observed up to date, a first burn renders the skin supersensitive and very liable to a second attack, so that some persons have been obliged to suspend operations entirely. Among others, it is reported that Mr. George L. Newcomb, who, for the past six months, has been actively engaged in work with the X-rays, has been obliged to abandon his work, having experienced severe swelling of the right hand, with the loss of the skin, hair and finger nails. He has since fully recovered all that he had lost, and has, as it were, a new hand again.

But we must return to Professor Stine. In his comments on this subject, he says he has reasons to believe that the injuries are not due to the X-rays at all, but to the ultra-violet ones which accompany them. That they are not due to the X-rays we are willing to believe, and this for reasons to be given later on. That they are the result of the ultra-violet rays we do not believe. The professor's reasons may be good; but as he does not state them, we have no means of judging of their worth. Still, as we are living in the midst of plenty of ultra-violet rays twelve hours a day on an average the year round, it would seem that they cannot

be so very dangerous after all, and that we must attribute to some other cause the injuries reported. Of this a few more words anon.

The next case is that of the well-known electrician, Professor Elihu Thomson, who made an experiment with the X-rays for the express purpose of getting at the truth with regard to these injuries. For this end he generously refrained from calling in some poor relation, but tried the experiment on his own person. As a scientist he went about the business scientifically. He protected by a metal plate the greater portion of his left hand, leaving only the little finger uncovered. This he exposed very close to a strong X-ray bulb for half an hour. No effect was perceived till more than a week later. "Then the finger reddened, became extremely sensitive, swollen, stiff, and, to a certain extent, painful. A slight blow or pressure would produce sharp, burning pains." In the course of the next three weeks appeared a blister, covering the whole of the exposed side of the finger. This last statement is important, because it tends to show that the effect is not due to the X-rays themselves, for *they* pass entirely through, but to something whose action penetrates to a certain distance only. Professor Thomson remarks that "the long period of incubation remains to be explained," and notices that this is akin to what takes place in germ diseases. Anyhow, he found what he was looking for, and concludes by saying: "Personally, I have been quite more than satisfied with the results of my inquiry into the action of the rays on my own tissues."

Besides a number of other cases that have been reported by the scientific press, there are many that have not been rushed into print. Several of the workmen and attendants in Mr. Edison's X-ray laboratory have been severely afflicted. One of these latter came under our own observation. The young man had been exhibiting the bones of his right hand, day in and day out, and several hours a day, for weeks together, but was finally obliged to give up and put his hand in a sling. At the time we saw it the hand was badly swollen and very stiff. The skin was hard and dry and somewhat cracked, while the color was a very dark brown with a strong tinge of *green*. If we recollect right, there had been no blistering.

There have been reports of perfect recovery, but none, as yet, of any permanent injury, though it is evidently too early to come to a settled conclusion on this point.

Now, as to the cause of these injuries. We have already mentioned two opinions, one of which is that it is the X-rays themselves that do the damage; the other that it is due to the ultra-violet ones which accompany them. Neither of these seems satisfactory. Mr. Tesla, who has probably worked these rays up to as high a point as anybody else, speaks quite dogmatically on the subject: "They (the hurtful effects) are not due to the Roentgen rays, but merely to the ozone generated in contact with the skin. Nitrous acid may also be responsible to a small extent. The ozone, when abundantly produced, attacks the skin and many organic substances most energetically, the action being no doubt heightened by the heat and moisture of the skin. After exposing the hand, for instance, for some time, the skin loses its elasticity, which

causes a tension and pain, and subsequently an inflammation and blistering." Mr. Tesla has noticed that rubber insulation, however heavy, on the terminals of a high-frequency coil, is ruined in a very short time by the ozone generated. This accords perfectly with what we noticed nearly twenty-five years ago, viz., that the action of the ozone generated in working the Holtz machine injured the ebonite supports so that the machine would not give its best results. We surmised that the sulphur of the ebonite was converted into sulphuric acid on the surface of the supports, and so spoiled their insulation. Having analyzed the substance found on the supports, we proved our surmise to be correct. After replacing the ebonite supports by ones of glass, we had no further trouble, and the machine has worked well ever since. We learned from this bit of experience to avoid ebonite, whenever possible, where high-tension electricity is to be employed.

(8) *Prevention of Injuries.*—"An ounce of prevention is worth a pound of cure," says the proverb. The facts related in the last paragraph being so, it is not difficult to suggest a remedy, or, rather, a prevention, for the injuries attributed to the X-rays. Mr. Tesla even proposes two of them. The first and more radical one is to hinder the access of air to the skin while exposing, as, for instance, by immersion in oil. Ozone is an extremely active form of oxygen, and is produced in large quantities by the action of high-tension electricity on the oxygen of the air. Therefore, if we exclude the air, we cut off the supply of raw material, and the ozone works have to shut down. In some cases this would be clearly impracticable, and in almost any case very inconvenient. We, therefore, are driven to resort to the second method, which, though less radical, seems to be amply sufficient for all practical purposes.

This second method consists in allowing the electricity to have its way, as far as the producing of the ozone is concerned, but in hindering it from reaching the skin after it has been manufactured. To accomplish this, we may guard the exposed parts by interposing between the person and the bulb a screen of aluminum, either in the form of a wire-netting or of a thin plate, connected electrically to the ground. The induction will then take place between the bulb and the screen, and not between the bulb and the tissues of the subject. In this case, whatever ozone is generated at the surface of the screen will be diffused and diluted to harmlessness in the surrounding air. Mr. Tesla gives us to understand that, since he has made use of this arrangement, he has experienced no trouble. An efficient prevention for any possible dangers being provided, we may now revel to our heart's content in the mysteries of the still mysterious X-rays.

T. J. A. FREEMAN, S. J.

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### Book Notices.

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THE AMBASSADOR OF CHRIST. By *James Cardinal Gibbons*, Archbishop of Baltimore. 12mo., pp. 405. Baltimore: Murphy & Co.

A new book by Cardinal Gibbons! The appearance of this work is a notable event in the literary world. The distinguished position which the author occupies in the American hierarchy, together with his learning and piety, give the assurance that anything which comes from his pen will possess unusual value, while the great excellence of his previous works, and their phenomenal success, bespeak for the new book a royal welcome.

On former occasions the Cardinal has defended the teachings of the Catholic Church and the principles of Christianity; now he sets forth the dignity, excellence, power, and authority of the Catholic Priesthood. This book may not appeal to hundreds of thousands of readers, as did former works by the same author, nor will so many draw wisdom directly from its pages, but if it instruct those who are the guides and teachers of the people, and make them more zealous, more holy, and more learned, its effect will be so far-reaching that it will be felt not only by thousands, but by millions of Catholics throughout this country and other parts of the Christian world.

If the work of the Christian teacher is so excellent, that the Holy Spirit says: "They that instruct many to justice shall shine as stars for all eternity," who can exaggerate the excellence of the work of him who instructs the Christian teacher! This is the aim of the Cardinal's new book, and its appearance is certainly a notable event in the literary world.

In treating the subject of the Christian Priesthood, His Eminence follows the general lines laid down by pious authors who have preceded him in the same field. After pointing out the excellence of the sacerdotal state, he considers the question of vocation, and the duties of seminarians. From the seminary it is but a step to the altar and the mission with all its exacting requirements. The learned author takes up each duty of the Priesthood and considers it in all its bearings, pointing out to his readers the virtues that they must possess who would discharge these duties well, and the means to acquire those virtues.

In general it may be said that the same qualities which have distinguished the Cardinal's previous works distinguish this one—firm grasp of subject, logical arrangement, apt illustration, full and accurate quotation, and concise, clear language. These, however, are not the most distinctive features of the work. Other authors have written on the same subject, whose books have had all of these excellencies, and yet they do not appeal to the Catholic Priesthood of America with near the same force. If they did, a new work on the subject would not be needed. But this book appeals to the seminarians and priests of every rank in America with peculiar force, because it is written by a member of the American Hierarchy, who has labored as priest, bishop, archbishop, and cardinal on American soil for all the years of his priestly life. He knows well the difficulties and dangers that beset the path of the priest in every country, and the virtues and qualifications re-

quired for the work of the ministry, but he knows particularly well the obstacles that lie in the path of the American priest, and the special equipment which is required to fit him for his work. He has overcome these obstacles when they were greater and more numerous than they are now; he has well equipped himself for the work, when the aids to such equipment were very much fewer.

Here, then, is an American Cardinal who has been a student in an American seminary, who has labored so successfully as priest, bishop, and archbishop that he has earned the love and respect of the American people, Protestant as well as Catholic, and who has been honored by Our Holy Father with the dignity of the cardinalate, addressing his fellow-priests of America, and telling all the secrets of his success. He has exemplified in his own life the excellence of all the precepts that he lays down in this book. He has put them all into practice, and they have borne fruit. How much more strongly, then, they appeal to us than do the words of some unknown ancient author who has written perhaps in a foreign tongue for the priests of another century and another clime. Nor must we forget to note that the Most Eminent Author has taken care to make his illustrations keep pace with the other good features of his work. While he does not neglect the examples which the history of other times and other countries furnish, he draws very largely for illustration on the history of our own time and country, and on his personal experience. This gives a peculiar force and aptness to the examples that they otherwise would not have.

Altogether, we may in all truthfulness say, here is a book whose appearance is a notable event in the literary world, and which will make the Priesthood of America, and other Christian countries more zealous, more holy, more learned.

J. P. T.

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PHILOSOPHIA LACENSIS SIVE SERIES INSTITUTIONUM PHILOSOPHIÆ SCHOLASTICÆ  
EDITA A PRESBYTERIS SOC. JESU IN COLLEGIO QUONDAM B. MARIE AD LACUM:

INSTITUTIONES PSYCHOLOGICÆ SEC. PRINCIPIA S. THOMÆ AQ. AD USUM SCHOLASTICUM ACCOMODAVIT. *Tilm. Pesch, S.J.* P. I., Psych. Naturalis. Lib. I. Friburgi. St. Louis, Mo.: Herder. 1896. Pp. xv., 470. Price, \$1.90.

The "Cursus Lacensis," of which this volume forms part, embodies the instruction in philosophy given by the Jesuit professors in the house of study—Maria Laach—belonging to the Society before its exile from Germany in 1872. The design of publishing this series of advanced philosophical texts sprang from the new life infused into Thomistic studies by the Encyclical of Leo XIII.—*Aeterni Patris*—of August 4, 1879. The initial volume, treating of natural philosophy, appeared in 1880, from the same hand that has given us the present work on psychology. Those who are familiar with that work can point to none other, except, perhaps, to its more extended and less didactic counterpart in German by the same author—"Die Grossen Welträthsel"—that treats the underlying principles of physical science with so much erudition and wealth of interpretation. Five years later a second portion of the course was published in a volume dealing with general ethics. The ill health of its author, Fr. Meyer, has delayed the appearance of the second half of this classical work on moral philosophy.

Between 1887 and 1890 were issued the three handsome octavos, which, in the average six hundred pages allotted to each, cover with the adequacy demanded by the subject, the field of Logic. If we may overlook some inconveniences in the arrangement of the material, Fr.



Pesch's "Institutiones Logicales" stands to-day without a peer in the bibliography of neoscholastic logic.

Three years later came the "Natural Theology," by Fr. Hontheim, a work deserving companionship with its predecessors in the course. Students interested in this class of literature have been eagerly looking for the present volume on psychology. Never before has there existed so large and fervent a devotion to this branch of knowledge as has been enkindled to-day. Psychology may be called one of the fads of the times. Diluted and sweetened to the youthful taste, it is administered to the lads and misses in our common schools. No college curriculum would be worth the mention that did not include a more or less extended study of the subject, nor would the university be regarded as fairly equipped for its essential work in which a psychological laboratory did not exist, provided with all kinds of mechanism for measuring the quantity, time-relations, etc., of mental phenomena. Doubtless much good comes, or may at least come, of all this feverish interest in the physiological side of psychology, and what harm there may be in the countless false inferences and hasty generalizations, to say nothing of the megacephalousness developed in boy and girl, is, we may take it, accidental—an abuse of the essentially good. The truth here, as elsewhere, is great enough to prevail, and in the end the "new psychology," cleansed of accretions from materialism, will be found verifying, illustrating, filling out the content of the traditional philosophy. Be all this as it may, the student of the latter philosophy looks with special interest on new works by its professed masters to see in what way they view the recent tendencies, what they find in physiological-psychology apt for assimilation, what for rejection. Works of this kind exist in German, such as, for instance, those by Drs. Constantine Gutberle and Engelbert Fischer, as well as in the French of Mercier, Bonriot, Surbled, Farges and others. Hitherto our Latin text-books have followed pretty much the well-beaten paths, little or no attention being shown in them to the physiological side of psychic life. Designed as they almost exclusively are, to be guides in philosophy for youths preparing to enter on the study of theology, their purpose and limits leave to the professor to supplement by special lectures what he may deem necessary for putting his pupils *au courant* with the purely experimental methods and results. In the larger, more exhaustive volumes of the "Cursus Lacensis" the Catholic student will naturally look for some of the concrete facts and inductions of modern psychology, or at least for a fuller discussion of the subjects and problems it has raised. This expectation will be in no wise lessened when it is known that the psychology of the series is in the hands of Fr. Pesch. The breadth of view he has shown in the natural philosophy and the logic warrants the hope of like erudition and thoroughness of analysis being brought to bear on the present subject. A rapid survey will suffice to show in how far the hope is here realized, in how far suspended until the advent of the after divisions of the work.

In this, as in the author's other volumes, the student enters the subject through its history. A very compact narrative traces the historical picture of the subject matter of psychology (pp. 2-14), and furnishes data for the apt definition embodied in the etymology of the term itself—the *scientia de anima*, or in fuller form: *scientia quæ ab operationibus vitalibus viventium corporum notis ad naturam sive essentiam primæ earum principii interni, quod anima appellari solet, detegendam et declarandam analytice progreditur; et ex natura sive essentia animæ detecta et declarata ad declarandum melius operationes vitales synthetice iterum*



*regreditur* (p. 15). A working definition of the *ψυχή*—or *anima*—is here assumed as “the root principle of life in a living organism”; the final, perfected definition as the “*principium substantiale in viventibus corporeis essentialiter a materia distinctum, quod est ultima ratio interna vitæ illorum*” (p. 16), embodies the outcome of the entire scientific investigation, yet determines at the start the general subject matter (*objectum materiale*)—*omnis anima ejusque proprietates et operationes*—as well as the special point on which the whole study focuses (*objectum formale*), the precise nature of the *anima*.

Thus, too, we have the border lines between psychology and its neighbor sciences—logic, ethics, æsthetics, physiology, anatomy, anthropology, zoology and botany—determined (16–18). The definition also suggests at once the sources of psychological doctrine—consciousness, external observation and experiment being primary the sources, all the biological sciences, together with philology, history, ethnography, etc., adding their respective data as adjunct material for the building up of a complete structure of psychology (23–26).

Much has been written in recent years on the method of psychology. Our author shows the inadequacy of the various forms of the purely *a posteriori* or empirical method advocated by different writers, as well as the danger and insufficiency of the purely *a priori* or metaphysical, and argues justly in favor of the mixed method—the analytico-synthetic—which, as the above definition of psychology manifests, starts analytically from facts of inner and outer experience and works inwards towards a rational explanation of this root or cause and then regresses from the conceptions and principles thus established to a fuller interpretation of the original data. This method, besides its conformity with common sense and sane logic and the nature of the living organism, finds its justification in the satisfactory results it has produced in the traditional philosophy (pp. 26–34).

Definition and method both give the main lines and divisions of the science. The first part, physical or natural psychology, will deal mostly, though not exclusively, with phenomena, and will, therefore, advance chiefly on ways analytical. The second part, anthropological or metaphysical psychology, will discuss more minutely the nature of the subject as already presented through experience, and will, consequently, be built up principally by synthesis, by deduction (34–36).

At the outset we are confronted with the position of materialism negating the possibility of a scientific psychology in the sense here advocated. The author devotes some space to establishing the reality of his science and its just claim on the *anima* as its proper subject-matter (pp. 36–42). Thus far we have spoken of the vestibule of the building. We cannot here penetrate farther into the interior than may be necessary to catch a bird's eye view of its ground plan.

The present volume covers but one book of the first part of psychology, the part which the author calls “physical or natural psychology,” “biological psychology” or “philosophical biology.” The discussion starts with a general description of a living organism, its parts, and the respective functions of the latter, especially as these directly subserve cognition. We next advance through a classification of vital phenomena to a conception or definition of life, to the consequent differentiation of the living from the non-living world, to a philosophical classification of the animate orders, to a closer determination of the substantial nature of the principle of life, its “localization” in and relation to the organism, to a yet more precise definition of the special nature of the soul in man, its immateriality, simplicity, unicity, origin, etc., as well as to a like definition of the “*anima*” in animal and plant.

At first sight, as one surveys the field here covered, one is apt to think himself launched of a sudden on the deepest depths of metaphysics, and to suspect that the author has lost sight of the course he had originally mapped out. A little close reading, however, is all that is necessary to discern that the author is all the while keeping close to facts and simply stating the legitimate inferences which may be readily verified by appeal to the empirical data he has gathered and classified and holds close to his deductions.

At the same time we cannot but regret that Fr. Pesch has sacrificed to some degree the usefulness of his work by such rigid adherence to an ideal plan and method. Here, as in his "Logic," he has in view the advantage of novices in philosophical study. Accordingly, he lays down at the start the leading facts, concepts and definitions of his subject, develops these to a moderate extent and leaves the fuller unfolding of the same to the after portions of the work. There will follow the present volume another, in which organic functions will be explained synthetically, in the light of the analytically obtained content of this first book. Then the second or more pronouncedly metaphysical division of psychology will come to the front and fall into four divisions or books dealing respectively with the human intellect, the will, the life of the soul within and without the body. The latter half will therefore apparently demand much reference to and no little repetition of doctrine laid down in the present opening book. This plan has, of course, its utility for beginners. We believe, however, that only to well-advanced students of philosophy and to professors will these volumes be of real service, and from this point of view it would seem preferable to have left a large amount of the discussion presented in this first book, especially that bearing upon the specific nature of the human soul, its origin and relation to the body, to the anthropological or metaphysical half of the science, and to have confined the matter here to the more exclusively empirical side of the subject, to what concerns sub-human biology, and the processes of man's life intrinsically dependent on his organism. This, however, is a matter in which there is room for some variance of opinion.

From what has been said the reader most interested in the "new psychology" may infer that the physiological side of the subject has received in this volume no very considerable treatment. Apart from the compressed description of the animal organism (pp. 44-80) there has been no call for further doctrine on this line. The second book, dealing with organic functions, will probably give occasion for ampler discussion of recent theories. Two more volumes, we believe, are to be given to psychology, which, with the second volume, also promised of Fr. Meyers' "Ethics," will bring this magnificent course of neoscholastic philosophy to its completion. The absence in the series of a special volume devoted to general metaphysics may be explained by the fact that the third volume of the logic deals with the concepts or ontology, under the caption of *Logica Realis*.

No words of commendation need here be added concerning this monument to Catholic philosophy. Outside of the gigantic work of Fr. Urraburu, still unfinished, there has as yet been produced nothing in its line comparable to the "Cursus Iacensis," either for breadth or depth, thoroughness of treatment, erudition or timeliness. Works such as this are possible in our day only to scholars trained by the discipline that makes the Society of Jesus what it is within the Church, as well as outside her pale, in every department of intellectual endeavor.—F. P. S.



BROTHER AZARIAS' ESSAYS. Vol. I., Essays Educational, pp. 283; Vol. II., Essays Philosophical, pp. 250; Vol. III., Essays Miscellaneous, pp. 273. Chicago: D. H. McBride & Co. 1896. Price, \$1.50 per vol.

It is a coincidence no less felicitous than noteworthy that Br. Azarias should have left scattered through many a review and magazine and lecture manuscript just such essays as when fitted together give an adequate portrait of his mental features, and that by consequence those whose well-loved task it has been to gather up his literary remains should find that in this posthumous collection Azarias lives again in traits here perhaps more strongly reflected than in those by which he stands revealed through the works he himself had put forth in enduring form.

No one familiar with the writings of Br. Azarias can fail to have admired the many—but especially the triple-sidedness of his mental endowments—endowments which, though distinct each in its own formality, were none the less interfused in every work he produced. Br. Azarias was first and last a teacher—an educator. To teach, however, to educate, was the function, the deliberately chosen profession of his life. Back and below was the scholar, the philosopher, the man of letters. A scholar in the higher meaning, the term has come to assume “a cultivator of studies, a student of knowledge in its largest sense,” as Sumner put it. The instinct of this endowment bore him along the lines on which his professional work was laid to the sources and streams of the historical facts and principles and theories that entered and enter into the education of the human mind. The keen insight which patient, conscientious labor had given to this mental quality, the critical habit thus engendered, enabled him to discern with unflinching accuracy primal facts from the accretions which passion or prejudice or other personal subjectiveness had fastened thereon, while the fulness of his intellectual stores, gathered from countless sources of past and present lore, allowed him to draw forth the old and the new for the up-building of those works with which he has enriched our Catholic historical literature. Nothing probably that the author produced exemplifies so vividly the scholarly side of his mind as the present volume of educational essays, essays to which, by the way, the pathetic interest attaches of their representing the work in which his life went out at the Champlain Catholic Summer School. In them he carries his readers into the early Christian schools, describes the beginnings and development of the cloistral schools, and the larger growth of the Palatinate institutions. Primary schools of the middle ages! “Time was, and that not very long ago, when men were convinced that in France [especially] primary education began after the Revolution. They could see nothing previous to that epoch but an ignorant people, deprived of all educational facilities for their children. That there was primary education prior to 1789 is still to many an unknown fact” (p. 171). And yet a statute of the diocese of Rouen, issued in the year 1230, commands “the clergy frequently to exhort their parishioners to be careful and exacting in sending their children to school,” and turning to benighted Italy, the home of the Papacy, we find at the same date, “out of a population of 90,000 in Florence, 12,000 children attending the schools, a ratio of school attendance as large as existed in New York city in the year of grace 1893” (p. 177).

“To many, indeed, it will be a surprise,” as Cardinal Gibbons remarks in his neat preface to this volume, “to learn that the education of the young was a matter of great solicitude to the bishops and priests of the so-called Dark Ages. Br. Azarias shows that primary schools



were established and maintained not by taxation, but by the self-denying efforts of teachers and the voluntary contributions of the people" (p. v.). From the school we are taken to those centres of intense strife—intellectual and often otherwise—the mediæval university and university college, and afterwards we are told of the rise and growth of normal schools. On both these much misunderstood and misrepresented subjects the author pours floods of new light from original and recondite documents. Had Br. Azarias written 'nothing but this collection of educational essays he would have deserved the gratitude of Catholics, for, excepting Miss Drane's larger though somewhat less erudite "Christian Schools and Scholars," we have nothing in English that presents so reliable and thorough a vindication of the relations of the Church to mediæval education.

Overlying and surrounding the scholarly quality there was the philosophical habit, the germs whereof were richly native to the mind of Azarias, but whose strength and reach were the outcome of his own cultivation. Reading the contributions he has left to fundamental science, one almost regrets that on it alone he had not centred his mental energies. The history of education would have suffered thereby, but the cause of sound philosophy have gained.

The critical judgment he always showed in historical research, penetrating into and classifying the facts that make the analytic groundwork of philosophy, was equalled, if not excelled, by the broad synthetic range of vision that enabled him to gather under principle and definition far outreaching fields of reality and theory. His intellect, naturally Aristotelian, was moulded on the same type by rigid discipline, yet not to the casting out of its Platonic richness.

Were we asked for illustration of this dual quality of the author's mind we would at once point to the opening essay of the second volume before us. Prepared originally for the summer session (1887) of the Concord School of Philosophy, and afterwards published apart (London: Kegan Paul, 1888), the essay on "Aristotle and the Christian Church," for grasp of historical data, for fulness of development, for philosophical interpretation, deserves the place of honor assigned it in the present volume. The theme was congenial to the author's taste and lines of study, for, as has just been said, his mind was cast in Aristotelian mould, and the work of his life had advanced by Aristotelian methods. The essay is a treasure-house of fact and interpretation. The influences of the Stagyrte in the early Church, in the East and the West, amongst the Arabs, in the Catholic universities—these are subjects opening out wide fields for historical investigation and portraiture. The spirit in which the schoolmen worked, the metaphysics, psychology and ethics of the Philosopher, present the material with which Azarias has interwoven a closely wrought tissue of the Christianized philosophy of Aristotle.

Besides this masterly essay we have one on the nature and synthetic principle of philosophy and another on the symbolism of the Cosmos. These two combined afford an admirable illustration of the author's synthetic power, intensified, as it was, by Catholic faith and life. A paper on some psychological aspects of education makes, from an analysis of the human intellect a plea, against the over-crowded college course and for a more judicious adaptation of an elective system of studies. The closing essay exhibits the sociological principles and teachings involved in the Encyclical of Leo XIII. on the conditions of labor.

Lastly, Brother Azarias was a man of letters in the finest meaning of

that term, a poet in feeling, (though he wrought but seldom in verse), in imaginative power, in instinct for the beautiful, in delicately artistic sense. Neither search for the dry bones of history, nor the dissecting processes of criticism, nor much dwelling in the colder heights of metaphysics dimmed or weakened or benumbed his literary strength. On the contrary, he bore with him into the past a light of soul that illumined all that he saw, a resurrecting power that gave life to what seemed dead, while over the skeleton forms of ontology he laid the flesh and blood of their human-sidedness, and the graceful vesture that made the abstract to stand out in the vivid reality and beauty of the concrete. Who with a mind for the deeper true and a sense for the beautiful has wandered into that garden of choicest fruits and rarest flowers, "*Phases of Thought and Criticism*," and has not returned again and again to linger over its many charms? *Le style c'est homme*. Never was the aphorism more truly verified than in that work of Azarias. Those who knew him best feel how here, in more than one way, the author's life-blood went out into printers' ink, and how he who saw so clearly into the depths of thinking into the meaning and value of the ideal in literature, into above all the spiritual sense of masterpieces like the *Divina Comedia* and the *In Memoriam*, wrought into the pages of that book the tissue of his inmost mental life—a life so delicately in touch with what is deepest, and highest, and purest in literature because its own spiritual sense had been cultured by long study and assimilation of what is truest and most beautiful in the world of letters.

Another apt example of the author's artistic sense and power might be drawn from the third volume of the present collection of essays, especially from the first paper on Literature, its nature and influence, from the third on the Sonnets and Plays of Shakespeare, and the fourth on the Culture of the Spiritual Sense. But we are running beyond our limits. For the rest, this portion of the series, being miscellaneous in character, contains, besides the essays just mentioned, four others on Religion in Education, our Catholic School System, the Outlook of our Colleges, Church and State, subjects which, falling for the most part directly within the author's professional work, gave an eminently practical outlet for his speculative powers.

In conclusion it should be noted that the entire collection of reprints would have been enhanced in value had the time and place of original publication (or delivery as lecture, when such was the case) been designated. It is worth the reader's while to know, for instance, that this essay was written in the author's younger literary life, and that embodies the thought of riper years. The place, review or magazine, is repeatedly mentioned, but not so the date. Moreover, it had been well to have signified the fact that the elaborate essay on the Culture of the Spiritual Sense appears substantially in *Phases of Thought and Criticisms*. These are trifling lacunæ which can be filled out in a future edition.—F. P. S.

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ABBÉ DE BROGLIE—RELIGION ET CRITIQUE—ŒUVRE POSTHUME. Recueilli Par *M. l'Abbé C. Piat*. Paris: Lecoffre, Rue Bonaparte, 90. 1896. Pp. lx., 360.

ABBÉ C. PIAT, PROF. A L'INSTITUT CATH. DE PARIS—L'APOLOGETIQUE DE L'ABBÉ DE BROGLIE. Paris: Lecoffre. Pp. 83.

The Abbé de Broglie was one of those broad-minded, large-souled men of whom the Church in France has ever been prolific. By heredity, by education, by environment, by qualities of mind and heart, by Christian faith and charity, by priestly endowment, he was fitted to stand forth



in the present generation as one of the most prudent and valiant champions of Christianity against the advance of infidelity. A defender of the faith, he was more. Not content with passive resistance, he led the attack into the camp of the foe, combating on alien soil with the enemies' own weapons, weapons he had learned to wield as skilfully as though he had been drilled in their use from boyhood. The son of Duke Victor de Broglie and Mde. d'Haussonville, the germs which the blood of Mde. de Staël and Protestantism had left in his veins gave to his temperament that critical leaven which he used so well in defence of Catholicism. Educated first by Doudan, the famous critic of Saint Beuve and afterwards in the polytechnic school of Paris, the large intercourse in which his life was spent with men foreign to his own faith enabled him to appreciate their thoughts and feelings and to take the point of view from which they regarded his position. But above all it was the qualities—natural and infused—of mind and heart that made him the apologist he was and merited for him a place of honor beside the Frayssinous, the Lacordaires, the Ravignans, the Gratrys, the Dupanlous and the Frappels of yesterday.

Foremost among his works are "*Le Postivisme et la Science Experimentale*," "*L'Histoire des Religions*," and "*Le Present et l'Avenir du Catholicisme en France*."

Readers acquainted with these books will be glad to know that he has left a posthumous work which probably more completely than his earlier publications reflects his thought and character, and manifests the plan of campaign he pursued in his apologetic activity. The Abbé de Broglie was first and last a man of the times, in the sense that he understood and sympathized with the great movements, intellectual, social, religious, of humanity. Sensitive to all that makes for and against the higher interest of human souls, he was quick to discover and put to use methods of help and encouragement best adapted to the peculiar needs of the hour and his surroundings. Like that other eminent apologist, the Abbé Duilhé de Saint Projet, with whose spirit his own was so closely akin, he felt the need of modifying former apologetical methods so as to bring them closer to present habits of thought and feeling. Fully admitting the inner worth of the long-tried weapons of defence, he realized that they had become in large measure inefficient, because inapplicable to circumstances. The traditional philosophy of the schools in its bearing on apologetics had lost none of its essential strength, but its fundamental concepts and principles were not admitted by its adversaries, and it spoke in formulæ unintelligible to the outer world. Therefore must it be interpreted and translated in terms understood of those whose minds would be won to the truth. Hence his insistence in following the age in its thirst for the concrete. Religion, he saw, must be viewed primarily from the side of historic facts. The apologist must prove that the admission of certain facts—facts that can only be gainsaid by annihilating all historic certainty—implies the admission of "the transcendency of Christianity"—the fact, namely, that Christianity is a unique power in the world's history—unique especially when compared with other forms of belief and cult—a power inexplicable as an historic fact save in the hypothesis that it has come from God; that consequently God exists as Creator and Revealer. "*La thèse centrale de l'apologetique se ramène donc de nos jours à la transcendance du Christianisme*" (p. xvii.).

It suffices not, however, to establish the transcendent character and the divinity of the Christian religion, though this, of course, is the vital point. That religion must be defended against the manifold



and widespread objections brought to bear on it in the name of science and philosophy. The apologist must have at his command the ascertained facts and principles of physical science, and correlating them with the teachings of Christian faith show that between the two orders of truth there is not, as *à priori* there could not be, any real conflict. So, too, in the domain of philosophy. Alive to the wholesale destructiveness of modern positivism, he realized the necessity of a return to Thomistic philosophy, but to that philosophy, not changed, indeed, as to its essential content, but adjusted, as we have said, to present-day requirements. Philosophy, therefore, as history and science, must rise from the unmistakable data of inner and outer experience, from the facts of common sense, and holding ever to the controlling power of those facts, build up by patient abstraction and induction the principles that involve assent to the existence of God and of the supernatural order.

On these lines is laid this posthumous work of Dr. Broglie. Having wrought out by elaborate analysis a definition of religion in general and of the true religion in particular (Bk. I.), he develops the historical proofs for the "transcendancy" and divinity of Christianity (Bk. II.), and sets forth at considerable length the relations between religion and science (Bk. III), and between religion and philosophy (Bk. IV.). There would be little advantage in going farther into the detail of the author's argument, even were there space here at command to do so. Synopses and excerpts would be but threads rather mutilating than manifesting the closely-woven tissue of the thought. In its substance the historico-critical defence of Christianity is, of course, not new. The merit of the work at hand lies in its presenting the argument in bolder outline and fresher color. What the Abbé Piat has said of de Broglie's general apologetical work is especially verified in this his last legacy: "Il est peu d'hommes en notre siècle de chercheurs, qui aient émis, dans l'ordre des-questions religieuses et morales, un si grand nombre d'idées a la fois neuves et saines" (p. viii.).

The editor introduces the volume with a luminous picture of the author's life-work and methods. In the brochure mentioned in the heading above the preface has been published apart and enlarged by some twenty pages, wherein the personality of the author is reflected in colors which glow at once with the deep mental and religious life of the original and the genuine admiration and friendship of the artist for his illustrious friend. The secret of de Broglie's greatness is here unveiled. It lay in a heart, childlike and keenly sympathetic by nature, uplifted and inflamed by a divine charity—*vere magnus quia magnam habuit caritatem*: in a mind whose native soundness and acumen, docile to higher influences, recognized the conformity with itself of the *rationabile obsequium* of faith and submitted humbly, unswervingly, irrevocably to its teachings: *La charité fut le mobile unique auquel obéit l'Abbé de Broglie dans tous ses écrits; et son idée directrice au milieu des questions de nature un peu troublante qu'il agitaient sans cesse, ce fut sa foi aussi ferme qu'éclairée*" (p. 68).

In conclusion, we warmly recommend this work to all whose privilege it is to explain the fundamental arguments for the Christian religion, and to those whose duty it is to be ready at all times to render a reason for the hope that is in them. To both it will be a treasure house of fact and proof and illustration which the long experience of de Broglie had found aptest for present service.—F. P. S.

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THE CHURCH AND MODERN SOCIETY. Lectures and Addresses. By *Most Rev. John Ireland*, Archbishop of St. Paul. Chicago and New York: D. H. McBride & Co. 1896. Pp. ix., 413.

The friends and admirers of Archbishop Ireland will be pleased to know that he has given in this volume a unity and permanent form to his lectures delivered at various places and on different occasions, both at home and abroad. The public utterances of the eminent prelate cover a wide range of subjects, but, as is well known to every one familiar with recent history, they all focus on the central idea conveyed by the title of the volume at hand. The Church in relation to civil society as such, to the present age, to liberal education, to charity, to the cause of temperance—these are the constituent notes of the idea itself. The mission of Catholics in America, the philosophy of human progress, the meaning of true patriotism and of American citizenship, the State and the parish school, the vital question of social purity and other subjects of cognate character, suggest attributes equally intrinsic to or emanant from the same idea. The views of Archbishop Ireland on these lines of thought are more or less familiar to all close observers of contemporary events. There are, of course, to be found those who dissent from some of these views, or rather, perhaps, from what they regard as undue emphasis to a certain policy therein exhibited. None, however, will refuse the measure of praise due to the strong, earnestly striven for convictions, and the intense zeal for the manifesting of the Church's attitude towards all that makes for the preservation and advance of American society.

The special value of this collection of addresses is that it presents a complete picture of the speaker, the man and the prelate. Whatever view one may take of his policy, it is certain that the Archbishop of St. Paul has had and has a large influence in moulding public opinion, both within and without the Catholic Church. It is well, therefore, that the world of to-day and the historian of to-morrow should be able to discern the principles and theories that guide his activity and lie back of his social power. The present volume will furnish the desired data and criteria.

Usually the printed page is but a weak expression of the spoken word. This is not the case with Archbishop Ireland's lectures. The mute type seems to echo much of the vigorous eloquence, the passion and pathos with which the orator is wont to inspire his discourses and move his auditors.

The lectures have been "printed in the hope that they may be of some help in showing the attitude of the Church towards certain of the great issues of the day, and, perhaps, in stimulating among Catholics a more active interest in the various questions with which the Church and society are equally concerned" (p. ix.). In this dual hope the author, we believe, will not be disappointed. In favor of a realization of the latter—"the stimulating a more active interest" in social-religious questions—it may not be amiss to profit by the outlook sketched by Mr. F. H. Giddings, professor of sociology at Columbia University. Writing in the "Political Science Quarterly," for December, he says: Only to the faint-hearted and to the short-sighted should there be any need to say that a determined effort to restore that faith [in the true aristocracy of intellect and conscience] is to be the most momentous sociological phenomenon of the next fifty years. The initiative may be taken by the Roman Catholic Church. Accepting democracy as the inevitable form of the state within the constitution, the Roman Catholic Church fully and deliberately intends to make itself again what once



it was—the ruling aristocracy of the state behind the constitution. If this course becomes more and more obvious, the forces of Protestantism will again be aroused to intense activity. The principles of liberty and of individual responsibility will again be opposed to the principle of authority, and will again fascinate the minds of rationalistic men. In all probability, therefore, the destiny of democracy is to be controlled either by religious authority or by a much more earnest and thoughtful type of Protestant liberalism than that which prevails to-day. In a struggle between these forces men of all ranks and conditions, the rich and the poor, the learned and the unlearned, will give their allegiance to worthy leaders. It should be needless to add that such a struggle, if it comes, will be a contest of ideas.” Whether Prof. Giddings reads aright the signs of the times or not need not be here discussed, but if, as he thinks, such “a contest of ideas” is pending, it is most important that both sides should have clear conceptions as to the real teaching of the Church concerning her attitude towards the American form of government. Books like this of Archbishop Ireland will be helpful in this direction.—F. P. S.

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LUTHER'S “SAINTLY” LIFE AND “SAINTLY” DEATH (Luther's “Heiliger” Leben und “Heiliger” Tod). *J. A. Kleis*. Mainz: Kirchheim, 1896.

This volume, the work of a missionary priest in Norway, has attracted considerable attention. It must not be placed in a line with Janssen's “History of the German People,” or Pastor's “History of the Popes.” Its primary object is controversial, not historical. The author, unfortunately now deceased, undertook by the offensive-defensive method to uphold the honor and reliability of Catholic historical science, which had been assailed by Prof. Nielsen, of Copenhagen. Nielsen was unfortunate not only in the cause he championed, but also in the opponent he brought into the lists. For F. Kleis was not only a scholar well versed in the voluminous literature, Catholic and Protestant, that deals with Luther's life, but was a disputant skilful in the art of literary fencing. His arms are sharp and pointed, and no exposed point in the enemy's armor escapes his sure and rapid eye. To prove his charges, Nielsen had appealed to Catholic historical treatment of the founder of his sect, and ventilated in terms far from measured his disgust at the picture they had drawn of the “saintly” Luther. Kleis, while refuting the Danish professor, takes occasion to illustrate Luther's “holy” life by an anthology from the “Reformer's” writings. We should not recommend the “holy” man's strong and odorous flowers for parlor use. Perhaps the most interesting part of the work deals with Luther's death. Kleis, by a minute, keen and careful analysis of the principal versions of the occurrence by the ex-monk's friends, proves that these are far from harmonious as to the details of his death. On the principle *qui s'excuse s'accuse*, they lead us to the conclusion that something happened in connection with Luther's decease that needed defence. The self-contradictory and mutually contradictory accounts of Justus Jonas, Coelius, Aurifaber and the Count of Mansfeld must awaken the suspicions of every open-minded reader. What was it that they sought to conceal? From the first, Coelius tells us, wicked rumors circulated regarding the “holy” man's death, and we come upon traces of these here and there in contemporaneous writers. But the Catholic controvertist, Cochlaeus, in 1548, only three years after Luther's death, brings us a report said by him to come from a Catholic eye-witness of the scene. Dr. Paulus, of Munich, thinks that the author of this narrative



was Joh. Landan, apothecary, at Eisleben. His arguments are not without cogency. From this account it appears that Luther was found dead in his bed, and that all attempts made to resuscitate him failed. Coelius' remark that "Luther was not yet dead twenty-four hours and already people say that he was found dead in bed" seems to confirm the story of the Catholic eye-witness. Kleis also discusses and seems to view with favor the report that Luther hanged himself. This report, which, when championed by Dr. Majunke, the author of "*Geschichtslügen*," caused much controversy, is based on a document first referred to by Bazius about 1592-3, purporting to be the statement of one of Luther's servants, who had subsequently returned to the Church. The document was first published by the Franciscan Sedulius in 1606, but does not contain the name of the witness, Majunke and Kleis identifying him with Ambrosius Rudtfeldt, who was certainly present at Luther's death. But Kleis gives no reasons for his identification, and Dr. Paulus calls the statement an "anonymous" document. At all events, Paulus, in the "*Historical Year-Book of the Görres Society*," rejects the story as not satisfactorily proved. We learn that this distinguished scholar is preparing for Herder a work on the personal history of the "Reformers," which lay somewhat outside of the scope of Janssen's works. —C. G. H.

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HISTORY OF THE CATHOLIC CHURCH IN GERMANY DURING THE NINETEENTH CENTURY. Vol. III. *Dr. Heinrich Brück*. Maintz: Kirchheim, 1896.

The author of the present work is well known in the United States from the translation of his "*History of the Church*," which has been published in this country and has met with a cordial reception. The present work supplies a real need. It is often more difficult to find a connected narrative of events comparatively recent than of earlier ages, which bear a far less important relation to the present. The volume lying before us gives us a narrative of the revival of church life in Germany, which followed the revolutionary movement of 1848. The blessings conferred by that movement on the Catholic Church in Germany are undeniable. The liberties granted to the German people were shared to some extent at least by the Church, and the fetters of State control, which had hindered all real activity and progress, were broken, at least in part. Luckily the fortunes of the German Church were, during this period (1848-70), guided by a galaxy of loyal, devoted and able bishops, that struggled without fear and reproach for the reconquest of the rights of the Church, men like Cardinal von Geissel, von Reisach and von Rauscher, Bishops Blune, Weiss and von Ketteler, and the venerable nonagenarian Archbishop von Vicari, of Freiburg in Baden. Manfully they fought for their righteous cause, not without suffering at times the bitterest persecution, short of personal violence. The Papacy also worked might and main to secure for the Catholics of Austria and Germany their guaranteed rights and liberties. But of what avail are earnestness and diplomatic ability when the modern State unblushingly tears into shreds concordats and conventions sealed and sworn to but a few months before? The reader will find in Brück's book a doleful tale of baseness and perfidy that makes him wonder how the German governments could retain even the slightest remnant of respect among, we shall not say Catholics, but honest Protestants. In pleasant contrast with the unblushing faithlessness of the ruling powers, especially in the Catholic countries, Baden, Bavaria, Austria, is the picture of the unfolding of active Catholic life in Germany. The establishment of

associations for the support of Catholic interests, religious, literary, journalistic, artistic, social, is a visible proof that Christian Rome, like its imperial predecessor, derives new strength from struggles and losses. Among the most interesting facts set forth by Dr. Brück is the bitter hostility of Bismarck to everything Catholic long before the era of the Kultur Kampf. As early as 1854, when Bismarck was still Prussia's delegate at the German Diet in Frankfort, he went out of his way to prevent the settlement of the troubles then existing between the grand-ducal government of Baden and the venerable Archbishop von Vicari at Freiburg. About the same time he played the part of firebrand in Nassau. Altogether, the story of the bigotry and faithlessness of German statesmen, Catholic and Protestants, is far from edifying. The quiet, reflecting reader asks himself, "Is it possible that men of learning and education can be so ignorant, so impracticable and so purblind, when are they inspired by hate and malice?"

The book under review is a valuable compilation of mostly authoritative documents telling its story. It is to be regretted that the author does not possess or certainly does not use the gift of historical portraiture. The characterization of Bismarck, the only attempt of the kind in the book, is lifeless. What grand subjects for portraiture von Ketteler and von Vicari would have been! We should also desire to hear Brück's explanation of the fact why the legislatures of States like Baden, Bavaria and Austria, States overwhelmingly Catholic, should be so bitterly and persistently hostile to the Church and the Bishops.—C. G. H.

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PRÆLECTIONES DOGMATICÆ QUAS IN COLLEGIO DITTON—HALL HABEBAT *Christianus. Pesch, S. J.* Tom. iv., pp. xiii., 350, pr. \$1.90. Tom. vi., pp. xviii., 428. Price, \$2.20. Friburgi. St. Louis, Mo.: Herder. 1896.

INSTITUTIONES THEOLOGICÆ IN USUM SCHOLARUM AUCTORE. By *G. Bern. Tefe, S. J.* In quatuor vol., pr., 24 francs. Index generalis separatim. Price, ½ franc. Parisiis: P. Lethielleux, 10 Rue Cassette. 1896.

It is not with theology as with some departments of physical science, that the latest books are the best. The classic life of dogmatic theology went out with the seventeenth century, with the age of giants like Suarez and Vasquez, Lessius, Ripalda, de Lugo, Petavius, Gonet, Goudin, Alvarez, the Salmanticenses and the other like *viri famosi a seculo*; and though the subsequent century added some honored names to the roll, such as Billuart, Gotti, Berti, Tournely and the Wirceburgenses, our own age has for the most part been living on the gathered stores of the greater past. One may stand before the two dozen folios left us by St. Thomas of Aquin, or the score and a half noble tomes of Suarez and dream dreams of the greatness of soul, the profound penetration of intellect, the soarings of genius, the unflagging industry of these builders at the temple of wisdom; yet the noise and flurry of real life soon dispel the vision and bring home the stern reality that the days of the folio are vanished, and the synopsis and primer hold the field. Let us then by all means have good compendia, made by hands that themselves have delved in the buried treasures of more favored times, and let us have reliable guide-books to point the busy traveller to sources whence he may draw and fill out the sketches caught in brief sojourning in the vast domain of theology. The many and constantly increasing demands on the student's course in our ecclesiastical institutions make it urgent that the text-books should present in shape as compact as may comport with clearness the contents of their respective subjects.



Though, therefore, it is not true, as we have said, that the latest theological books are the best, the growing experience on the part of professors as to what is needed in the line of institutes of theology to fit in with present-day requirements gives a presumption in favor of works like those before us. They are the latest of their kind, and certainly amongst the very best. Intended primarily if not exclusively for class purposes, they are admirably adapted to such use. Of the three opening volumes of Fr. Pesch's *Prælectiones* we have spoken with commendation in former numbers of this REVIEW. The fourth volume, dealing with the Incarnation and cognate subjects, and the sixth, treating of the Sacraments in general and the first three in particular, have just been published. As in the preceding, so in these latter tracts, the author shows that mastery of the matter which permits him to select what is most essential for grounding the student in the science of dogma, while the skill of the experienced teacher is apparent throughout in the orderly arrangement of detail, the simplicity and clearness of propositions and the logical marshalling and exposition of proof.

Three more volumes are still required to complete the course. The seventh will carry on the theology of the last four Sacraments. The fifth, treating of Grace, will follow next. The eighth and last will explain the virtues, sin and "de-novissimis." The work, when finished, will fill about thirty-two hundred royal octavo pages. From this it is evident that it may be called a compendium only in a sense relative to the vast range of dogmatic science. For the rest, its amplitude presupposes a three years' course of philosophy and four years given to theology.

Fr. Tepe's "Institutes of Theology" has also but recently fallen from the press. Like the *Prælectiones* of Fr. Pesch, this work is meant for the class hall, for which use it has proved its appositeness, its contents having been for a number of years in the hands of the author's pupils, the Jesuit scholastics of the English province. Comprised within about twenty-eight hundred octavo pages, it too can be called a compendium only in the relative sense before indicated. Sufficiently extended to take in the essential as well as integral parts of theology, the degree of development given to its subjects adapts the work to the average seminary curriculum. Of its special merits in this line we shall speak in a future number of the REVIEW.—F. P. S.

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HISTORIA EXERCITIUM SPIRITUALIUM—S. P. IGNATII DE LOYOLA. Collecta et Concinnata a P. Ign. Diertins, S. J. Nova Editio. Friburgi. St. Louis, Mo.: Herder. Pp. 323. Price, \$1.20.

In taking Jesuitism in its literal meaning, apart from the opprobrious accretion which bigotry has fastened to it, we ask for the principles on which is based that wonderful system of ideas and practical methods concentered, so to speak, in the Society of Jesus, we have but to point to the Book of Exercises. In that compendium of spiritual wisdom are summarized the truths which, expressing as they do the fundamental relations, natural and supernatural, existing between man and his Maker, embody the profoundest, most universal and sincerest doctrine of life, truths on which Ignatius of Loyola, co-operating with divine grace, moulded his own mind and heart and entire spiritual activity, on which, moreover, were formed those giants of wisdom and apostolic virtue, the early Jesuits, and on which the constitution was framed and the Society organized, and grew to be the power it has been in the



Church and the world at large during the past three hundred years. Whatever, therefore, will contribute to a fuller understanding of a philosophy which has in practice so uncontrovertibly verified its theory should have an interest not confined to the Society which it directly animates and governs. No small literature contributing to this end has grown up around the Book of the Exercises wherein that philosophy is formulated—a literature, however, mainly explanatory and illustrative of the doctrine of the spiritual life as set forth in the Exercises. For a history of the work itself and its use and spread during the early life of the Society the interested student has had to draw upon the large *Lives of St. Ignatius* by Maffei, Bartoli and Orlandino. In 1700 the Belgian Jesuit, Fr. Diertins, published at Rome his "*Historia Exercitiorum Spiritualium*," covering the history of the Exercises during the lifetime of St. Ignatius. Death prevented the author carrying the narrative farther. The first edition and a second, published in 1732, are long out of print. The present edition contains, besides the matter of the two former, several documents from the Bollandists pertinent to the early history of the Exercises. The work is intended as fundamental to a Manresan series of books which the Society of Jesus intends publishing.

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#### BOOKS RECEIVED.

DEMON POSSESSION AND ALLIED THEMES, being an instructive study of phenomena of our own times. By *Rev. John L. Nevins, D. D.* Chicago, New York, Toronto: Heming H. Revell Company. 1896. Price, \$1.50.

ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENT OF THE NICENE THEOLOGY. By *Hugh M. Scott, D. D.*, Professor of Ecclesiastical History in Chicago Theological Seminary. Chicago: Theol. Sem. Press. 1896. Pp. 390.

LIFE AND LETTERS OF FATHER JOHN MORRIS, S. J. (1826-1893). By *Father J. H. Pollen, S. J.* London: Burns and Oates, Limited. Received from Benziger Brothers.

PRIMER OF PHILOSOPHY. by *Dr. Paul Carus*. Revised edition. Chicago: The Open Court Publishing Co. 1896. Pp. 242. Price, \$1.00.

SCIENCE AND THE CHURCH. By *Rev. J. A. Zahm, Ph.D., C.S.C.* Chicago: D. H. McBride & Co. 1896. Pp. 299. Price, \$1.50.

NATURE OF AN UNIVERSE OF LIFE. By *Leonidas Spratt*. Jacksonville, Fla.: Vance Printing Co. 1896. Pp. xii., 210.

## EDITORIAL NOTES.

THE Most Reverend Delegate Apostolic, in a letter which we hastened to make known to the public as soon as received, has decided that (adversely to the opinion expressed on page 890 of our last volume) permission to retain a nominal membership in the three societies recently condemned must, *in each individual case*, be sought from the Apostolic Delegation. We are sincerely grateful to His Grace for having enlightened us on a point concerning which there had been a wide divergence of opinion, and request our readers to note the correction.

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We deem it opportune to reiterate that the editors of this REVIEW do not hold themselves responsible for the opinions expressed in its columns by their contributors, who are at liberty to exercise their ingenuity within that wide debatable region into which the infallible authority of the Church has refused to enter. No other restraints are placed upon our esteemed writers than those imposed by orthodox faith and sincere charity. In thus defining our policy we but repeat the words written by our revered editor-in-chief when he assumed the supreme direction of the AMERICAN CATHOLIC QUARTERLY REVIEW:

"Contributors will be allowed all proper freedom in the expression of their thoughts outside the domain of defined doctrines, the REVIEW not holding itself responsible for the individual opinions of its contributors." (July, 1890.)

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Our readers have, no doubt, been pained to learn that one of the ablest and most faithful of our staff of contributors, ARTHUR F. MARSHALL, B. A., has departed this life after long and excruciating sufferings, borne with the heroic Christian fortitude which had sustained him throughout a life of utter self-renunciation. His papers, especially upon the subject of the Anglican schism, were models both in form and matter; and he possessed, in an eminent degree, the art of enforcing his arguments with an inimitable wit, at times pungent, but always charitable. *May he rest in peace!*

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### A GREAT CATHOLIC ACTRESS.

Mr. John Creahan, of this city, has nearly completed for the press a biography of Miss Laura Keene, one of the most accomplished artistes of her day, admiration for whose talent was not less genuine than admiration for the charm and purity of her private life. Mr. Creahan is finely equipped for his task by a temperament in sympathy with the truest forms of dramatic art, by scholarly insight, and by years of association with Miss Keene and her family. In gathering his material he has addressed quite all the best known artists who, at various times, had appeared with Miss Keene, and all testified in unstinted phrase to her genius as an actress and her nobility of character. Among the things he found was this essay, which is even more appropriate to-day as an exposition of the dignity of the drama than it was when first published,—EVENING TELEGRAPH, Philadelphia, November 20, 1896.

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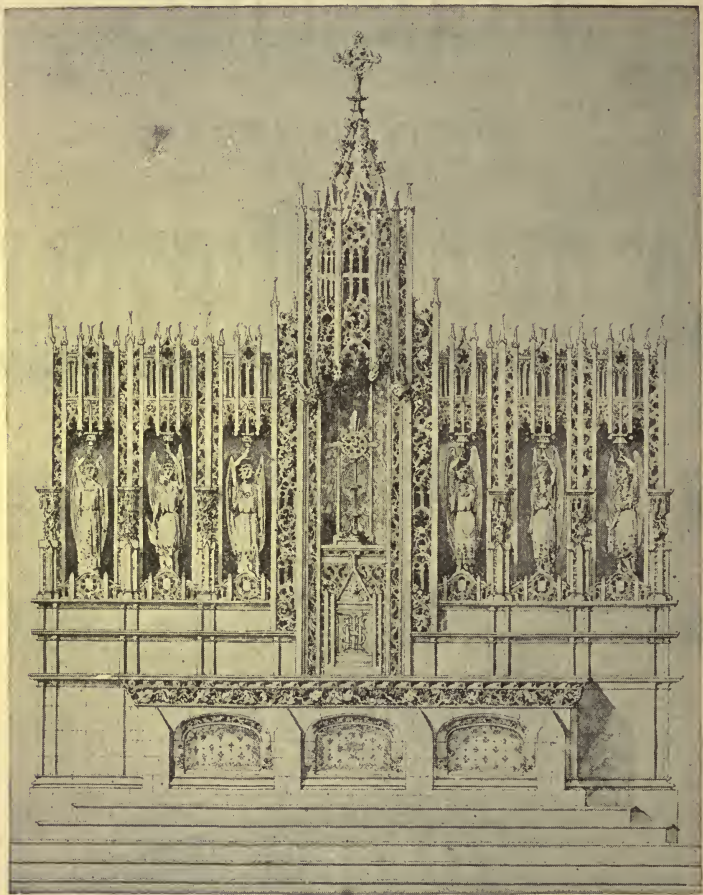
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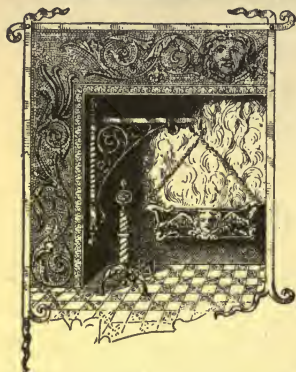
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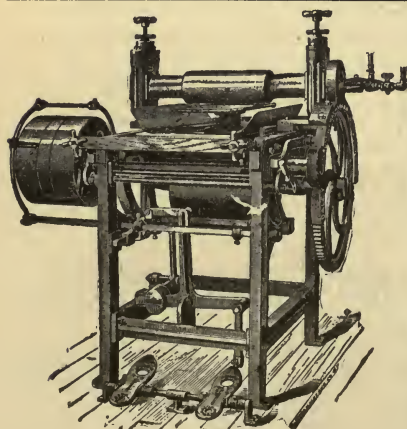
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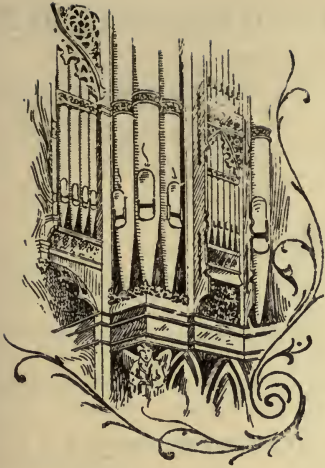
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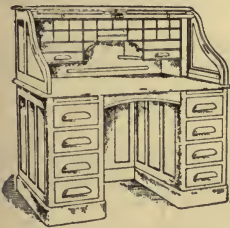
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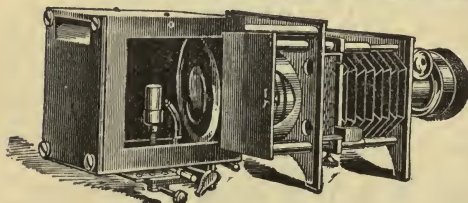
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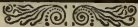
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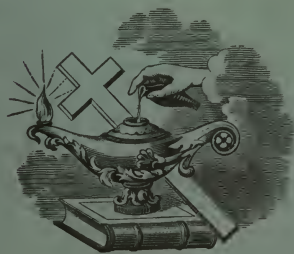
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THE  
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S. AUG. EPIST. ccxxxviii. AD PASCENT.



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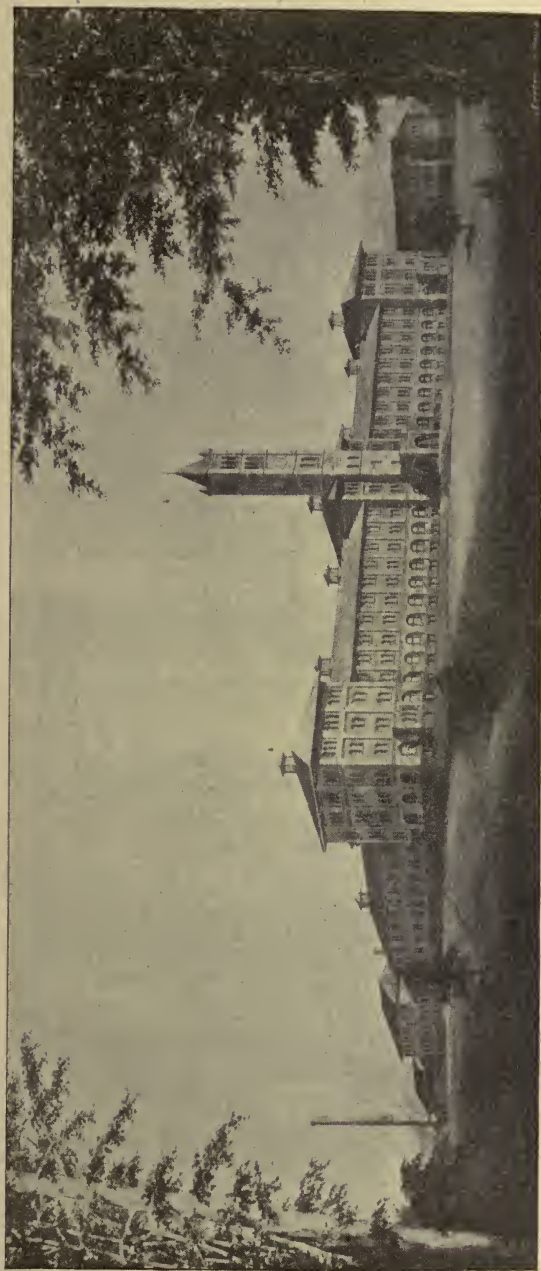
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# THE AMERICAN CATHOLIC QUARTERLY REVIEW

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VOL. XXII.—APRIL, 1897.—No. 86.

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## AUTHENTICITY OF THE BOOK OF ACTS.

THE vivid interest manifested of late in the Book of Acts is due to the contrariety of opinions concerning its authorship and origin, defended by men whose pride and glory rest on their unwearied, though not always salutary, labors in the field of Scripture study. In a former volume, M. Renan had declared his opinion that "the author of the third Gospel and the Acts was verily and indeed (*bien réellement*) Luke, a disciple of St. Paul."<sup>1</sup> In a later instalment of his work he condemns as untenable the view that the first person plural of the later chapters of Acts is derived from some earlier document inserted by the author, on the ground that these portions are identical in style with the rest of the work.<sup>2</sup> Though this expression of opinion proceeds from a not too conservative critic, and agrees with the unbroken tradition of the past,<sup>3</sup> it does not find much favor in the eyes of Harnack. The latter's own theory<sup>4</sup> is briefly this: The Acts of the Apostles was ushered in the West into a position of authority first about A.D. 180, being selected for this position on account of the use that could be made of it in the controversy with the followers of Marcion. Irenæus and the writer of the Muratorian Fragment, says the critic, exaggerated with controversial purpose the claims of the book, calling it the "Acts of All the Apostles," and asserting that St. Luke was present at every incident which he describes. But the earlier standing of Acts, according to Harnack, was still preserved in Egypt after A.D. 180. There we find Clement of

---

<sup>1</sup> *Les Apôtres*, p. xviii.

<sup>2</sup> *Les Évangiles*, p. 436.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Lightfoot, *Essays on Supernatural Religion*, p. 200.

<sup>4</sup> *Das N. T. um das Jahr, 200.*



Alexandria using the Acts only as one of many sources for the history of the apostles. Even Zahn says that Clement quotes the "Preaching of Peter" without making any visible distinction of authority between it and the Acts of the Apostles.

One of the most important contributions to the textual criticism and the interpretation of Acts that have appeared in this century is its new edition by the veteran Greek scholar Dr. F. Blass, of Halle. This writer leads a conservative reaction in Germany; he accepts the Lucan authorship and the unity of Acts unhesitatingly. He, moreover, maintains that St. Luke wrote two copies of Acts, slightly divergent from one another, and that our so-called Eastern text of the book springs from one, the Western from the other, of the two Lucan copies. Both texts then have equal authority, provided that we can recover their original from amid the corruptions which have affected them.<sup>1</sup> On the other hand, Prof. W. M. Ramsay<sup>2</sup> assures us that after mature consideration he is confirmed in the opinion that the text as settled by Dr. Blass is not Lucan; that it has a fatal superficial smoothness, and that it lacks much of the rather harsh but intensely individual style of Luke, neglecting entirely some of the literary forms created by Luke. According to Ramsay, the Western text is really a second century commentary on Acts, the work of one who had no respect for the words, but much for the facts, who wished to make the book complete and clear, who had spoken with some of the actors in the history, or at least with those who had seen some of the actors. The author ascribes to the Western text a distinct and independent value; first, as preserving of said corruptions an independent second century witness, to aid us where all the great uncials are at fault; secondly, as giving the idea entertained about the meaning of the text during the first half of the second century in the churches that lay along the great line of connection between Antioch and Ephesus; and thirdly, as recording on trustworthy independent evidence certain facts which were omitted by Luke.

In order to appreciate the foregoing opinions and others similar to them at their true value, one must be versed in the difficulties and intricacies implied in the question of the authenticity of Acts. We shall, therefore, review, first, the principal adverse theories on the authorship of the book; in the second place, we shall state and examine the main arguments against the Lucan origin of Acts; finally, we shall explain the main reasons that force us to defend the Lucan authorship of Acts in its full extent and its traditional simplicity.

---

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Acta Apostolorum* . . . edidit Fridericus Blass, Lipsiæ, Teubner, 1896.

<sup>2</sup> *Expositor*, February and March, 1895, pp. 129-142, 212-225.

It was a matter of vital importance for the Tübingen school to bring the Book of Acts down to a late date. For, if the work was written by a companion of St. Paul, the third gospel, which confessedly has the same authorship, must have been written by one in immediate contact with eye-witnesses, and must be regarded as thoroughly historical. Since the Tübingen theories regard every Christian book of the New Testament, however innocently it may appear to give straightforward history, as really written with a secret design to inculcate certain dogmatic views, just as, of Mr. Dickens's novels, one is intended to expose the abuses of the Poor Law system, another of the Court of Chancery, another of Ecclesiastical Courts, it evidently follows that the historical credibility of any canonical book of the New Testament once established, the foundation of the Tübingen school is demolished. This appears at least to be the logical result; in point of fact, the theories of our opponents resemble certain low organisms, that do not suffer at all by losing half of their body, since the remaining half walks away with apparently increased vital powers. The dogmatic views inculcated by the New Testament are, according to the adherents of the Tübingen movement, partly the Judaizing tendencies of Peter, partly the universalistic doctrine of Paul, partly the conciliatory efforts striving to unite the Petrine and Pauline parties into one church of Christ. For, starting from the figments of the Homilies and the Recognitions attributed to Clement of Rome as true historical works, the foregoing writers contend that, according to Peter's doctrine, our Lord did not found a new church, but only reformed Judaism, intending to spread it everywhere, and make it the universal means of salvation; while, according to the doctrine of Paul, our Lord instituted a new church, wholly distinct from the Mosaic dispensation, and intended to supplant the latter, even among the Jewish people, so that Christ and his church became the necessary means of grace and life. The incipient period of this party strife is represented by the Apocalypse on the side of Peter, and by the epistles to the Galatians, the Romans and the Corinthians on the side of Paul. During the second period Peter's doctrine is set forth in the first gospel and the Epistle of James, while Paul's views are defended in the third gospel and the Epistles to the Ephesians, the Philippians, the Colossians, the Thessalonians, the Hebrews, and to Philemon. The attempts to reconcile the two parties made in the third period may be traced in the second and fourth gospel, in Acts, the Epistles of Peter, John and Jude, and also in the Epistles to Timothy and Titus.

After stating the general outlines of the Tübingen tenets, we are enabled to understand the allied views held concerning the Book

of Acts in particular. Some of these necessarily imply a conscious tampering with history on the part of the author of Acts, others admit an unconscious misrepresentation of facts and conditions, pronounced enough to destroy the historical credibility of the book. Both classes of opinions will be briefly stated, at least in their principal representative forms.

Schneckenburger<sup>1</sup> ascribed to Acts the object of defending Paulinism against the early party of Peter and its Judaizing tendency. This view of the book was elaborated by Baur, who had previously treated Acts as not purely historical,<sup>2</sup> and who now endeavored to prove that a representation of this kind must necessarily be altogether untrustworthy and unhistorical.<sup>3</sup> In order to uphold Paulinism against Judaism, which had gained the ascendancy, the author, according to Baur, lessens its opposition to the Jewish law, conceals Paul's disagreement with the primitive apostles, and tries to heal the internal division in the primitive church by exciting a common hatred against the unbelieving Jews.<sup>4</sup> While Schwegler<sup>5</sup> modified Baur's view so far as to make Acts a vindication of the Apostle of the Gentiles, and an attempt to mediate between the two parties by an apparent history, Zeller<sup>6</sup> followed out Baur's view by an acute criticism of Acts in all its details. His proof for the falsification of history in the interest of conciliation, the author derives from a comparison of Acts with the Pauline epistles. The same intentional tampering with historic truth on the part of the author of Acts is admitted by Hilgenfeld,<sup>7</sup> Hausrath,<sup>8</sup> Holsten,<sup>9</sup> Volkmar,<sup>10</sup> and others. It may be added that Hilgenfeld places the authorship of Acts in 95 A.D., Volkmar in the beginning of the second century, Schwegler, Zeller, Hausrath in the times of Adrian and Trajan.

If the foregoing writers admit intentional falsifications of history on the part of the author of Acts in the interest of union and peace between the early Christian parties, the following critics admit historical errors indeed, but errors springing from ignorance and prejudice rather than from bad will. De Wette<sup>11</sup> repudiates the tendency-criticism of the Tübingen school without acknowledging

<sup>1</sup> *Ueber den Zweck der Apostelgeschichte*, Bern, 1841.

<sup>2</sup> *Tübing. Zeitschr.*, 1836, 3; 1838, 3.

<sup>3</sup> *Paulus der Apostel Jesu Christi*, 1845; 2d ed., 1866-67.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Weiss, *Manual of Introduction to the New Testament*, N. Y., 1889, ii., p. 328.

<sup>5</sup> *Das nachapostolische Zeitalter*, 1846.

<sup>6</sup> *Theolog. Jahrb.*, 1849-51; *Die Apostelgeschichte nach ihrem Inhalt und Ursprung kritisch untersucht*, Stuttgart, 1854.

<sup>7</sup> *Historisch-kritische Einleitung in das Neue Testament*, 1875.

<sup>8</sup> *Neutestam. Zeitgesch.*, 2d ed., ii., iii., 1875.

<sup>9</sup> *Das Evangelium des Paulus*, i., 1880.

<sup>10</sup> *Paulus von Damaskus bis zum Galaterbrief*, 1887.

<sup>11</sup> Cf. *Comment.*, i., 4, 1838; 4th ed., 1870.



the history of Acts as truthful enough to proceed from the pen of St. Luke. Bruno Baur<sup>1</sup> proceeds on the assumption that the settlement which, according to the Tübingen school, was first attempted by the Book of Acts, had really been accomplished before Acts was written, and that the early Christian divisions had become unintelligible to the conservative author accustomed to a state of Christianity in which Judaism had conquered. Lekebusch<sup>2</sup> rejects the tendency theory, but is still very moderate in its repudiation. Renan admits that the historical Luke is the author of Acts,<sup>3</sup> but considers his work better calculated to describe the author's own time than that of Peter and Paul. Overbeck<sup>4</sup> practically returns to Bruno Baur's position: the fundamental questions of the apostolic period have lost their significance for the Pauline author of Acts, who no longer recognizes Gentile Christianity as the fruit of the Pauline gospel, but regards it as the legitimate offspring of primitive apostolic teaching; the Gentile Christianity of Acts stands nearer to the legal Jewish Christianity than to Paulinism. Hence Wittichen<sup>5</sup> and Scholten<sup>6</sup> make the author of Acts a Jewish Christian, who indeed makes certain concessions to the advancing Gentile Christianity and its apostle, but sacrifices the independence of both to Jewish Christianity. According to Schenkel,<sup>7</sup> the author of Acts was the Pauline disciple of history, but the Paul described in Acts is not the Paul of history.<sup>8</sup> Straatman<sup>9</sup> sees in Acts an apology for Christianity as represented by Paul the Roman citizen. According to Pfeiderer,<sup>10</sup> the book is indifferent to the internal divisions in the Church, is hostile to the existing Judaism, and defends the religious and political rights of the Gentile Christians. Reuss,<sup>11</sup> Mangold,<sup>12</sup> Keim,<sup>13</sup> Pfeiderer,<sup>14</sup> Weizsäcker,<sup>15</sup> consider Acts as composed from a harmless and conciliatory point of view, not wholly destructive of its historical credibility; actual departure from historical truth is not intentional, but is due to the author's one-sided emphasis of the

<sup>1</sup> *Die Apostelgesch.*, 1850.

<sup>2</sup> *Composition und Entstehung der Apostelgesch.*, 1854.

<sup>3</sup> *Les Apôtres*, 1866; *St. Paul*, 1869.

<sup>4</sup> *Komm.*, 1870; *Zeitschr. f. wissenschaft. Theol.*, 1871, 1; 1872, 3.

<sup>5</sup> *Zeitschr. f. wissenschaft. Theol.*, 1873; *Jahrb. f. prot. Theol.*, 1877.

<sup>6</sup> *Das paulinische Evangelium*, 1881.

<sup>7</sup> *Charakterbild Jesu*, 4th ed., 1873, p. 361.

<sup>8</sup> *Cf. Christusbild der Apostel.*, 1879, pp. 176 f.

<sup>9</sup> *Paulus de Apostel von Jesus Christus*, 1879.

<sup>10</sup> *Der Paulinismus*, 1876; 2d ed., 1890; *das Urchristenthum*, 1887.

<sup>11</sup> *La Bible*, N. T., ii., 1876; *die Geschichte d. h. Schriften*, N. T., 6th ed., 1887.

<sup>12</sup> *Cf. Bleek, Einleitung*, 4th ed., 1886, pp. 431 f., 436 f., 462.

<sup>13</sup> *Aus dem Urchristenthum*, 1878, pp. 46 f.; 64 f.

<sup>14</sup> *Jahrb. f. prot. Theol.*, 1893, pp. 78 f.

<sup>15</sup> *Das apostolische Zeitalter der christlichen Kirche*, 1886.

particulars favorable to his tendency. Wendt<sup>1</sup> believes that the author of Acts supposes two post-apostolic truths: first, the catholic character of Christianity and its moral necessity for salvation; secondly, the apostolic endeavor to propagate the Christian religion universally. According to Holtzmann,<sup>2</sup> critics are agreed in regarding Acts as history unconsciously distorted by its author; doubt and controversy regard only the degree of misrepresentation. It may be added that Lekebusch, Trip, Ewald, Lechler, Bleek, Renan, Schenkel and Weiss place the authorship of Acts about 80 A.D., Wendt between 75 and 100 A.D., Mangold about 90 A.D., Weizsäcker at the end of the first century, Volkmar, Wittichen, Jacobsen in the beginning of the second century, Overbeck, Keim, Hausrath, Pfeleiderer, Usener in the times of Trajan and Adrian, Straatman about the year 150 after Christ.

After this brief list of opinions concerning the authorship of the Book of Acts advocated by the Tübingen School and its cognate critics, we must consider the grounds on which these theories are based. The main proofs advanced by the critics for the historical inaccuracy of the Book of Acts may be reduced to the following four:<sup>3</sup> First, the author does not understand the antagonisms of the apostolic age; secondly, his statements conflict with those in St. Paul's epistles; thirdly, he artificially balances the histories of Sts. Peter and Paul against each other; fourthly, he ignores and glosses over the differences between St. Paul and the other apostles. In order to appreciate these arguments at their true value, we must review them singly, inquiring into both their strength and their weakness.

I. It is true that, in Acts, Gentile Christianity is not represented as the original foundation of the Apostle Paul breaking through the limits of traditional Judaism, but is really the outcome of primitive apostolic teaching.<sup>4</sup> The catholicity of Christianity was, according to the Book of Acts, intended from its first foundation,<sup>5</sup> and was from the first preached to the Jews.<sup>6</sup> It was the Jews that effected the realization of Christian Catholicism, partly by their persecutions, partly by their unbelief. Jewish persecution caused the first Christian mission<sup>7</sup> and forced even St. Paul to evangelize the Gentiles;<sup>8</sup> hence it is that in the first part of Acts we read of the conversion of the Samaritans,<sup>9</sup> of the baptism of proselytes by

<sup>1</sup> *Zeitschr. f. Theol. u. Kirche*, 1891, p. 184.

<sup>2</sup> *Handcomm.*, 2d ed., 1892, p. 309.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Sanday, "Inspiration," *Bampton Lectures* for 1893, pp. 320 ff.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Overbeck, *Komm.*, 1870, xxxiii.; Hülgenfeld, *Historisch-kritische Einleitung in d. N. T.*, 1875, pp. 586, 594.

<sup>5</sup> Acts, i., 8; ii., 6-11.

<sup>7</sup> Acts, viii., 1.

<sup>6</sup> Acts, ii., 39; iii., 25, 26.

<sup>9</sup> Acts, viii., 4-8, 25.

<sup>8</sup> ix., 29, 30

Philip and Peter,<sup>1</sup> and of the evangelization of the Greeks.<sup>2</sup> When Paul appears on the scene, he walks in the well-known paths of his predecessors, and is even authorized by the Jerusalem community to devote himself to the Gentile mission.<sup>3</sup> On his missionary journeys we find that in almost every town the unbelief of the Jews<sup>4</sup> impels the apostle to seek the Gentiles with special fervor, and that he finds a ready belief among the latter.<sup>5</sup>

But while Acts maintains the unity and identity of principle followed by Paul and the other apostles, it also faithfully records those instances of friction and doubt that would occur almost of necessity in the rising Christian community. It tells of the difficulty between the widows of the Hellenistic Christians and those of the native-born Palestinians;<sup>6</sup> it records the mission of Peter and John to the new Samaritan converts in order to lay their hands upon them;<sup>7</sup> it describes the doubt of the proselyte eunuch<sup>8</sup> and the perplexity of the Jerusalem Church over the baptism of Cornelius and Peter's converse with Gentiles;<sup>9</sup> it knows that the great controversy of the apostolic age culminates in the necessity of the circumcision,<sup>10</sup> and first comes to a head in the church at Antioch. Considering that, at the time when Acts was written, the opposition between Judaism and Christianity was complete, that the doubts about the obligation of the Mosaic Law on converts from heathenism had been settled, and that Jewish Pharisaism had fully developed into an anti-Christian party, it is certainly a strikingly authentic touch in Acts that Christians of Jerusalem are represented as living in peace with the mass of their unbelieving neighbors, that certain believing Pharisees insist on the necessity of circumcision,<sup>11</sup> that the proportion and order of doctrinal development in the Christian community are so accurately preserved. Even the relations of Paul to Peter and James are precisely those that we should naturally expect to find in men of practical experience in affairs. Whatever course of action a rigid theory of logical consistency may seem to demand of them, we know that Paul met the Judaizing apostles, if we may so name them, half-way,<sup>12</sup> that Peter was overwhelmed with Paul's singular success, and that James anxiously mediated between Paul and the zealots for the Jewish law.<sup>13</sup> Acts gives, therefore, not only a relia-

<sup>1</sup> Acts, viii., 26-40; x., 1-xi., 18.

<sup>2</sup> xi., 19-21.

<sup>3</sup> Acts, xv., 1-34.

<sup>4</sup> Acts, xiii., 6-12, 42-50; xiv., 1-5, 18, 19; xviii., 7-17; xxviii., 28-31.

<sup>5</sup> Acts, xvi., 29-34; xvii., 4, 12, 34; xviii., 4; xix., 10, 17, 26.

<sup>6</sup> Acts, viii., 14.

<sup>7</sup> Acts, vi., 1.

<sup>8</sup> Acts, viii., 37 ff.

<sup>9</sup> Acts, xi., 1 ff.

<sup>10</sup> Acts, xv.

<sup>11</sup> Acts, xv., 1 ff.

<sup>12</sup> I. Cor., ix., 20; cf. Schürer, *Theol. Literaturz.*, 1882, col., 348.

<sup>13</sup> Acts, xxi., 20 ff.



ble, but an eminently accurate picture of the internal antagonisms of the early Christian community.

2. The foregoing conclusion is not contradicted by a comparison of Acts with the Pauline epistles. The pretended conflict between them may be reduced to negative and positive discrepancies. The principal instances of the former kind are these four omissions: in Acts: first, the history of Titus, the Gentile friend and uncircumcised assistant of Paul,<sup>1</sup> whose companionship appears to have caused the apostle trouble in Jerusalem,<sup>2</sup> and to have led to the disagreement between him and Peter;<sup>3</sup> secondly, the labors of the Jewish emissaries coming to the churches of Galatia and Corinth;<sup>4</sup> thirdly, the missionary journeys of the other apostles, on which they are said to have been accompanied by their wives;<sup>5</sup> fourthly, all notice concerning James, the bishop of Jerusalem, who can be identified with the brother of the Lord only by the testimony of the epistle to the Galatians.<sup>6</sup>

Similarly, we may reduce the alleged positive discrepancies between Acts and the epistles of Paul to these five: first, the journey to Jerusalem mentioned in Acts xi., 30, contradicts Gal. ii., 1, since it does not precede the apostle's visit to the capital, mentioned in this latter passage, by fourteen years. Secondly, the subordination of Paul to Barnabas described in Acts ix., 26; xi., 30; xii., 25, is opposed to his independent manner of preaching as described in Gal. i., 1, 12. Thirdly, Paul's pretended application<sup>7</sup> of the decree<sup>8</sup> passed by the apostolic council<sup>9</sup> on occasion of Peter's Gentile mission,<sup>10</sup> and the subsequent establishment of the Gentile church at Antioch,<sup>11</sup> renders unintelligible the conflict that occasioned the epistle to the Galatians.<sup>12</sup> Fourthly, the principle stated in the Book of Acts,<sup>13</sup> that everywhere the Jews must be evangelized first,<sup>14</sup> and the Gentiles only in case of Jewish obstinacy in error,<sup>15</sup> conflicts with Paul's views advanced in his epistles to the churches of Galatia,<sup>16</sup> Rome<sup>17</sup> and Corinth,<sup>18</sup> and with the complete silence in the epistles to the Corinthians concerning his breach with the Jews of that city, with the absence of all mention of Jews in the epistles

<sup>1</sup> II. Cor., ii., 13; vii., 6, 7, 13-15; viii., 6, 16, 17, 23; xii., 18.

<sup>2</sup> Gal., ii., 1, 3.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Gal., Cor., etc.

<sup>6</sup> i., 19; ii., 9.

<sup>8</sup> Acts, xv., 23-29.

<sup>10</sup> Acts, x., 1-xi., 18.

<sup>12</sup> Gal., ii., 6, 10, 12.

<sup>14</sup> Acts, xiii., 5, 14; xiv., 1; xvi. 13; xvii., 1, 2, 10, 17; xviii., 4, 19; xix., 8.

<sup>15</sup> Acts, xiii., 8, 45; xiv., 2, 19; xvii., 5, 13; xviii., 6; xix., 9; cf. xiii., 46-48; xviii., 7; xix., 9.

<sup>16</sup> ii., 9; iii., 28; iv., 21-23.

<sup>17</sup> i., 14; ii., 28, 29; iii., 29, 30; iv., 11, 16.

<sup>3</sup> Gal., ii., 11-14.

<sup>5</sup> I. Cor., ix., 5.

<sup>7</sup> Acts, xv., 30; xvi., 4.

<sup>9</sup> Acts, xv., 7-9.

<sup>11</sup> Acts, xi., 22-26; xv., 1.

<sup>13</sup> xiii., 46, 47; xviii., 6; xxviii., 26-28.

<sup>18</sup> I. Cor., i., 24.

to the Thessalonians, and finally with the circumstance that sickness and not Jewish obstinacy was the real occasion of Paul's missionary labors in Galatia.<sup>1</sup> Fifthly, Paul's accommodation to and compliance with the Jewish ceremonial<sup>2</sup> and his protestations of loyalty to the Mosaic Law contained in the Book of Acts,<sup>3</sup> are hardly in agreement with the Pauline counsels,<sup>4</sup> principles,<sup>5</sup> and practices<sup>6</sup> as represented in the epistles.

It is true that there are differences, and perhaps considerable differences, between Acts and St. Paul's epistles. But, on the other hand, a great number of agreements have been pointed out in Paley's "*Horae Paulinae*," in Professor Blunt's "*Undesigned Coincidences*" and Lechler's "*das apostolische Zeitalter*." Light-foot<sup>8</sup> is of opinion that "any writer . . . who will take the pains to go carefully over Paley's discussion of the passages relating to the contributions for the Christian poor at Jerusalem, observing how they dovetail into one another, may satisfy himself of the validity of the argument. Yet it is plain that the writer of Acts was unacquainted with these epistles, or, at all events, that if he had ever seen them, he made no use of them in compiling his history." On the whole, for every point of difference between Acts and the epistles it would be easy to bring at least four of striking coincidence and harmony, which are a perfectly sound vindication of the trustworthiness of the apostolic history. The instances of discrepancy only need to be judged in a human and reasonable spirit in order to vanish.

As to the negative discrepancies between Acts and the Pauline Epistles, or discrepancies founded on the silence of Acts concerning certain facts related in the epistles, it must be kept in mind that the knowledge of the author of Acts was necessarily very limited, depending on a few rough notes or scraps of narrative, and the memory of communicative eye-witnesses. Now Paul, the principal source of information, would naturally be reserved on points tending to his own praise, or involving blame of others, unless necessity obliged him to speak of these details. Hence we understand why Luke remained ignorant of the apostle's journey into Arabia, of his dispute at Jerusalem concerning the circumcision of Titus and of the rebuke administered to Peter at Antioch.<sup>9</sup> The silence concerning Titus cannot surprise us, if we consider the comparative unimportance of that disciple in the eyes of Luke.

<sup>1</sup> Gal., iv., 13, 14.

<sup>2</sup> xvi., 3; xxi., 23-27; xviii., 21, 22; xxi., 15; xxiv., 17.

<sup>3</sup> xxii., 1, 6; xxiv., 15; xxvi., 5-7.

<sup>4</sup> I. Cor., vii., 17-18.

<sup>5</sup> Gal., v., 2-4.

<sup>6</sup> Gal., ii., 13, 14.

<sup>7</sup> Third ed., pp. 12 ff.

<sup>8</sup> *Dictionary of the Bible*, new ed., p. 34.

<sup>9</sup> Gal. i., 17; ii., 1, 3; ii., 11-14.

He had been with Paul in Jerusalem, before Luke became the apostle's companion.<sup>1</sup> On the apostle's third missionary journey he was sent from Ephesus to Corinth,<sup>2</sup> at a time when Luke himself appears to have resided in Philippi.<sup>3</sup> Next, Titus met Paul in Macedonia, and after giving an account of his work in Corinth, he was sent back as the bearer of the apostle's second letter to that church,<sup>4</sup> so that Luke and Titus must, at best, have been but slightly acquainted with each other, for the next mention of Titus<sup>5</sup> belongs to about 66 or 67 A.D., or the time before Paul's second imprisonment. As to Luke's omitting the missionary labors of the other apostles, and the genealogical record of James, bishop of Jerusalem, we need only point out the irrelevancy of these omissions. That I. Cor., ix., 5, refers to the wives of the apostles, is a groundless assertion.<sup>6</sup>

The alleged positive discrepancies between Acts and the Pauline epistles are rather carried into the inspired documents than really found therein. (1) It is true that the apostle writes to the Galatians: "Then after fourteen years I went up again to Jerusalem with Barnabas, taking Titus also with me," referring here to his third visit to Jerusalem;<sup>7</sup> on the other hand, the apostle's third visit occurred fourteen years after his first visit,<sup>8</sup> not after his second.<sup>10</sup> Does, then, the epistle to the Galatians really contradict the Book of Acts on this point? In the epistle the apostle intends to prove that he had received his doctrine not from the other apostles, but from Christ himself; he therefore enumerates only those visits to Jerusalem during which he had met one of the other apostles. Now such a meeting had occurred on his first visit to Jerusalem, and again on the third, but not on the second. What more natural, therefore, than the omission of the second visit to Jerusalem in the epistle to the Galatians? What more accurate than that fourteen years elapsed between Paul's first meeting with other apostles in Jerusalem and a second meeting of the same kind?<sup>11</sup>

(2) The subordination of Paul to Barnabas<sup>12</sup> was his natural position during the first few years after his conversion, and does not at all contradict the apostle's independent spirit shown several years later in his epistle to the Galatians.<sup>13</sup> The account of the Book of Acts on this point deserves, therefore, the highest commendation of historical accuracy.

<sup>1</sup> Gal., ii., 1, 3; cf. Acts, xv., 2.

<sup>2</sup> II. Cor., vii., 6-9; viii., 6; xii., 18; cf. Acts, xix.

<sup>4</sup> II. Cor., viii., 16, 17, 23.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. Cornely, Comm. in I. Cor. pp. 240 ff.

<sup>8</sup> Acts, xv., 2 ff.

<sup>9</sup> Acts, ix., 26 ff.

<sup>11</sup> Cf. Cornely, Comm. in Gal. pp. 418 ff.

<sup>12</sup> Acts, ix., 26; xi., 30; xii., 25.

<sup>3</sup> Acts, xvi., 10-17.

<sup>5</sup> Tit., i., 5.

<sup>7</sup> Gal., ii., 1.

<sup>10</sup> Acts, xi., 27 ff.

<sup>13</sup> Gal., i., 1, 12.



(3) Paul's silence in his epistle to the Galatians concerning the apostolic decree pronouncing the equality of the Gentiles with the Jewish converts<sup>1</sup> is easily explained: First, the apostles had promulgated the decree in question probably a few months before the Galatian troubles, but its authority had not been sufficient to check the Judaizers; secondly, the latter had changed their position to some extent after the council of Jerusalem, maintaining no longer that circumcision was necessary for salvation, but denying that the uncircumcised Gentile converts were as perfect Christians as the converts who had submitted to circumcision.<sup>2</sup> It is clear, therefore, that in the epistle to the Galatians an appeal to the apostolic decree would have been not only useless, but also unreasonable and dangerous.

(4) The argument built on Paul's mission-practice, as described in Acts and his epistles, furnishes another instance of artificially constructed discrepancy. In order to have a real discrepancy on this point, it must be proved that it was Paul's invariable principle and practice, according to the Book of Acts, to address the Jewish community in every place before seeking the conversion of the Gentiles, and that the opposite is true according to the Pauline epistles. The first part is admittedly false, since Acts, xiii., 7-12; xiv., 6, 7, 21; xvii., 11, 12, 17-34, furnish noted exceptions to the pretended rule; the second part cannot be proved, to say the least; in the epistles to the Corinthians and the Thessalonians there was no call for mentioning the Jews of the respective cities; in Gal., iv., 13, 14, we have at best an instance parallel to the foregoing exceptions mentioned in Acts; the other passages of the Pauline epistles merely state that since God is the God of the Jews and the Gentiles alike<sup>3</sup> the apostle considers himself a debtor to all,<sup>4</sup> feeling assured that even the uncircumcised according to the flesh can have the true gift of faith,<sup>5</sup> that only the circumcised of heart are the true Israel of God,<sup>6</sup> and, moreover, that those baptized in Christ are on terms of perfect equality before God, whether they be Jews or Gentiles.<sup>7</sup> From none of these statements can we infer that the Pauline epistles proclaim either a principle or a practice of the apostle different from those maintained in the Book of Acts.

(5) Finally, we may freely grant that St. Paul advised the Corinthians<sup>8</sup> not to seek salvation in circumcision; that he regarded circumcision undergone in the spirit of the Judaizers who disturbed the Galatian Church as rendering Christ void, and caus-

<sup>1</sup> Acts, xv.

<sup>2</sup> Rom., iii., 29, 30.

<sup>3</sup> Rom., iv., 11, 16.

<sup>4</sup> Gal., iii., 28; I. Cor., i., 24.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Cornely, *Introd.*, iii., p. 334.

<sup>6</sup> Rom., i., 14.

<sup>7</sup> Rom., ii., 28, 29; Gal., iv., 21-23.

<sup>8</sup> I. Cor., vii., 17, 18.

ing its recipients to fall from grace<sup>1</sup>; that he rebuked St. Peter for complying with Jewish practices when there was danger of strengthening the Judaizing party in its false assumptions.<sup>2</sup> Granting all this, we do not see any inconsistency in Paul's circumcising Timothy (Acts xvi., 3), when there was no danger of scandal, but great hope of making Timothy more useful for the Jewish mission; nor in Paul's exercising certain ascetical practices of vows, prayers and visits to the House of God<sup>3</sup> that were to be retained in the Christian Church, though in a slightly different outward form; nor, finally, in Paul's profession that he had been a Jew zealous for the law<sup>4</sup>, and that he shared with the Pharisees their belief in the resurrection of the dead.<sup>5</sup> We believe that in all these instances the alleged discrepancies between the Book of Acts and the Pauline Epistles are artificially carried into the history of Paul's attitude to Judaism, as told in the two said sources.

3. The third main difficulty of our opponents against the historical reliability of Acts is based on the author's artificial method of balancing the history of Paul against that of Peter. According to the contention of these opponents, the Book of Acts is divided into two uneven parts, the first comprising the first twelve, the second the last sixteen chapters of the work. Each of these parts is subdivided into two portions: Just as Peter's ministry in Jerusalem<sup>6</sup> and Peter's work in the incipient Gentile missions<sup>7</sup> are described in the first part, so we read in the second part first of Paul's mission among the common Gentiles<sup>8</sup>, and then of his incipient Roman ministry.<sup>9</sup> Throughout these parts our opponents discover a number of artificial parallelisms between the histories of the two heroes: Both begin their ministry by miraculously healing a lame man<sup>10</sup>; both are imprisoned and falsely accused before the political authorities;<sup>11</sup> both gain the upper hand over a sorcerer;<sup>12</sup> both work numberless miracles during their missionary labors;<sup>13</sup> both are extremely feared by the evil spirit;<sup>14</sup> both find favor with the Pharisees;<sup>15</sup> both are cruelly scourged;<sup>16</sup> both have a subordinate assistant, Peter in Philip, Paul in Apollos;<sup>17</sup> both give the new converts the Holy Ghost and his supernatural charismata;<sup>18</sup> both raise a dead person to life;<sup>19</sup> both are offered

<sup>1</sup> Gal., v., 2-4.

<sup>2</sup> Gal., ii., 13, 14.

<sup>3</sup> Acts, xxi., 23-27; xviii., 21, 22; xxi., 15; xxiv., 17.

<sup>4</sup> Acts, xxii., 1-6.

<sup>5</sup> Acts, xxiv., 15; xxvi., 5-7.

<sup>6</sup> Acts, i.-v.

<sup>7</sup> Acts, vi.-xii.

<sup>8</sup> Acts, xiii.-xxi., 18.

<sup>9</sup> Acts, xxi., 19; xxviii., 31.

<sup>10</sup> Acts, iii., 2-10; xiv., 8-10.

<sup>11</sup> IV., 1 ff.; cf. v., 18 ff.; xxi., 33 ff.

<sup>12</sup> v., 1-11; cf. viii., 18-24; xiii., 6-11; xix., 13-17.

<sup>13</sup> v., 15; xix., 12.

<sup>14</sup> v., 16; viii., 7; xvi., 18; xix., 11, 15; xxviii., 9.

<sup>15</sup> Acts, v., 34; xxiii., 9.

<sup>16</sup> v., 40; xvi., 22 ff.

<sup>17</sup> Acts, viii., 5-8; 14-17; xviii., 24-xix., 1.

<sup>18</sup> Acts, viii., 14-17; x., 44, 46; xix., 1-7.

<sup>19</sup> Acts, ix., 33; 36-42; xx., 9-12; xxviii., 8.

divine adoration against their will;<sup>1</sup> both are miraculously freed from prison, Peter by an angel, Paul by an earthquake;<sup>2</sup> and, finally, Paul is stoned at Lystra, as Stephen is stoned at Jerusalem.<sup>3</sup> Hence our opponents infer that Acts is an artificially constructed book in which every speech or miracle of Peter has its counterpart in some act or speech or miracle of Paul, and that, furthermore, fiction fills a far greater part in both halves than fact.

But such an inference is not borne out by the premises of the argument; for, on the one hand, the alleged parallelism can be completed only by much straining and exaggeration, and, on the other, such real correspondence as exists in Acts is not more than must be expected in any history of men placed in the same situations and conditions. Instances of a strained correspondence we have in the history of Ananias and Sapphira, and the rejection of Simon Magus by Peter,<sup>4</sup> as compared with the blinding of Elymas by Paul;<sup>5</sup> in the defence of the apostles by Gamaliel,<sup>6</sup> as compared with the protection of Paul by the Pharisees;<sup>7</sup> in the relation of Philip's ministry to Peter, as compared with the relation of Apollos' ministry to Paul;<sup>8</sup> in the alleged adoration of Peter by Cornelius,<sup>9</sup> as compared with the adoration of Paul at Lystra;<sup>10</sup> in Peter's liberation from prison by an angel,<sup>11</sup> as compared with Paul's liberation by an earthquake;<sup>12</sup> in the real martyrdom of Stephen,<sup>13</sup> as compared with the apparent death of Paul.<sup>14</sup> In none of these instances do we find a real correspondence between the history of Peter and that of Paul, so that our opponents' premise must be simply denied in so far as it embraces these cases.

But even where our opponents' premise is true, where there is a real parallelism between the history of Peter and that of Paul, it does not prove that Acts is fiction rather than objective truth. For the real similarities between the lives of the two apostles, their exorcisms, *e.g.*, and numerous miracles, their communication of the Holy Ghost and indefatigable zeal for souls, their persecutions and actual sufferings, cannot surprise us in men that lived at the same time, followed the same calling, labored under the same difficulties and were surrounded by the same circumstances.<sup>15</sup> In

<sup>1</sup> Acts, x., 25, 26; xiv., 11-15; xxviii., 6.

<sup>2</sup> Acts, xii., 7 ff.; xvi., 26 ff.

<sup>3</sup> Acts, vii., 58 f.; xiv., 18.

<sup>4</sup> Acts, v., 1 ff.; viii., 18-24.

<sup>5</sup> Acts, xiii., 6-11.

<sup>6</sup> Acts, v. 34 ff.

<sup>7</sup> Acts, xxiii., 9.

<sup>8</sup> Acts, viii., 5-8, 14-17; xviii., 24-xix., 1.

<sup>9</sup> Acts, x., 25 f.

<sup>10</sup> Acts, xiv., 11-15; cf. xxviii., 6.

<sup>11</sup> Acts, xii., 7 ff.

<sup>12</sup> Acts, xvi., 26 ff.

<sup>13</sup> Acts, vii., 58 f.

<sup>14</sup> Acts, xiv., 18.

<sup>15</sup> Cf. Sanday, "Inspiration," *Bampton Lectures*, 1893, pp. 326 f.; C. Clemen, *Prolegomena zur Chronologie der Paulinischen Briefe*, Halle, 1892, pp. 17 f.; Meyer-Wendt, *Apostelgesch.*, 5th ed., pp. 6 f.; Feine, *Eine vorkanonische Ueberlieferung des Lukas*, p. 214.



fact, it would be urged as an argument against the historical credibility of Acts, if there were no correspondence between the public life of Peter and that of Paul. Nor can the omission of many incidents be urged as an argument for an artificially constructed parallelism, for we have seen already that the author of Acts omits many incidents either described or alluded to in the Pauline Epistles. If the writer had intended to construct an artificial parallelism between Peter and Paul by his omissions, he might have produced a much more striking work. Why narrate Paul's imprisonment and captivity so minutely? Why relate his voyage to Rome so accurately? Why describe his life as a captive in the capital? Why omit Peter's residence, sufferings and death in the same city? These slight modifications of the work would have increased the correspondence between the public life of Peter and that of Paul considerably, without taxing the author's powers inordinately.

4. The fourth source of difficulties against the historical credibility of Acts springs from its construction of an excessive peace and harmony in the ancient Church. *a.* The opposition between the Jews and the Apostles vanishes, because a Pharisee advises the Jewish authorities to grant freedom of religious development to the apostolic ministry.<sup>1</sup> The artificial character of this incident is manifest on account of an accompanying anachronism.<sup>2</sup> *b.* The opposition between the Jewish and Gentile Christians is made to disappear, because the speeches placed in the mouth of Peter<sup>3</sup> proclaim the principles of Paul, and those placed in the mouth of Paul represent the views of Peter. *c.* Moreover, the Pauline orations are arranged so artificially that they must be the product of the author of Acts; on his first missionary journey Paul addresses a Jewish audience<sup>4</sup> concerning the Messianic character of Jesus; on his second journey he speaks to Gentiles concerning the true God and our obligations to Him;<sup>5</sup> on his third journey the Apostle addresses his principal oration to a Christian audience,<sup>6</sup> warning them against future temptations. Similarly, each of the three stages of the apostle's captivity presents an apostolic address; the first is delivered before the Jewish people,<sup>7</sup> the second before a Gentile court,<sup>8</sup> and the third before the highest Jewish and Gentile authorities.<sup>9</sup> *d.* Besides, in these orations we find the same characteristics of language and style that mark the other parts of the Book of Acts. Greek thought, and quotations

<sup>1</sup> Acts, v., 34.

<sup>2</sup> Acts, xi., 5-17; xv., 5-11; cf. ii., 14-36; iii., 12-26.

<sup>3</sup> Acts, xiii., 16-41.

<sup>4</sup> Acts, xx., 17-35.

<sup>5</sup> Acts, xxiv., 10-21.

<sup>2</sup> Acts, v., 36, 37.

<sup>5</sup> Acts, xvii., 22-31.

<sup>7</sup> Acts, xxii., 1-21.

<sup>9</sup> Acts, xxvi., 2-23.

from the Greek version of the Old Testament are found even in the speeches addressed to an Aramæan audience.<sup>1</sup> *e.* Finally, Acts relates mainly the first foundation of churches by the apostle Paul, but describes his pastoral work very briefly,<sup>2</sup> or summarizes the same in certain systematic formulas,<sup>3</sup> or, again, omits it entirely.<sup>4</sup>

On the other hand, it must be kept in mind that most of these peculiarities are precisely what we must expect in an author like the writer of Acts. *a.* Let us grant, for argument's sake, that the author of Acts represents the opposition between Judaism and Christianity less vividly than he might do within the lines of perfect truthfulness. Does this deprive his book of its historical credibility? Can a mathematical line be drawn between historic fidelity and historic falsehood of a work? Even if such a line could be drawn, would the critics of our own century be more likely to stand on the side of objective truth than the author of Acts? In point of fact, every reader of Acts knows that the argument of the critics is based not on the general attitude of the synagogue towards Christianity, but on the extraordinary equity of Gamaliel;<sup>5</sup> that the Jewish leaders imprisoned the Apostles, scourged them, drove them from Palestine to the Jews of the dispersion and the Gentiles, killed the more prominent Christian teachers, Stephen and James, *e.g.*, and impeded the spread of Christianity in every possible way. Since the author of Acts describes all this hostility on the part of Judaism, we fail to see his construction of an excessive harmony between the Jews and the early Christians. The alleged anachronism<sup>6</sup> is not calculated to strengthen the argument of our opponents, and on examination proves to be no anachronism at all.<sup>7</sup> *b.* As to the pretended exchange of principles in the speeches of the two apostles, the exception is wholly based on the "*a priori*" position of the critics, that the views of Peter were antagonistic to those of Paul. If the rest of Acts presents accurate history, we naturally infer that on this point, too, the author of Acts is right, and the modern critics are wrong. *c.* The methodical arrangement of Paul's speeches in Acts, according to which three fall in the period of the missionary journeys, three in the time of the captivity, and each of the three supposes a different kind of an audience, does not show lack of historical accuracy in the work, but betrays care and forethought on the part of the author. If the writer must make a

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Acts, ii., 19-36.

<sup>2</sup> Acts, xiv., 22, 23; xvi., 4, 5.

<sup>3</sup> Acts, xvii., 2-4; xviii., 7, 8; xix., 8-10.

<sup>4</sup> Acts, xvi., 6; xviii., 1, 5, 23; xx., 2.

<sup>6</sup> Acts, v., 36, 37.

<sup>5</sup> Acts, v., 34.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. Cornely, *Introd.*, iii., pp. 156, ff.

selection of material to be recorded, he is fully justified in choosing precisely those words and deeds of his hero that will represent him in the truest light. *d.* The identity of style and language throughout the work shows that the writer does not give the speeches of the apostles *verbatim*, but only in substance, so that he expressed their thoughts in his own language, just as a translator does with regard to his original text. We shall have to point out, however, that Pauline vestiges are plainly discernible in the speeches referred by Acts to the Apostle of the Gentiles. *e.* Finally, it must be remembered that, after all, the writer of Acts had as much right to determine the scope of his work and choose the material suited for his purpose as have the critics of our own day to do so for him. If he, therefore, chose to outline the propagation of Christianity from Jerusalem to Antioch, from Antioch to Rome, and did not wish to relate the minute details concerning the foundation and growth of the single churches, the modern critic ought to be thankful for what he has received, without showing his annoyance at not receiving more.

Thus far we have reviewed the principal theories concerning the authorship of the Book of Acts that destroy its historical credibility, and have examined into the main grounds on which those theories rest. We may now proceed to consider the positive evidence in favor of the historical reliability of the book, hearing first the witnesses that constitute our external evidence, and studying, in the second place, those characteristic properties of Acts that confirm, at least, the former testimony, even if they cannot establish the same truth independently. The external testimony is partly explicit in asserting the Lucan origin of Acts; partly it maintains the Lucan authorship implicitly.

"It is now generally acknowledged," says Professor Ramsay,<sup>1</sup> "that the tendency of the Tübingen school of criticism was to date the documents and the facts of early Christian history too late, and most recent critics have carried back the documents to an earlier date. But the question latent in their minds seems always to take the form 'How far back does clear and irrefragable evidence compel us to carry the documents?' They seem to start with the presumption of a late date in their minds, and thus always to have a certain bias, which hinders them from attaining the purely historical point of view." We need not spend much time in discussing the external evidence that dates from the end of the second century. The letter of the churches of Lyons and Vienne, written in or soon after 177 A.D., contains a direct reference to the dying prayer of Stephen as recorded in the Book of Acts. And

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<sup>1</sup> *The Church in the Roman Empire*, p. 180.



the Bishop of Lyons, who suffered martyrdom in the same persecution in which Stephen's prayer was repeated, is Photinus, the disciple and friend of Polycarp, who in his turn had been disciple and friend of the apostle St. John.<sup>1</sup>

Another illustrious witness belonging to the same church of Lyons we have in Irenæus. In the third book of his great work "Against the Heresies" (written about 190 A.D.), he devotes the twelfth chapter to a careful and detailed appeal to the accounts of the apostolic teaching given in the first ten chapters of Acts. The words of Stephen, of Paul, of James the Just, of Philip, and over and over again of Peter, are cited on the authority of Acts.<sup>2</sup> The Roman author of the Muratorian Fragment, writing about 170 A.D., gives Acts the place of honor between the four gospels and the epistles of St. Paul, and ascribes it to St. Luke; he describes the book as the "Acts of All the Apostles," perhaps to distinguish it from works such as the "Acts of John," or the "Acts of Peter and Paul."<sup>3</sup>

The attitude of Tertullian of Carthage, whose literary activity extended from 195 to 230 A.D., towards Acts, is unmistakable. In Oehler's edition of his works the "Scriptural Quotations" from Acts fill two columns of the Index. But there is still more definite evidence; in "De Præscript," we read: "And Christ fulfilled His promise, for the Acts of the Apostles proves that the Holy Ghost descended. But they who do not receive this Scripture can neither belong to the Holy Spirit . . . and let not those say that they defend the Church who cannot prove when and with what swaddling clothes this body was established." In another passage,<sup>5</sup> after calling attention to the agreement existing between Acts and the Pauline epistles, he charges Marcion and his followers with rejecting Acts, because "the book proclaims no other God than the Creator, and the Messiah of no other God than of the Creator." How could Tertullian dare to argue thus against his formidable opponent, unless the authority of Acts was acknowledged by the Church? The evidence of the West, therefore, of Rome, of Lyons, and of Carthage, is clear and decided in favor of Acts; and Alexandria in the East is equally pronounced in acknowledging the Book of Acts. We appeal to the writings of Clement of Alexandria,<sup>6</sup> in which we have explicit references to Acts. There are, indeed, traces of rival Acts,<sup>7</sup> consisting chiefly

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Euseb., H. E.*, v. 2.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *Iren. c. haer.*, iii., 14.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. *Fragm. Murat.*, lin. 34 ff.

<sup>4</sup> c. xxii.

<sup>5</sup> *Adv. Marcion*, v. 2, 3.

<sup>6</sup> *Paed.*, ii., 16; *Strom.*, i., 50, 89, 90, 153, 154; iv., 99, 136; v. 75, 82; vi., 63, 165.

<sup>7</sup> *Paed.*, ii., 16; *Strom.*, iii., 25, 26, 52; iv., 73; vii., 63; Q. D. S. 42; *Eus. H. E.*, i., 12; ii., 1, 9, 15.

of assertions concerning the apostles and their followers, not derived from the Acts of the Apostles; but for not one of these facts does Clement clearly indicate any written authority, and for some he clearly appeals to oral tradition,<sup>1</sup> so that we must conclude, that in the opinion of Clement, and in the belief of the Alexandrian Church represented by Clement, the Acts of the Apostles was without any written rival. If in later times St. Chrysostom says that many do not even know the existence of Acts, and are ignorant about its authorship,<sup>2</sup> or that many ascribe the authorship of Acts to Clement of Rome, to Barnabas, or Luke,<sup>3</sup> and if Photius repeats almost the same statements,<sup>4</sup> we must remember that the latter writer copies the former's homily, while Chrysostom speaks rhetorically, in order to render his audience more attentive; or, by a slip of memory, predicates of Acts what is true of the epistle to the Hebrews. The true opinion of the Father concerning the Book of Acts we find in his statement, that according to the statutes of the Fathers, the Acts of the Apostles should be read on the Feast of Pentecost.<sup>5</sup> Clear external evidence proves therefore that Acts was generally acknowledged and received in the Church towards the end of the second century.

Besides these clear acknowledgments of the book, we have a number of still earlier coincidences with the contents of Acts which are most satisfactorily accounted for by supposing that they are real quotations from the work of Luke. Thus Clement of Rome, writing about 93-95 A.D. to the Corinthians,<sup>6</sup> praises them for being "fonder of giving than receiving," just as Acts<sup>7</sup> reads: "It is more blessed to give than to receive." Hermas, in his "Shepherd,"<sup>8</sup> written between 100 and 140 A.D., says that there is none other through whom we can be saved than through the great and glorious Name, and thus agrees with Acts iv., 12. Polycarp<sup>9</sup> chanced, between 110 and 117 A.D., upon words almost identical with those of Acts ii., 24, when he says: "Whom God raised up, having loosed the pains of Hades." Ignatius writing about the same time as Polycarp, tells<sup>10</sup> how our Lord after His resurrection ate and drank with His disciples—*συνέφαγεν καὶ συνέπιεν*—and thus coincides with Acts x., 41; *συνεφάγομεν καὶ συνεπίομεν*, and again, he calls heretical teachers "wolves,"<sup>11</sup> just as they are called in Acts xx., 29. Again, Eusebius relates<sup>12</sup> that Dionysius of Corinth, who

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *The Thinker*, vol. viii., 1895, p. 14 f.

<sup>2</sup> In *Act. hom.*, i., 1; cf. *princ. Act. hom.*, i., 3.

<sup>3</sup> *Hom. in Ascens. Dom. et in princ. Act.*, ii., 8.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. *quæst. ad Amphil.*, 123, al. 145.

<sup>5</sup> In *princ. Act. hom.*, iv., 3.

<sup>7</sup> xx., 35.

<sup>8</sup> Vis., iv., 2.

<sup>10</sup> Ad Smyrn., iii.

<sup>11</sup> Ad Philadelph., ii.

<sup>6</sup> C., ii.

<sup>9</sup> Ad Philipp.,

<sup>12</sup> H. E., iv., 29.

wrote about 170 A.D., recorded that Dionysius the Areopagite, who was converted by Paul the Apostle, according to the account given in Acts, was the first bishop of Athens. In like manner does Papias,<sup>1</sup> who wrote between 140 and 160 A.D., mention Justus, surnamed Barsabas, and differ in his account of the death of Judas from that in the first gospel. In the first point we have a coincidence with Acts i., 23, and the divergence from the first gospel would have hardly found its way into the writing of the author, if he had not read a modified account in a source equal in authority with the first gospel. In order to appreciate the foregoing coincidences at their true value, we must keep in mind the following considerations: (1) It is more important for an opponent of the Lucan authorship of Acts to impugn these early quotations than it is for us to maintain them, for the admission of a single one destroys the position of the critic, while the surrender of all would leave our position intact. (2) The strength of the argument does not rest on the coincidences taken singly but collectively; singly they might be accounted for as proceeding from a source different from Acts, but collectively they are more naturally explained by accepting the traditional view of the authorship of Acts. (3) The authorship of a classical work would be considered as established beyond all cavil by one-tenth of the evidence we have adduced for the authorship of Acts. Why, then, should there be doubt concerning the value of our argument?

The testimony of external evidence in favor of the Lucan origin of Acts is fully confirmed by internal evidence. For the nature and contents of Acts distinguish the book from all pseudo-canonical literature, demand an author contemporary with the history told in Acts, familiar with the language of St. Paul, and identical with Luke himself.

The first of these assertions is fully borne out by a comparison of Acts with any one of the apocrypha. The Acts of Thomas, *e.g.*, knows of the apostle's miraculous power over wild asses that knelt around the conveyance in which he and his companion, a Christian soldier, journeyed through India, and that compelled the four strongest of the herd to draw the carriage. The Acts of John tells of the apostle's power over bedbugs that molested him in an inn on his way to Ephesus. During the night the unwelcome visitors were bidden to leave the house, and in the morning were permitted to return to their respective quarters from the threshold of the house near which they had been obliged to spend the night. Again, according to the apocrypha, Peter drives a

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Euseb. H. E., iii., 39.



camel carrying a person of ill-repute through the eye of an needle, in order to prove that it is easier for a camel to pass through such a strait than for a rich man to enter the kingdom of heaven. It will be remembered that Peter had been ridiculed and even maltreated by a well-to-do listener for preaching this doctrine.<sup>1</sup> Comparing the sober historical tone of our Acts with such extravagances abounding in all the apocrypha, we must grant the existence of a vast difference between our canonical book and its pseudo-canonical rivals.

Secondly, we maintain that internal evidence demands for Acts an author contemporary with its history. To prove this we must show that the geographical and historical information contained in the book is so accurate that only a contemporary writer can have furnished it. Several of the details we are about to enumerate are well known to the reader, but we draw attention to them in order to extend our observation of the writer's accuracy over the whole of his work. Thus Acts, i., 12, gives the distance of Mount Olivet from Jerusalem with exact truthfulness. Acts, iii., 2, mentions "the gate of the temple which is called Beautiful," a name that is accounted for by Josephus.<sup>2</sup> Acts, iv., 6, "Annas the high priest, and Caiaphas, and John and Alexander, and as many as were of the kindred of the high priest" contradicts at first sight Josephus,<sup>3</sup> who testifies that Annas was high priest only from 6 to 15 A.D. But the passage agrees with Lk., iii., 2, John, xviii., 13-24, and, in fact, with Josephus himself, who calls "high priest" not only the actual incumbent, but all who have held the post.<sup>4</sup> Repeatedly the title is given by Josephus to persons that do not appear on the list of high priests at all,<sup>5</sup> so that he applies it not only to actual high priests and ex-high priests, but also to the heads of the privileged families from which those dignitaries were commonly chosen. It is in this wide meaning of the words that in Acts, xix., 14, "Sceva, a Jew, a chief priest," is mentioned in exact accordance with the parlance of Palestine which became, later on, so uncommon that it gave difficulty to the most learned of commentators. Acts, v., 36, mentions a Theudas different from the pretender mentioned by Josephus;<sup>6</sup> the latter rose up in the procuratorship of Fadus at least twelve years later than the former, and had a very great multitude of followers, while the adherents of

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Holtzmann, *Handcomm.*, p. 307 f.

<sup>2</sup> B. J. V., v., 3.

<sup>3</sup> Ant. XVIII., ii., 1, 2; cf. XX., ix., 1; B. J. V., xii., 3.

<sup>4</sup> B. J. II., xii., 6; Vit., 38; B. J., IV., iii., 7; IV., iv., 3; IV., iii., 9; cf. Schürer, *The Jewish People in the Time of Jesus Christ*, II., ii., pp. 202 ff.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Jos. B. J. II., xx., 4; Vit., 39; B. J., IV., ix., 11; V., xiii., 1; VI., ii., 2; Schürer, *Stud. u. Krit.*, 1872, p. 639.

<sup>6</sup> Ant. XX., v., 1.

the former amounted only to about four hundred. But Josephus himself<sup>1</sup> testifies that in the last year of Herod the Great, in which the Theudas of Acts must have exercised his influence, there were three insurrections beside several pretenders to royalty. If the Book of Acts had been composed by a writer posterior to the events he relates, we should naturally expect to find in it a closer agreement with the sources from which the author would have had to borrow in that case. And this the more, because in the very next verse, Acts, v., 37, we find an exact agreement between the canonical book and Josephus.<sup>2</sup> For Josephus testifies that Judas of Galilee was so designated from the scene of his insurrection, and that he was called a Gaulonite from the district in which was his birthplace. Acts, viii., 26, reads: "The way that goeth down from Jerusalem into Gaza, this is desert;" first, the clause "this is desert" refers to "way," not to "Gaza;" secondly, since several ways lead from "Jerusalem into Gaza," the addition is not idle, but determines one particular road; finally, the description given of this road by modern travellers confirms the accuracy of Acts: "the road from Jerusalem strikes into this wady at its worst part, and if this be the route taken by St. Philip the Evangelist, when he fell in with the eunuch, I don't wonder at the statement that it was "desert."<sup>3</sup> The famine predicted by Agabus in Acts, xi., 28, agrees with what Suetonius<sup>4</sup> relates of the famine which raged in the reign of Claudius throughout the Roman provinces, in some more intensely, in others less, and which between 44 and 48 A.D. made itself felt in Palestine more than anywhere else, as is attested by Josephus.<sup>5</sup> Again, the incidents related in Acts, xii., 1 ff., are in strict accord with profane history: That Herod Agrippa, grandson of Herod the Great, son of Aristobulus, and nephew of Herod Antipas, was king of Palestine about 42 A.D., is attested by Josephus;<sup>6</sup> Agrippa's wish to please the Jews, expressed in Acts, xii., 3, is also confirmed by Josephus;<sup>7</sup> the manner of Peter's imprisonment described in Acts, xii., 4 f., agrees with the statement of Suetonius<sup>8</sup> and Tacitus;<sup>9</sup> the picture of Agrippa's death found in Acts, xii., 20-23, has its counterpart in Josephus.<sup>10</sup> Nor can it be said that Acts, xii., 1 ff., disagrees with what is said by Josephus of Agrippa's clemency,<sup>11</sup> and of the pro-

<sup>1</sup> Ant. XVII., x., 4-8.

<sup>2</sup> Ant. XVIII., i., 6; XX., v., 2; B. J., II., viii., 1; cf. Orig. c. Cels., i. 57; hom. in Luc., xxv.

<sup>3</sup> Geikie, *The Holy Land and the Bible*, N. Y., 1888, p. 195.

<sup>4</sup> *Vita Claudii*, c., xviii.; cf. Dio Cassius, *Hist.*, lx., 11.

<sup>5</sup> Ant. XX., ii., 6; v. 2; cf. Eus. H. E., II., 11, 3; Tacit. *Annal.*, xiii., 43.

<sup>6</sup> Ant. XIX., vi., 1 ff.

<sup>7</sup> Ant. XIX., vii., 3, 5.

<sup>8</sup> Dom., 14.

<sup>9</sup> *Hist.*, iv., 11.

<sup>10</sup> Ant. XIX., viii., 2.

<sup>11</sup> Ant. XIX., vii., 3.

tection that Christians found among the Jerusalem Pharisees;<sup>1</sup> for according to the former passage Agrippa directs his clemency wholly to the acquisition of popular favor, and according to the latter the citizens of Jerusalem protest against Annas's manner of acting through fear of countenancing lawless tyranny, and not through any esteem for Christianity. When we come to the missionary journeys of the apostle Paul related in Acts, xiii., 1–xiv., 28; xv., 40–xviii., 22; xviii., 23–xxi., 18, the historical record of our canonical book is attested by most reliable evidence.<sup>2</sup> Acts, xiii., 2, “for the work whereunto I have called them” agrees with Gal., i., 15, 16. In order to leave Syria, Paul and his companions had to go first to Seleucia; nothing of permanent interest occurred till they came to Paphos, where the mention of the “proconsul Sergius Paulus,” in Acts, xiii., 6, 7, gave considerable difficulty to former commentators. For in the first place the title “proconsul” appeared to be restricted to ex-consuls, whose number was exhausted by the most remunerative provinces of the empire, so that Cyprus could not claim a proconsul for its political head; secondly, according to Strabo,<sup>3</sup> only the provinces of Asia and Africa were governed by a proconsul, while all the other provinces had prætors; thirdly, the name Sergius Paulus appeared to be unknown in all historical records. Our reader must allow us to explain this point more fully.

It has been pointed out by Lightfoot<sup>4</sup> that after Augustus had divided the provinces under the Roman dominion with the senate, and thus created a set of imperial provinces and another of senatorial, the rulers of the latter were called “proconsuls”—ἀνθρόπατοι—and those of the former “proprætors”—ἀντιστράτηγοι—or “legates”—πρεσβευταί—so that “proconsul” and “proprætor” were then employed to distinguish the superior power under which the provinces were administered without regard for the previous rank of the governors administering them. This will satisfy the first of the foregoing difficulties. The second has been answered just as satisfactorily by the same writer; the original subdivision of the provinces between the emperor and the senate underwent constant modifications according to the conditions of the country. Whenever military rule was necessary, the province was transferred to the emperor as the head of the army, and the senate received an imperial province in exchange. Dio Cassius agrees with Strabo in recording that at the original distribution of provinces<sup>5</sup> Cyprus

<sup>1</sup> Ant. XX., ix., 1.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Ramsay, *The Church in the Roman Empire*, pp. 16–96.

<sup>3</sup> xvii., p. 840

<sup>4</sup> *Contemporary Review*, May, 1878, or, *Essays on Supernatural Religion*, London, 1889, appendix.

<sup>5</sup> B.C., 27.



had fallen to the emperor's share, but the historian adds that later on<sup>1</sup> the emperor gave back Cyprus and Gallia Narbonensis to the senate, himself taking Dalmatia in exchange.<sup>2</sup> The continuance of Cyprus under the jurisdiction of the senate about the time of St. Luke's narrative follows from inscriptional mention of the names of two proconsuls who governed the province in Claudius's time,<sup>3</sup> and from the numismatic record of a third and perhaps a fourth.<sup>4</sup> And though in Hadrian's time we come across a proprætor in Cyprus,<sup>5</sup> probably owing to the disturbed state of the province consequent on the insurrection of the Jews, still under Severus, at the close of the same century, 198 A.D., the island is again governed according to its normal condition by a proconsul.<sup>6</sup> The writer of Acts is therefore historically accurate on a point on which only a contemporary can be expected to be perfectly truthful. One of General Cesnola's inscriptions<sup>7</sup> has supplied the defect of historical record of the Sergius Paulus mentioned by Luke. In spite of its mutilated condition it contains the date ἐν τῷ Παύλου [ἀνθ'] υπατου, i.e., "in the proconsulship of Paulus." The omission of "Sergius" occurs also in the case of the only other Sergius Paulus known to history,<sup>8</sup> who lived in the time of Galen the physician (about 160 A.D.), just as the Paulus of Cesnola's inscription lived in the time of Luke the physician. Considering, then, that the author of Acts has proved to be historically correct on points that have exercised some of the most experienced historians for centuries, we must naturally conclude that he related in Acts contemporary history.

Not to insist on the agreement of the picture drawn in Acts, xv., 3, with the old custom of accompanying friends for a part of their journey and also with the apostle's route through "Phenice and Samaria," we must emphasize the language of Acts, xvi., 12, "and from thence to Philippi, which is the chief city of part of Macedonia, a colony." Here various interpreters have pointed out various ways of agreement. 1. According to the Greek text we read the "first city" instead of "chief city," and Philippi was, in fact, the first city of Macedonia one entered on coming from Samothracia, since Neapolis was situated in Thrace.<sup>9</sup> 2. Meyer-Wendt, Overbeck and Holtzman call attention to the fact that, according to Dio Cassius,<sup>10</sup> it was to Philippi that, in 42 B.C., Augustus trans-

<sup>1</sup> liii., 12; liv., 4.

<sup>2</sup> B. C. 22.

<sup>3</sup> A.D., 51, 52; cf. Boeckh, *Corp. Inscr. Græc.*, 2631, 2632; the names of the proconsuls are Q. Julius Cordus and L. Annius Bassus.

<sup>4</sup> Cominius Proclus, and perhaps Quadratus; cf. *Akerman's Numismatic Illustrations of the New Testament*, p. 39.

<sup>5</sup> *Corp. Inscr. Lat.*, iii., 6072.

<sup>6</sup> *Corp. Inscr. Lat.*, iii., 218.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. Cesnola's *Cyprus*, p. 425.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. Galen, *De Prænot.*, 2.

<sup>9</sup> Kaulen, *Einl.*, p. 454; Pauli, *Realencycl.*, v. 487, Lightfoot.

<sup>10</sup> li., 4.

planted the adherents of Antonius, endowing the colony with the "ius Italicum;" hence they interpret the foregoing verse "which is the first colony-city of the province of Macedonia" (or, "of a district of Macedonia"). 3. Ramsay<sup>1</sup> expresses the belief that in Acts, xvi., 12, we receive "an addition to our knowledge of Macedonia;" for though, at present, we have no other external evidence for the fact, the learned author infers from this passage of Acts that in the first century the province Macedonia was divided into districts, and that Philippi was capital of one of these districts. 4. Hort has ventured the conjecture that we ought to read *περιδος* instead of *μεριδος*, but is wrong in contending that *μερις* is not used of the division of a province, since in Egypt, at least, the word is a technical term in the sense of subdivision of a large district. And even if the original subdivision of Macedonia into four districts was obsolete in the first century,<sup>2</sup> another division must have come into use. 5. We hardly need add another explanation according to which the author of Acts calls Philippi merely one of the principal cities, a colony, in Macedonia.

In Acts, xvi., 14, "a certain woman named Lydia, a seller of purple of the city of Thyatira," agrees both with the circumstance that Thyatira was located in the province Lydia,<sup>3</sup> and that Lydia was renowned for its traffic in purple, a reputation it maintains even to-day by its weekly export of scarlet cloth to Smyrna. The curiosity of the Athenians mentioned in Acts, xvii., 21, is attested by Aelian,<sup>4</sup> Demosthenes<sup>5</sup> and Thucydides.<sup>6</sup> Their superstition, reprobated in Acts, xvii., 22, may be inferred from Pausanias,<sup>7</sup> Aelian<sup>8</sup> and Josephus.<sup>9</sup> Altars to unknown gods in the city, referred to in Acts, xvii. 23, are mentioned also by Pausanias,<sup>10</sup> Philostratus<sup>11</sup> and Diogenes Laertius.<sup>12</sup> The exile of the Jews from Rome in the time of Claudius, alluded to in Acts, xviii. 2, is told by Suetonius:<sup>13</sup> "Judeos impulsore Chresto assidue tumultuantes Roma expulit." The law must have been antiquated even in the time of Nero, as may be inferred from Acts, xxviii., 17-29. Junius Annæus Gallio, mentioned in Acts, xviii., 12, was the brother of the philosopher Seneca, and adoptive son of the rhetorician, L. Junius Gallio. His spirit of moderation, exhibited in the case of St. Paul, agrees with his description by profane authors.<sup>14</sup> Paul's protest against being scourged uncondemned, related in Acts, xxii., 25, agrees with the "lex Valeria de provocatione,"<sup>15</sup> and the

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *The Church in the Roman Empire*, p. 158.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Leake, *Northern Greece*, iii., p. 487.

<sup>3</sup> V. H., v. 13.

<sup>5</sup> Phil., i., 4.

<sup>6</sup> III., xxxviii., 4.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. Apoc., ii., 18.

<sup>7</sup> I., xxiv., 3.

<sup>4</sup> V. H., v. 17.

<sup>9</sup> Ap., ii., 11.

<sup>10</sup> I., i., 4.

<sup>11</sup> Apoll., vi., 2.

<sup>12</sup> Epim., 31.

<sup>13</sup> Claud., 25.

<sup>14</sup> L. Ann. Senecæ, *Nat. Quæst.*, 4, præf., 9.; Tacit, *Ann.*, xv., 73; xvi., 17; Stat. Silv., ii., 7, 32.

<sup>15</sup> Cf. Cic. Verr., v. 56, 62, 64.



"lex Portia,"<sup>1</sup> and also with Cicero's well-known expressions :<sup>2</sup> "Facinus est vinciri civem romanum, scelus verberari, parricidium necari." According to Acts, xxiii., 3,<sup>3</sup> the high priest Ananias commands that Paul be struck on the mouth ; now, according to Josephus,<sup>4</sup> Ananias held office at this precise time, and distinguished himself for avarice and quarrelsomeness.<sup>5</sup> That Cæsarea in Palestine was the seat of the Roman governor, as is stated in Acts, xxiii., 23, is confirmed by Tacitus.<sup>6</sup> The city had been built by Herod the Great in place of the old Straton-tower, so that its situation fitted it especially for the residence of the procurator. The legal pleader we meet in Acts, xxiv., 1, is in keeping with the custom of those times to employ such orators ;<sup>7</sup> his name, Tertullus, appears to have been frequent among lawyers.<sup>8</sup> Tacitus<sup>9</sup> writes of Felix, the Roman procurator : "Per omnem sævitiam ac libidinem ius regium servili ingenio exercuit," so that he confirms Acts, xxiv., 24, according to which Felix, the second husband of his third wife, Drusilla, who was the daughter of Herod Agrippa and the faithless wife of a king of Emesa,<sup>10</sup> came with his consort into Paul's prison, "and as he treated of justice and chastity, and of the judgment to come, Felix, being terrified, answered : For this time go thy way ; but when I have convenient time, I will send for thee." Again, according to Acts, xxiv., 26, Felix hoped "that money should be given him by Paul," and according to Tacitus,<sup>11</sup> "Felix cuncta malefacta sibi impune ratus," while Josephus<sup>12</sup> testifies that after the departure of Felix the Jews accused him of injustice and tyranny. That Acts, xxiv., 27 ; xxv., 1, is right in naming Festus as the successor of Felix, and in stating that Festus visited Jerusalem soon after his installation, may be learned from Josephus.<sup>13</sup> Since about this time the Jewish revolution was near at hand, the statement of Acts, xxv., 9, that the new procurator, in spite of his integrity, sought to gain the good-will of the people, cannot astonish us. According to Acts, xxv., 13, Herod Agrippa II., the son of Agrippa I., is accompanied by his sister Berenice. Their well-known criminal relations find a scourge in the Roman satyrist Juvenal.<sup>14</sup> Berenice is rather famous for her dishonorable conduct. She became later on the favorite of the Emperor Titus. The voyage of the captive Paul from Cæsarea to Rome is so accurately described in Acts, xxvii., 4-xxviii., 15, that even Holtzmann finds in it the apostle's own

<sup>1</sup> Liv., x., 9 ; Gell., x., 3.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. xxiv., 1.

<sup>3</sup> Ant., XX., ix., 2.

<sup>4</sup> Ael. V. H., ix., 19.

<sup>5</sup> Hist., v., 9.

<sup>6</sup> Ann., xii., 54.

<sup>7</sup> Ant., XX., viii., 9 ; ix., 1 ; B. J., II., xiv., 1.

<sup>8</sup> Verr., v. 66.

<sup>9</sup> Ant., XX., v., 2 ff.

<sup>10</sup> Hist., ii., 79.

<sup>11</sup> Plin., ep., ix., 13 ; Suet., Tit., 4.

<sup>12</sup> Cf. Jos., Ant., XIX., ix., 1 ; XX., vii., 2.

<sup>13</sup> Ant., XX., viii., 9.

<sup>14</sup> Sat., vi., 156-160.



account, excepting, however, Paul's address to his fellow-passengers, which the foregoing writer ascribes as to both its matter and form to the author of Acts. Finally, the description of Paul's captivity in Rome, given in Acts, xxviii., 16 ff., agrees exactly with what we read in Cicero<sup>1</sup> and Tacitus.<sup>2</sup> It cannot be maintained that this geographical and historical accuracy of Acts is owing to the scientific study of the author of Acts, for if it has taken the learned men of our day so long to verify the statements of the book, how can we expect that a writer of the unscientific post-apostolic age should have succeeded in attaining such pre-eminent historical accuracy? Nor can it be maintained that the author of Acts wrote after the time of the apostles, but used documents of the apostolic age, for how can our opponents admit several apostolic writers for whose existence they have no proof, and whose literary products have left no trace of their existence, while they repudiate the contemporary author of Acts against the unanimous testimony of all tradition and against the evident exigencies of the Book of Acts itself?

Thus far it has been shown from internal evidence that the author of Acts differs vastly from the authors of the apocrypha, and, secondly, that the author of Acts belongs to the apostolic age. We are now going to show in the same manner that the writer of Acts must have belonged to the companions of the apostle Paul. The vocabulary of Paul's speeches in the Acts has been compared with that of Paul's epistles, and after giving a list of remarkable coincidences, Davidson,<sup>3</sup> unfriendly critic as he is, concludes: "These may show nothing more than a writer familiar with the Pauline diction, as the author of the Acts undoubtedly was." But then the Pauline speeches of Acts are said to contain also many of Luke's favorite words. Alford has remarked that the speech in Acts xxii., which was spoken in Hebrew, contains no Pauline expression, while it abounds in those peculiar to Luke; while the speech reported in Acts xvii., which Luke does not profess to have heard himself, contains none of Luke's peculiar phrases. Davidson<sup>4</sup> says of the latter: "It must be confessed, however, that the discourse contains many peculiar expressions, there being no less than twenty-six words in 19-34 which do not occur in Luke."

Returning now to the unwilling admission that the writer of Acts was "undoubtedly familiar with the Pauline diction," we ask how he acquired that familiarity? If he did not acquire it by personal intercourse with the apostle, it must have been the fruit of his diligent study of the Pauline epistles. Now, to use our

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<sup>1</sup> In *Vat.*, 9.

<sup>3</sup> ii., 112.

<sup>2</sup> *Ann.*, ii., 31.

<sup>4</sup> ii., 109.

opponents' language, the author of Acts "knew nothing" of these letters. If the antiquity of the Book of Acts were undoubted, and that of the Pauline epistles disputed, our opponents would not admit the validity of a single proof we could produce that the author of Acts was acquainted with the epistles, while they could make out a strong case to prove his ignorance. There is not a word in Acts about Epaphroditus—*e.g.*, about the women Euodia and Syntyche, about the name Clement, about the gift of money sent by the Philippian church to Paul at Thessalonica, though all of these are mentioned in the epistle to the Philippians,<sup>1</sup> and would have well fitted into the history told in Acts. We have already seen that Acts contains not only no special coincidences with the epistle to the Galatians, but that our opponents advance a number of discrepancies between the two in order to destroy the historical credibility of the Book of Acts. If the author of Acts had known the first epistle to the Corinthians, he probably would have told something of the Lord's appearance to James<sup>2</sup> and to the five hundred brethren at once; similarly, if he had read the second epistle to the same church, he would have mentioned the five times when Paul received in the synagogue forty stripes save one, and his three beatings with rods, and his three shipwrecks.<sup>3</sup> Not to carry our minute observations through the epistles of Paul singly, we may state two general conclusions: First, the Book of Acts says nothing about the Pauline epistles, which would certainly be a most singular omission in the history of Paul, if his letters had been in general circulation when the compiler of Acts wrote his work. Secondly, the Book of Acts not only does not mention Paul's epistles, but shows, at best, a very scanty acquaintance with them. It follows, then, that the author of Acts did not acquire his undoubted familiarity with the Pauline diction from a study of the Pauline epistles, and that he must, therefore, have derived the same from personal intercourse with the apostle.<sup>4</sup>

The same result we obtain by another consideration.<sup>5</sup> The reader is already familiar with the fact that in the so-called we-sections of Acts the writer speaks in the first person, as if he himself had been present at the particular events he relates in these portions. These we-sections are Acts xvi., 10-17; xx., 5-15; xxi., 1-18; xxvii., 1-xxviii., 16. Accordingly, the author represents himself as having joined Paul at Troas and accompanied him to Philippi. There he remains; for when Paul leaves Philippi the "we" ceases, and is not resumed till Paul returns to Philippi,

<sup>1</sup> Phil., ii., 25; iv., 2, 3, 16.

<sup>2</sup> 1 Cor. xv., 6, 7.

<sup>3</sup> II. Cor., xi., 24.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Salmon, *Introduction to the New Testament*, London, 1889, pp. 342-347.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Salmon, l. c., pp. 320-329.

some six or seven years later. Then it begins again, and continues till the apostle's arrival in Jerusalem.<sup>1</sup> It begins again in chapter xxvii. with Paul's voyage from Cæsarea, and continues till his arrival in Rome.<sup>2</sup> In Codex D the tradition that the author of Acts was of Antioch is attested by the insertion of "we" in Acts xi., 28, for the prophecy of Agabus is described as having taken place "when we were gathered together." Now, it must be kept in mind that the "we" is not a merely artificial introduction into the text of Acts. For one of our unfriendly opponents, Davidson,<sup>3</sup> says that the we-sections are "characterized by a circumstantiality of detail, a vividness of description, an exact knowledge of localities, an acquaintance with the phrases and habits of seamen, which betray one who was personally present." Secondly, it must also be kept in mind that the author of the we-sections is identical with the author of the other parts of the Book of Acts. For this, too, we appeal to the testimony of the critics. Davidson<sup>4</sup> says: "From these linguistic and other phenomena it is clear that the writer of the book was not a mere compiler, but an author. If he used materials, he did not put them together so loosely as to leave their language and style in the state he got them, but wrought up the component parts into a work having its own characteristics." If, therefore, the author of Acts were distinct from the author of the we-sections, he would have changed the "we" into the third person, to make it agree with the rest of the work. Renan agrees with the conclusion here expressed.<sup>5</sup> He considers the oversight on the part of the compiler of Acts to leave unchanged the "we" of a document written by another author as altogether inexplicable, considering the care he has bestowed on the rest of his work. Finally, Overbeck, in the preface to his edition of De Wette's "Handbook on Acts," has decisively proved that the we-sections as they stand now are so full of the characteristics of the author of the rest of the book that the hypothesis of their being borrowed from another is not tenable, unless we go to the length of contending that the borrower interpolated them with much of his own, and that in these interpolations he dishonestly used the pronoun "we." The author of the we-sections, therefore, was a companion of the apostle in the events related in those portions. But the author of the we-sections is identical with the author of the Book of Acts. Therefore, the author of the Book of Acts was a companion of St. Paul.

Internal evidence proves furthermore that the companion of St. Paul, who wrote the Book of Acts, was no one else but St. Luke.

<sup>1</sup> Acts xx., 5-xxi., 18.

<sup>3</sup> ii., 136.

<sup>4</sup> ii., 145.

<sup>2</sup> Acts xxviii., 16.

<sup>5</sup> *Les Apôtres*, xi.



According to the foregoing explanations, the presence of the author at the incidents related in Acts betrays itself by the use of the pronoun "we." Hence Sopater<sup>1</sup>, Aristarchus<sup>2</sup>, Secundus<sup>3</sup>, Tychicus, Trophimus<sup>4</sup>, and Caius<sup>5</sup> are excluded from the authorship of the book, because the writer of Acts speaks of them in the third person. Though there might, at first sight, be more difficulty about Timothy and Silas, still a reference to Acts xvi., 19, 25, 29; xvii., 4, 10, 14, 15; xviii., 5, excludes these also from the authorship, since the "we" is wanting in the foregoing passages, though either Silas or Timothy or both are present at the events narrated therein. Hence only Titus and Luke are left as the possible authors of Acts. Again, Titus is excluded, because we know, from Gal. ii., 1, 2, that he was present at the events narrated in Acts xv., 1, 2, and still there is no "we;" besides, Titus was most probably not at Philippi when the author of Acts uses "we" concerning events which occurred in that city. Thus internal evidence determines not only that the writer of Acts is different from the writers of the apocrypha, that he lived in the apostolic age, that he was a companion of Paul, but it points also to St. Luke with unmistakable precision.

Finally, a word about the theory of Blass, that Luke wrote not only one, but two copies of the Book of Acts. The main argument of the writer is based on the existence of the so-called Western or Roman text of Acts which is so different from the Eastern text, that it produces the impression of a different edition of the work. The reader must keep in mind that the chief authorities for the Western text are the Codex Bezae [D], the Codex Laudianus [E], the Codex Mediolanensis [M, or 137 in Tischendorf's notation], the Latin part of Codex Bezae [d], the Latin part of Codex Laudianus [e], the Latin palimpsest Floriacensis [f], the "gigas librorum" [g], now in Stockholm; the Codex 321 of Paris [p], the Codex Wernigerodiensis [w], the Provençal translation made from the Latin in the thirteenth century and published in 1887 [Prov], some passages in Augustine [a], the readings from a manuscript similar to the Codex Bezae inserted in the text and margin of the Harkleian edition of the Philoxenian Syriac [s], the Sahidic version [sah], citations in Cyprian [Cypr] and Augustine [Aug], as well as in Ireneaus [Ir]. The great bulk of codices, versions and patristic citations and passages give the Eastern text. Beside the indubitable existence of a class of readings so different from the commonly received reading that they have the appearance of a different edition, there is also the circumstance that

<sup>1</sup> Acts, xx., 4.<sup>2</sup> Acts, xix., 29.<sup>3</sup> Acts, xx., 4.<sup>4</sup> Acts, xx., 4.<sup>5</sup> Acts, xix., 29.

the so-called Western or Roman text is, at times, distinguished for its minute accuracy and truthfulness, so that its variations from the common text cannot be the work of casual mistakes of the transcribers. In the third place, Nestle<sup>1</sup> has pointed out that in some instances the Western text of Acts differs from the Eastern, just as two different translations of the same Hebrew or Aramaic text would be likely to differ from one another; the existence of the two texts would therefore be fully explained by the hypothesis that Luke translated his original Aramaic document twice; first in a more lengthy manner, and then more briefly. The first, or rough copy, remained in Rome, becoming the source of the Western or Roman text; the second copy was sent to Theophilus at Antioch, thus becoming the source of the Eastern text of Acts. In the fourth place, Blass himself appealed to certain parts of Demosthenes edited twice by the author, in order to show that such repeated editions of the same work by the original writer are not unknown in classical literature. Dräseke<sup>2</sup> added another, doubtful, instance of a second edition of the same work by a Byzantine writer on Basil, Gregory and Chrysostom, and Zöckler<sup>3</sup> brought forward five more cases of the same practice.<sup>4</sup> Finally, Conybeare<sup>5</sup> has shown that the Western text of Acts was the basis of an early commentary to which, in some form, both Chrysostom and Ephrem had access, so as to use it in their respective commentaries on Acts.

If we now examine these arguments as to their solidity, we shall find that they are more pretentious than convincing. As to Conybeare's article, we may here grant, for argument's sake, that it proves what it intends to establish; but since we fully grant that Western readings of Acts were known in the church about a century or more before the time of either Chrysostom or Ephrem, the use made of them by the two Fathers proves nothing in favor of a double Lucan edition of Acts. Nor can this be said to rest on the fact that several writers of the early age edited their works twice or three times<sup>6</sup>; at best, the latter circumstance shows the possibility of a double Lucan edition of Acts on the supposition that Luke wrote just as the alleged writers did write. We do not intend here to deny the possibility of a double edition of his work

<sup>1</sup> *Philologica Sacra*, Berlin, 1896, pp. 39 ff.

<sup>2</sup> "Zur Überlieferung," d. Ag., *Hilg. Ztschr.*, xxxvii., p. 194.

<sup>3</sup> *Studia Gryphiswaldensia*, 1895, p. 132 ff.

<sup>4</sup> Tert., *Adv. Marc.*; Eus., περὶ τῶν ἐν Παλαιστίνῃ μαρτυρησάντων; Pasch. Radb., *De Corpore et Sanguine Dni.*; Apollod., χριστικῶ; Longin., Ἀττικὸν ὀνομάτων ἐκδόσεις δύο; Cf. Schanz, *Hist. Litt. Rom.*, iii., 374, 387; Diels, *Mas. Rhen.*, xxxi., 8, 54.

<sup>5</sup> *The American Journal of Philology*, 1896, July, p. 135 ff.

<sup>6</sup> Tert., *Adv. Marc.*

on the part of an inspired writer,<sup>1</sup> but we deny that we can logically infer the possibility of a double edition of an *inspired* work from the fact of such a double edition of a work that is *not inspired*. As to Nestle's contention that the Western and Eastern texts of Acts differ just as two successive translations of the same original Hebrew or Aramaic text would be likely to differ, we find only two words given to establish this sweeping statement.<sup>2</sup> Now, in the first place, it would be quite easy to find many more than two words of the Western and Eastern text of Acts respectively, that might in the same manner appear to be two successive translations of a Latin or an English original text, and it would be folly to infer from this that Luke translated Acts originally from a Latin or an English document, and that he corrected his first version in a second edition. In the second place, the instances adduced by Nestle are on inspection no instances at all, for in both the writer is obliged to suppose two different words even in his original Hebrew or Aramaic text in order to account for the two different readings in the Greek text. The alleged minute accuracies of the Codex Bezae, the principal source of the Western or Roman text of Acts, are offset by almost innumerable readings in the same Codex that must be rejected as false. After discussing the readings of Codex Bezae at some length, Ramsay<sup>3</sup> concludes that some, at least, of the alterations in Codex Bezae arose through a gradual process, and not through the action of an individual reviser. "Possibly all the changes," the writer says, "which have been discussed in the preceding pages may have arisen in this way. But some of them are perhaps more naturally explained as the work of a single individual, whom I shall speak of as the 'reviser.'"<sup>4</sup> If the existence of a double text of an inspired book, such as we have in the case of Acts, be a solid argument for a double edition of the book, we must admit a double edition not only of Acts, but also of the gospels, since Codex Bezae, the principal source of the Western text, contains the gospels too. We doubt greatly whether Prof. Blass himself is prepared to extend his inference to this length.

If we, therefore, survey the opinions expressed by the critics of the last fifty years concerning the authorship of Acts, we find that they are not only opposed to, but also destructive of one another. On the one hand, it is contended that Luke did not write Acts;

<sup>1</sup> The first gospel, *e.g.*, may have been written in Hebrew by the evangelist and then translated into Greek by the author himself, or at least under his immediate supervision.

<sup>2</sup> Acts, ii., 47; iii., 31.

<sup>3</sup> *The Church in the Roman Empire*, pp. 151 ff.

<sup>4</sup> The reviser must have lived before 150-160 A.D., and been more familiar with the conditions of Asia Minor than of Europe.



on the other, it is maintained that Luke wrote Acts twice over; on the one hand, it is stated that no apostolic writer can be admitted as the author of Acts; on the other, it is shown that there must have been several apostolic writers who composed the different parts of Acts. By the light of this sad manifestation of human weakness and fallibility we are led to appreciate the simplicity and sufficiency of the traditional view, that St. Luke composed Acts partly from his own notes, partly from information derived from others, "according as they have delivered them unto us, who from the beginning were eye-witnesses" (Lk., i., 2).

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### LACORDAIRE AND LAMENNAIS.

THE most peculiar and most attractive personage whom history can discover, an impassioned friend of the nineteenth century, "in the very depths of whose bowels he was born,"<sup>1</sup> and, nevertheless, a submissive conquest of the faith to which he afterward subjugated so many happy souls, Lacordaire was, of all the public men of our day, the most striking instance of what Catholicism can do for the natural man. Passionately devoted to liberty in a society which was too apt to confound that sacred gift with unbridled license, Lacordaire was saved by his Catholicism from a plunge into the gulf of anarchy. Endowed with a subtlety of imagination which is rarely given to man, he would have conceived arguments for any and every attractive theory, and would have wandered into the paths of intellectual and spiritual darkness, had he not been guided by the Star of Bethlehem. But because he was Catholic to the core, the quondam disciple of the mutilated Titan, Lamennais, bowed before the decision of the Chair of Peter; the editor of "*L'Avenir*" transferred his logic and his eloquence to the pulpit of Notre Dame; the Christian liberal of 1848 preserved his honor and his true liberty by abandoning the Constituent Assembly of the Second Republic; and finally, just as in 1832 he had said that "he departed from Rome free and victorious," so at the end of his career he was able to proclaim that "the Catholic Church is the liberatrix of the human mind." Catholic in every pulsation of his heart, in every

<sup>1</sup> Montalembert on Lacordaire.

conception of his mind, he could love men without loving the world; human respect, that most powerful obstacle to the propagation of every kind of truth, was conquered by him on the day when he bent to the yoke of Christ; and therefore no man, better than Lacordaire, could effect that work for which he was pre-eminently distinguished—the infusion of shame for their cowardice into the hearts of those children of the Revolution who dreaded to be seen entering into a church. “Lacordaire caused these disciples of Voltaire to make the sign of the cross like Marceau, and to communicate with Paqueron and Ozanam.”<sup>1</sup> He knew how to reach the hearts, to illumine the intellects of the devotees of that false liberalism which Montalembert has so thoroughly revealed to us. And yet this orator and polemic, who reminds us of Bossuet; this tribune and political leader, who seemed to be another O’Connell; this priest and ascetic, who stands forth among the living and dead of the nineteenth century as the most perfect embodiment of the spirit of St. Dominic, had himself drunk deeply of the poisoned waters of that bastard liberalism.

His widowed mother, a strong and courageous Christian, had transmitted and developed her own characteristics in her four sons; and while he was still a child, the favorite recreation of little Henri was to preach some juvenile attempts at sermons to a congregation composed of his nurse and playmates. But when, after a sojourn of seven years at the State Lycée of Dijon, her boys returned to her maternal embraces, Mme. Lacordaire found that not one of them could join in her prayers. The future *conférencier* of Notre Dame says in his “Mémoires”: “When seventeen years old, I left college with my religion destroyed . . . holding before my eyes, as the luminary of my life, the human ideal of glory. And this result is easily explained. We had lived continually, during the course of our education, surrounded by the examples of ancient heroism and by the masterpieces of antiquity; and nothing had supported our faith while following a system in which the divine word gave forth only an indistinct sound, without eloquence and without consequences.” In fine, the yoke of the University of that day was on the young Lacordaire; like all his professors, he cherished the vague reveries of Deism, and breathed the miasma of Voltarian skepticism.

Shortly after his admittance to the bar, Lacordaire, then only twenty-two years of age, attained to such distinction that the great Berryer predicted to him: “It is in your power to reach the highest rank in our profession.” And the president, Séguier, remarked, after listening to one of his pleadings: “Gentlemen, it is

<sup>1</sup> Pellissier, *Les Gloires de la France Chrétienne*, p. 239; Paris, 1890.

not Patru that we have heard, but Bossuet." But at this very time, amid the whisperings of ambition, and in spite of the sentimental Deism of Rousseau, which he had brought from the University, Lacordaire had begun to apprehend that truth which illumined the old age of Chateaubriand: "The Christian idea is the future of the world. Far from having arrived at its end, the religion of the Saviour has scarcely entered on its third period—the political one. Although immovable in its dogmas, Christianity is mobile in the light that it sheds; its transformation involves a general transformation."<sup>1</sup> In 1824 he was able to write to a friend: "It is strange, indeed, how my views have changed. Never was I more of a philosopher than I am at present; but I believe more and more. . . . We can reach Christianity by all sorts of roads; for it is the centre of all truths." Great was the surprise of M. Guillemin, the advocate to whom Lacordaire had brought letters of introduction when he arrived in Paris, when he heard that the priesthood was the great hope of the young man who but a year before had scorned the idea of going to confession. Mgr. de Qu  len, the Archbishop of Paris, was also surprised when the brilliant young lawyer requested him to procure his admission into the Seminary of Saint-Sulpice. "Gladly," replied the prelate: "you have defended perishable interests at the bar; now you shall defend those which are eternal."

From the moment of his entrance into the seminary, Lacordaire kept ever present before his mind, as he himself tells us, the great object of his life and the great obstacle which he would probably encounter: "My object is to make Jesus Christ known to those who now know Him not; the obstacle will be a desire to have men talk about me." The directors of Saint-Sulpice tested the vocation of their brilliant candidate to the utmost, and deferred his ordination long beyond the customary term; but his humility stood the proof, and shortly after his ascent to the altar he gave a good indication of the spirit which animated him. One of his superiors, the Abb   Boyer, persuaded that he would effect more good in a position where his legal abilities and his knowledge of the world would be called into play, thus playfully addressed him: "Sit down; I am about to make a cardinal of you." Then the abb   told his late disciple that he had besought the royal Minister of Ecclesiastical Affairs (Mgr. de Frayssinous), who had the right of appointment, to confer upon the young priest an auditorship of the Roman *Ruota*, which was then vacant. Such a position is generally a stepping-stone to the cardinalate; but Lacordaire, far from manifesting any gratitude for M. Boyer's consideration, has-

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<sup>1</sup> *M  moires d' Outre-Tombe*, vol. ii.



tened to interject: "Had I coveted honors, I would have remained in the world; therefore think no more of this project. I shall remain a simple priest, and probably I shall yet become a religious." It is evident that Lacordaire felt, with Pascal, that "the mania for being somebody destroys the best minds of our day. Glory is the greatest thing here below; and that very fact shows how little the things of earth really are."

Lacordaire began his priestly life at Paris just as he finished it at Sorèze; teaching the young, whose sympathies he knew so well how to captivate, at first as almoner in the College of Henry IV., and then in the same capacity with the Sisters of the Visitation. He devoted his spare time to the study of Christian apologetics, and to the gathering of those materials from the Bible, patrology, history, and philosophy, which afterward he used so advantageously in the pulpit. But he seems to have yearned for a more active life. We read that he often asked himself: "What am I doing? I dream, I read, I pray to the good God, I laugh two or three times a week, and I weep once or twice. Sometimes I rage against the University, that most unendurable child of kings that I know." He thought of becoming a missionary in the United States; and, having received permission from Mgr. de Quélen, he accepted the Vicar-Generalship of New York from Mgr. Dubois, who was then in Paris. However, it had been decreed by Providence that he should remain in his beloved France. He had already begun to bid farewell to his friends when he received from Abbé Gerbet a letter tendering him an associate editorship on the "Avenir," then just founded by Lamennais. The motto of this new journal, "God and Liberty," banished from his mind every yearning for a foreign mission. Lamennais, Gerbet and Montalembert had taken seriously the cry of "Liberty," with which the usurping "king of the *bourgeoisie*," Louis-Philippe, had saluted the forced flight of the lawful heir of St. Louis. They thought they saw some hope in that insult to the fallen monarch, "At last the Constitution will be a reality." They fancied that the "days of July" meant a possibility of a successful assault on the thralldom of the University; in fine, they believed that freedom of education, for which the Catholics of France had prayed so long, was now attainable.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> One of the most judicious publicists of this century, the erudite Benedictine, Dom Piolin, thus speaks of the French University, which was fondly supposed to have taken the place of the grand University of Paris. *Mutatis mutandis*, all that he says may be applied to the University as it subsists under the present Third Republic:

"Certainly the French University is an evil; it is founded on a principle which is false and contrary to Christianity. It is also the most active instrument of tyranny. The decree of March 17, 1808, by which Napoleon I. instituted it, was one of the

From this time, during several years the life of Lacordaire was intertwined with that of Lamennais. Before we sketch the career of this extraordinary man—a career which was so agitated, sombre and well-nigh tragic—a few words should be said concerning the sources which are available to one who wishes to form an approximately accurate conception of him. Of course, a good idea of the man may be attained by the excellent biographical studies which we possess in regard to those grand characters with whose careers that of Lamennais was connected during its most notable phases—the “Lives” of Lacordaire,<sup>1</sup> Montalembert,<sup>2</sup> Gerbet<sup>3</sup> and Maurice de Guérin.<sup>4</sup> But although forty-three years have passed since the *corbillard des pauvres* conveyed the mortal frame of Lamennais to Père-la-Chaise, the illustrious unfortunate has not been the subject of a really satisfactory biographer; of one, that is, who has been able to discover and unite the details of his striking career. Ange Blaize, one of his nephews, published in 1858 a “Biographical Essay,” which gave many precious documents, but which was merely a sketch of his uncle’s life. In 1859 M. Forgues, to whom Lamennais had bequeathed his papers, published two volumes of interesting correspondence, but they cover only the years 1818–1840, as the relatives of Lamennais secured a decree from the Court of Appeals, in Paris, prohibiting Forgues from issuing any more of the letters.<sup>5</sup> In 1866 Ange

greatest crimes of the despot—one of those by which he most efficaciously dishonored our unfortunate country. . . . Talleyrand, another evil genius of France, had divined that a body constituted outside the Church, giving instruction to the youth of an entire nation, would produce a race similar, if not inferior, to the ancient pagans. The views of these two men have been realized; at the present hour they are being realized more and more; wait a little, and you will see their bitter fruits. If the Christian spirit, which is still strongly implanted in the hearts of the majority of the French people, did not succeed in rejecting the virus insinuated into the young children of both sexes, we should have to despair of the country; to expect, every ten or twelve years, the orgies of the Commune; and to behold the worst savagery, the normal condition of a nation without God, without worship, and without morality. How comes it, then, that many eminent men, many honorable characters, even many truly pious and learned priests, join a corporation whose consequences are so dangerous? To this question there are many answers. . . . In the new University many of the old teaching corporations had some of their members; and these maintained an excellent spirit, impelling many to regard the institution as a continuation, or even a renovation, of the venerable University of Paris, with which it had nothing in common.”

<sup>1</sup> *Le Révérend Père, H. D., Lacordaire*, par le R. P. Chocarne, 2 vols. in 12mo; *Le Père Lacordaire*, par le Comte de Montalembert, 1 vol. in 12 mo.; “Le Père Lacordaire,” par J. Guillermin, in the *Illustrations du XIXe Siècle*.

<sup>2</sup> *Charles de Montalembert*, par H. Fournier, 1 vol. in 8vo.

<sup>3</sup> *Monseigneur Gerbet, Sa Vie, Ses Œuvres, et l'Ecole Menaisienne*, par l'Abbé de Ladoue, 3 vols. in 8vo.

<sup>4</sup> “Eugénie et Maurice de Guérin,” par Camille d'Arvor, in the *Illustrations*.

<sup>5</sup> *Œuvres Posthumes de F. Lamennais*. Publiées selon le Vœu de l'Auteur, par E. D. Forgues.

Blaize produced two volumes of unedited works, which embraced only those of the author's early life.<sup>1</sup> In the same year Eugene de la Gournerie, of all men one of the best versed in the religious matters of our century, edited the letters which the two Lamennais brothers had written to Gabriel Bruté, at first professor in the seminary of Rennes, then a priest on the American mission, and finally bishop of Vincennes, in Indiana.<sup>2</sup>

On the death of Mgr. Bruté, in 1839, these letters had passed into the hands of Bishop Dubois, of New York, and in time Archbishop Hughes gave them to Henri de Courcy, an American correspondent of the Paris "Univers." The packet bore the following endorsement by Bruté, which must interest American readers: "Seventy letters from the two brothers, Jean and Féli de Lamennais. Exceedingly interesting, as treating of the ecclesiastical, literary and political affairs of that time. I must preserve this treasure, even after it has ceased to be one of friendship. Oh, my God! Accept this separation! How I feel it, even now that twelve years have passed!" In these letters of Féli, says La Gournerie, we hear "the ardent voice of Tertullian, and the sweeter accents of St. Francis de Sales."

Another excellent source of knowledge in regard to Lamennais is the already cited work on Gerbet by the Abbé de Ladoue (1872). "The life of Gerbet," says Sainte-Beuve, "is very simple, having but one episode—his relationship with Lamennais, to whom he gave himself, for many years, with an unlimited devotion, and which terminated only when the grand, immoderate spirit rebelled. Gerbet, after having fulfilled the duties of a religious friendship, after waiting and hoping, retired in silence. For a long time he had been to Lamennais what Nicole was to Arnauld—a moderator. He had softened his friend's asperities as much as possible, and had saved him from many collisions. Only when there remained no possibility of continuing the task did he grow weary."<sup>3</sup>

Another precious source of information is one by Arthur du Bois de la Villerabel,<sup>4</sup> embracing one hundred and fifty-two letters, addressed to Louis Marion, one of the friends of Lamennais from his boyhood; and in this correspondence the writer probably reveals his soul as in none of his other letters.

Probably the most valuable source of information is that published in 1893 by the oratorian, Alfred Roussel,<sup>5</sup> a collection of

<sup>1</sup> *Œuvres Inédites de F. de Lamennais*. Publiées par M. A. Blaize.

<sup>2</sup> *Lettres Inédites de J. M. et de F. de Lamennais, Adressées à Mgr. Bruté*, avec une Introduction, par Eugène de la Gournerie.

<sup>3</sup> *Causeries du Lundi*, vol. vi. p. 314.

<sup>4</sup> *Confidences de Lamennais*, 1896.

<sup>5</sup> *Lamennais, d'après des Documents Inédits*, par Alfred Roussel de l'Oratoire de Rennes, 2 vols., in 16mo., avec portrait.



letters written by the two Lamennais and by the principal frequenters of La Chênaie, which were furnished to Roussel by another oratorian, Mathurin Houet, whose life had been for many years bound up with that of the great writer, and who never despaired of the wanderer's ultimate conversion, as we shall see. The volume issued in 1895 by Eugene Spuller, a politician of some note in the councils of the present Third Republic, affects the profundity of a philosophical essay, but it furnishes nothing new concerning its subject.

In 1896 there appeared a work in English<sup>1</sup> which might have benefited those who cannot recur to the admirable writings of Roussel and Ricard, had the author confined himself to the cold facts which those judicious publicists had marked out for him, and had he not essayed reflections on philosophical and theological matters which are evidently beyond his ken. The title of this book is at least misleading. None of the enthusiasts of La Chênaie would have associated their names with that malodorous and nondescript thing which has been styled "Liberal Catholicism." Perhaps the term "Catholic Liberals" may be properly applied to Lacordaire, Montalembert, Gerbet, Guerin and a few others of that interesting company, inasmuch as they aimed at a Catholicizing of the modicum of good which was discernible in the political liberalism which was the will-o'-the-wisp of their day. But "Liberal Catholics" they were not; and Lamennais himself, even when involved in rebellion to the Chair of Peter, would have spurned the name. And even though "the master" would have accepted the designation, even though his revolt may be regarded as the end toward which the "Liberal Catholic" must tend, one man does not constitute a "movement." Mr. Gibson gives us to understand, on two or three occasions, that he is a Catholic; but he has produced a book which will lead the unwary to think that the catastrophe of the life of Lamennais was the result of the influence of a besottedly obstinate royalist cabal upon papal pig-headedness.

Born at Saint-Malo in 1781, Félicité-Robert de Lamennais prosecuted his early studies amid the storms of the great revolution. Such surroundings quite naturally caused the teachings of Rousseau to be more attractive to his juvenile mind than those of Christ. But in his twenty-second year he abandoned the paths of incredulism, made his first communion, and received the ecclesiastical tonsure. Not until he had attained his thirty-seventh year, and therefore the maturity of his powers, did he receive the priest-

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<sup>1</sup> *The Abbé de Lamennais and the Liberal Catholic Movement in France*, by the Hon. W. Gibson, 1 vol., 8vo.

hood. Several years before he ascended the altar, he had announced his change of front by the publication of a translation of the "Spiritual Guide" of Louis of Blois; but attention to him as a serious thinker had not been accorded until 1808, when he issued his "Reflections on the Condition of the Church During the Eighteenth Century and on the Present Situation," attacking the "Organic Articles" which Napoleon had audaciously added to the already signed Concordat of 1801. Of course these reflections were interdicted by Fouché, the imperial Minister of Police. In 1814 Lamennais published a treatise on "The Tradition of the Church Concerning the Institution of Bishops," a work which procured for him much contradiction on the part of dying Gallicanism. In 1818 appeared the first volume of his "Essay on Indifference in Religious Matters," the key-note of which was struck by the ardent Breton at its very commencement: "Ah! who will breathe on these dry bones and give life to them? Good and evil; the tree which gives life, and that which entails death, both nourished by one and the same soil, grow among peoples who, scarcely raising their heads, pass beneath, stretch upwards their hands, and pluck the fruit by chance." The somewhat bilious and ironic style of the book aided the incontestable arguments which it presented; a happy reaction was soon evident in a society which had been permeated by the poison of Voltairianism and of the Revolution. The author was regarded by many as another Father of the Church. As Lacordaire said: "A hundred and fourteen years had passed over the tomb of Bossuet, a hundred and three over that of Fénelon, seventy-six over that of Massillon . . . when M. de Lamennais appeared. . . . In one day he found himself invested with the power of Bossuet." Jean-Marie, the holy brother of the brilliant publicist, who had toiled patiently to develop in him both intellectuality and piety, felt that his labor was now bearing promise of ultimate reward, and in his exultation he cried: "God has made him a soldier." Even he who had hitherto ranked, in the estimation of the French clergy, as the first of their champions of that day—even Fraysinous declared: "That man has an eloquence which would raise the dead." Joseph Le Maître pronounced the effect of the essay to be nothing less than "an earthquake under a leaden sky," and Montalembert saw in its author "the most celebrated and the most venerated of the French priests." Naturally there were some ultra conservatives who murmured their displeasure because of some very daring flights of the new apologist, but the majority agreed with De Bonald when he told Lamennais: "Let the frogs croak!"<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> "Lamennais upheld the papal authority with democratic ardor, recalling all the



The first volume of the essay had shown the importance and necessity of faith; but there remained many questions for solution. What is the true faith? How can we discover it? What authority should dominate and regulate human reason? Great was the impatience with which men awaited the second volume, in which they were confident that if Lamennais did not succeed in advancing any *nova*, he would at least present matters *nove*. "After two years of expectation," writes Lacordaire, "the second volume appeared. From the heights of the the olden defence of the faith, from the bosom of the eloquence which he had sent in waves against the enemies of truth, M. de Lamennais had descended into the arid discussions of philosophy—to the question of certitude, at once the clearest and the most obscure approached by the human mind." In fact, Lamennais had undertaken to prove that "man, taken individually, can know nothing with certainty:

arguments which were ever adduced against certainty, and concluding that, in the order of principles, certitude is impossible, if there does not exist any infallible authority; and concluding also that, in the order of facts, such an authority always existed. That authority is the Catholic Church, in the triple manifestation of the divine word in patriarchal tradition, Moses and Christ. In the *Essay on Indifference*, wonderful for its close reasoning and its robust eloquence, Lamennais concedes to philosophers that the adhesion of the intellect is distinctive of truth, but only when that adhesion is characterized by universality and perpetuity—qualities which are found only in the Catholic Church, and which are in her because she is the traditional echo of the divine word in every place and time. Descending to applications (in his *Religion Considered in its Relation to the Political and Civil Orders*, Paris, 1825), he combats the irreligious tendencies of politics. In the Middle Age the Catholic Church imposed belief and duties, and out of a dismembered society she formed one which was divine and indestructible, tending to reduce all to unity, and to co-ordinate the nations as members of one sole family. When the belief of the Middle Age had been shaken, 'political science became one of force directed by interest; between the peoples there was no right, but that of blind and brutal strength; between power and its subjects, the same blind and brutal strength.' Three systems dominate in Europe (continues Lamennais): the Catholic, which places the spiritual power of the Church between the sovereign and the subject; the Gallican, which makes kings irremovable, frees them from every really obligatory law and leaves tyranny as the sole remedy against tyranny; and finally, the philosophical system, which constitutes the people the judge in every question of sovereignty. Therefore, Lamennais called for freedom of the press, of association, of teaching; and he placed the sovereignty in the people, declaring the king liable to deposition if he violated the law. The purblind liberals could not understand these theories, and they hooted at this priest who would have pushed the world back to the feet of Gregory VII.; but the king understood it, and its defender was called before the correctional tribunals. Many of the bishops, frightened at the resoluteness of Lamennais, emitted, in Paris, an exposition of their sentiments in regard to the independence of kings in the temporal order, as upheld by the Declaration of 1682. Lamennais, in a mordant reply, ridiculed both liberals and Gallicans, who by their withdrawal of the civil power from all religious dependence, rendered it capable of degenerating into tyranny: he pitied the clergy who were courtiers of a government which protected them merely that it might have their support; and he insisted that from those brutal governments which robbed the prelates of their purple and jewels, those prelates derived that real glory of martyrdom which sanctifies the earth." Cantù, *Storia Universale*, bk. xviii., ch. 18.



but taken collectively, he can acquire certainty as to some things." In other words, one man may err; but when all agree, truth is found. Lacordaire ingenuously tells us: "I have often asked myself how a system, the faultiness of which I now perceive so clearly, could have held my reason in suspense for so long a time; and I have come to the conclusion that since I struggled against an intelligence stronger than my own, and struggled alone against it, it was impossible for me not to be conquered." If a mind like that of Lacordaire succumbed to the influence of Lamennais, it is not surprising that the brilliant apologist became the idol of nearly all the younger clergy of France, and that from every portion of Europe the dangerous incense of extravagant praise was wafted toward him. No wonder that he became "that grand immoderate spirit" which Sainte-Beuve described; and that to those who suspected his philosophy, especially to the bishops of France, he retorted either that they were all Gallicans, or that they understood nothing about the matter in question. No physical advantages on his part contributed to the ascendancy which this wonderful genius exercised over so many persons of more than ordinarily judicial perspicacity. Maurice de Guérin, shortly after his enrollment among the solitaries of La Chénaie, thus wrote to his sister Eugénie: "You see a Druid resuscitated in Brittany, chanting of liberty with a rather savage voice. . . . The great man is short, slim, pallid, gray-eyed, with an oblong head, the nose long and thick, and his forehead is furrowed deeply by wrinkles which stretch between the brows down to the root of the nose. From head to foot he is clothed in coarse gray cloth, and he wears a straw hat which is very dilapidated." And Wiseman says of him: "How he did so mightily prevail on others it is hard to say. He was truly in look and presence almost contemptible; small, weakly, without pride of countenance or mastery of eye, without any external grace; his tongue seemed to be the organ by which, unaided, he gave marvellous utterance to thoughts clear, deep, and strong. Several times have I held long conversations with him at various intervals, and he was always the same. With his head hung down, his hands clasped before him, or gently moving in one another, in answer to a question he poured out a stream of thought, flowing spontaneously and unrippled as a stream through a summer meadow. He at once seized the whole subject, divided it into heads as symmetrically as Fléchier or Massillon; then took them one by one, enucleated each, and drew his conclusions. All this went on in a monotonous but soft tone, and so unbroken, so unhesitating, and yet so polished and elegant, that, if you had closed your eyes, you might have easily fancied that you were listening to the reading of a finished and elaborately corrected volume."

The "Avenir" appeared for the first time on October 15, 1830; and the government of July was soon made to understand that no ordinary men were insisting that the State should respect "those who bore the grand name of Catholics." Prosecution followed after prosecution; and when on one of these occasions the daring editors were charged with being the "organs of a foreign power," Lacordaire replied that their Master, God, is nowhere a foreigner. The "Avenir" announced that on May 9, 1831, its editors would open a free school in a house hired by Lacordaire; and accordingly three teachers who had not been authorized by the State, namely, Lacordaire, Montalembert, and De Coux, began their labors with twenty scholars. On the second day a commissary of police ordered the pupils, in the name of the law, to depart. "In the name of your parents," cried Lacordaire, "I command you to remain;" and the children obeyed him. Then the police ejected both pupils and master, although the latter was in his own house. As one of the teachers, Montalembert, was a peer of France, the trial of the fearful criminals was conducted by the Court of Peers. The brilliant defence of Lacordaire, and the equally impressive one of young Montalembert, are matters of history; a minimum of punishment, a fine of a hundred francs, was inflicted. A more threatening storm, however, was soon encountered by the daring journal. Shortly after the appearance of the first number of the "Avenir," its editors had formed an association entitled a "General Agency for the Defence of Religious Liberty," which was destined to propagate the doctrines which the journal would advance. These doctrines were all in advocacy of a total separation of Church and State; of a suppression of the indemnities which the French government had agreed to give the Church, in partial recompense (about a quarter of 1 per cent.) for the ecclesiastical property stolen by it in the days of Liberty, Fraternity, and Equality; of entire freedom of worship for all imaginable sects; of freedom of instruction; and of absolute liberty of the press. To this mixture of good and evil the "Avenir" frequently advanced pretensions of a more audacious and radical nature. Thus, in the issue of February 2, 1831, we read: "During the last fifteen years M. de Lamennais has labored for the regeneration of Catholicism; to restore to it, under a new form and by the aid of recent progress, the force and the life which have abandoned it." In many of the dioceses of France the ordinaries prohibited the adventurous periodical; and many, notably Mgr. d'Astros, Archbishop of Toulouse, condemned fifty-six propositions of the Lamennaisian system. The first twenty of these propositions were taken from the "Essay on Indifference" (Vols. 3 and 4); eleven were drawn from the "Philosophical Doctrines on Certitude," by the Abbé Olympe-Philippe Gerbet, afterward Bishop of Perpignan; eight from the



"Catechism of the Sensus Communis," by Rohrbacher; and seventeen from the "Avenir" itself. In 1834 thirteen bishops formally censured these propositions; and shortly afterward thirty-seven other prelates sent in their adhesion to the condemnation, while fourteen, though not adhering, manifested their disapproval of Lamennaisism. Ten bishops preferred to refer the matter at once to the Holy See.<sup>1</sup> This condemnation was forwarded to Rome in 1832; but already Lamennais, Lacordaire and Montalembert, the three principal editors, had decided to suspend the publication of the "Avenir" temporarily, and to proceed to the Eternal City as "pilgrims of God and liberty," with the intention of submitting their doctrines to the judgment of the Vicar of Christ.

It is amusing to note that Mr. Gibson, who thinks that the episcopal condemnation of the "Avenir" may have been short-sighted, is careful to inform us that, "*amongst Catholics the condemnation was re-echoed by the worldly-wise, the interested, and the timidly devout—all those, that is to say, the slothful serenity of whose devotional or social atmosphere had been disturbed by the somewhat acrid terms of the uncompromising journal, and who seized the opportunity which now offered itself of turning over and composing themselves to sleep through that great drama of human society, the action of which was beginning too vividly to impress them.*" In the minds of such Catholics as these, religion, according to Mr. Gibson, "had been identified with the divine right of kings;" and we are frequently asked by this author to sympathize with Lamennais as he suffers from "their cowardly and underhand operations." The unfortunate writes to a friend at this time that these "interdicts, intrigues, underhand dealings—a frightful system of organized calumny—have been supported by Rome. Without explaining herself, . . . without wishing to pronounce a judgment we asked for humbly six months ago, she encourages and even urges on her enemies and ours. The position is untenable; we are going to abandon the 'Avenir,' which was working splendidly. The only barrier which stood between the Church and material force is about to fall; . . . my soul is torn with grief. They repel, they trample on those who ask only one thing, that they should be allowed to sacrifice themselves, and the triumph of the Church would have been certain had they only wished it. . . . But no, her rulers have said it, it is necessary that she should die, it is necessary . . . ." It was with these sentiments rankling in his heart that Lamennais set out for Rome.

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<sup>1</sup> *Défense de l'Ordre Social Contre le Carbonarisme Moderne; avec un Jugement sur M. de Lamennais*, par M. Boyer, Directeur au Séminaire de Saint-Sulpice. Paris, 1835.



We would prefer to remain under the guidance of Chocarne or of Ricard; but the persistent efforts of Mr. Gibson to palliate the guilt of his idol demand that we at least show how he prepares one for the action of Gregory XVI., "the monk inexperienced in the things of this world." He informs us that after Napoleon's "war of liberation" during that period, which "demonstrated the utility of an organization like that of the Carbonari," it is "abundantly evident, from contemporary literature, that the Popes might at this time have succeeded in winning for themselves a great position, as the representatives of a great idea; but, unfortunately, no one capable of realizing this was elected to the See of Peter. . . . Leo XII. was mediæval in his sympathies. By nature he was by no means despotic; but his reign became the occasion of a fatal reaction, sometimes marked with frightful atrocities. . . . Thus it happened that the name of one of the best intentioned of Popes came to be identified in the eyes of the Italians with the revival of inquisitorial methods, the encouragement of informers, secret trials before interested tribunals, and all the abominations of which men had fondly imagined that they had finally disappeared." Since such is Mr. Gibson's reading of history, we may suppose that he sympathizes with Lamennais (and not once in his book does he give us any reason to suppose the contrary) when the jaundiced visitor writes to Gerbet while he is waiting for an audience with Gregory XVI.: "Imagine to yourself an old man surrounded by men, many of them tonsured, who manage his affairs—men to whom religion is as indifferent as it is to all the cabinets of Europe—ambitious, covetous, avaricious . . . blind and infatuated as the eunuchs of the Lower Empire. Such is the government of this country, such are the men who have everything in their hands, and who daily sacrifice the Church to the vilest interests and the most vainly conceived of their temporal affairs. They count the peoples for nothing, and see in the world only ten or a dozen men who have become, because they are powerful, or seem so, their true divinities. And in spite of this, everything is sinking or passing away, everything is dying. There are a few virtuous people who see this and who groan at it; but the remedy—where is it? I cannot see it."

A memorial, drawn up by Lacordaire, was presented to Gregory XVI. Unable to approve the tendencies of the incriminated journal, the Pontiff willingly recognized the zeal and talent of its editors; therefore, he ordered information to be given to them of an early examination of their doctrines, and he added that since this examination might necessitate a tedious investigation, a return to France would probably be pleasing to them. But the impetuous Lamennais besieged the doors of Cardinal Pacca, and finally

a pontifical audience was granted on condition that there should be no allusion to the "Avenir." "Hoping against hope," says Gibson, that the audience "might result in winning for the Church a place in that future which seemed to him inevitable" (truly the Church should be grateful for his consideration), Lamennais proceeded to the Vatican. Ricard tells us that when Lamennais prostrated himself before the Pontiff his Holiness gently raised him, and opening his own snuff-box asked him whether he ever used the stimulant. Politeness led the Abbé to take a pinch, and the Pope, having also taken one, and having scrupulously flickered off some fallen grains from his soutane, asked his visitor whether he was fond of art. "Sometimes, Holy Father," replied the impatient man. "That is not enough," returned the Pontiff. Then with something very like impertinence Lamennais explained: "I love art in its proper place, Your Holiness, but at present . . . ." Whereupon Gregory hastened to remark: "Nevertheless, in Rome art is a very important matter." Persisting in his endeavor to introduce the affair of the "Avenir," the Abbé observed: "Undoubtedly, Holy Father; but if Your Holiness will permit me . . . ." Again the Pontiff warded off the inconvenient subject by asking: "Monsieur l'Abbé, have you visited the church of St. Peter in Chains?" The question seemed to furnish a fine opportunity, and Lamennais replied: "I have visited it, Holy Father; and would to God no other church in Christendom were 'in chains!'" The Pope ignored the allusion, and pursued his train of thought: "Did you admire the 'Moses' of Michelangelo?" And Gregory went to a bureau, and producing a silver statuette, he asked: "Do you recognize the lion's paw?" Lamennais looked at the precious object, but with an air of distraction. The Pope insisted: "Look at it well!" The poor man obeyed, and the Pontiff said: "I would like to give it to you; but nothing here belongs to me, since I must transmit, in my turn, all I have received to my successor." Then Gregory tenderly placed his hand on the head of his disappointed visitor, and having blessed him, said: "Farewell, Monsieur l'Abbé." The self-love of Lamennais was deeply wounded by this interview. He failed, and all of his apologists have failed, to perceive the delicacy of the Pontiff's hesitation to enter on a subject, the consideration of which might entail the condemnation of one whom his predecessor had so admired, that he kept his portrait in his study, and bequeathed it to his successor.<sup>1</sup>

"The master," as Lamennais was styled by his admirers, wished

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<sup>1</sup> Many have thought that Leo XII. intended, at one time, to enroll Lamennais in the Sacred College. See Wiseman's *Last Four Popes*, pt. ii., ch. 6.



to remain in Rome and provoke a decision, but Lacordaire had appreciated the meaning of the late audience, and he returned to France. Six months afterward, Lamennais lost his patience, and announced his intention to return also, and for the purpose of resuming the publication of the "*Avenir*." The sojourn in the capital of Christendom had evoked very dissimilar sentiments in the hearts of these two great men. The mind of Lamennais was of far superior calibre to that of Luther, and he possessed an artistic taste, of which the German heresiarch had no conception. But the pride of Lamennais was as excessive as the vanity of the ex-Augustinian; and having entered Rome while dominated by that passion, he, like Luthur during his visit, could discern nothing but ambition, subterfuge and luxury. On the contrary, Lacordaire, like his other companion, Montalembert, though burning with perhaps even a more intense love of liberty than that which tortured Lamennais, returned from Rome strengthened in his faith that she was the depository of divine revelation. "The world seeks peace and freedom, but in the paths of turbulence and servitude. The Church alone has ever been a source of these blessings for the human race. When the nations shall have tired of being parricides, they will find in her the good which they no longer possess. . . . Rome! Serene amid the tempests of Europe, thou hast not doubted of thyself, thou hast felt no fatigue. Thy glance, turned to the four quarters of the world, followed with sublime penetration the development of human affairs in their relation to the divine; while the storms left thee calm, because thou wast animated by the breath of God. . . . Rome! God knows that I did not fail to recognize thee, when I saw no kings prostrate at thy gates. I kissed thy dust with unspeakable joy and respect. Thou didst appear to me as what thou truly art—the benefactress of the human family in the past, the hope of its future, the sole grandeur now existing in Europe, the captive of a universal jealousy, the queen of the world."

In August, 1832, Lacordaire visited Munich, and he had scarcely entered his hotel when he was met by Lamennais and Montalembert, who, on their way to France, had seen a notice of their friend's intention. Lacordaire at once entered on the subject of the resumption of the "*Avenir*," and he succeeded in convincing "the master" of its inadvisability. Then the three friends attended a banquet tendered to them by the scholars and artists of the most literary and artistic city in Germany. Toward the end of the feast, Lamennais was called from the hall to receive from a messenger of the papal nuncio a copy of the Encyclical of Gregory XVI., in which the "*Avenir*" was condemned. Lamennais dissimulated his rage, and he even yielded to Lacordaire's suggestion that the



three ex-editors should immediately sign an act of submission to the Papal decision. Accompanying the copy of the Encyclical received by Lamennais was a letter from Cardinal Pacca, which, by the express order of Pope Gregory XVI., that prelate had written to him. We subjoin a few passages of this interesting document:

"Since you love truth, and desire to know it in order that you may welcome it, I shall frankly and briefly mention the chief features which have specially displeased His Holiness, after his examination of the "*Avenir*." Firstly, he regretted that the editors have assumed to discuss before the public, and then even to decide, most delicate questions which should be decided by the government of the Church and by her supreme head. From this procedure there necessarily results a perturbation of minds, and even a division among the clergy, which scandalizes the faithful. Secondly, the Holy Father disapproves and even reprobates those doctrines on civil and political liberty which, undoubtedly against your wishes, tend by their very nature to incite and propagate everywhere among subjects a spirit of rebellion against their sovereigns. That spirit is openly opposed to the precepts of the Gospel and of our holy Church—obedience on the part of the peoples, and justice on the part of rulers. Thirdly, the doctrines of the "*Avenir*" on freedom of worship and on the liberty of the press—doctrines which have been advanced by the editors with so much exaggeration—are reprehensible, being contrary to the maxims and precepts of the Church. They have surprised and afflicted His Holiness; because if, in certain circumstances, prudence commends a toleration of them as a lesser evil, they can never be defended by a Catholic as good and desirable things. This, M. l'Abbé, is the communication His Holiness has wished me to convey to you in confidential form. The Holy Father remembers with keen satisfaction the beautiful and solemn promise which you, at the head of your associate editors, once published, to the effect that you would imitate, according to the injunctions of our Saviour, the docility of little children, by an entire submission to the Vicar of Jesus Christ."

Lacordaire soon realized that a gulf was between him and Lamennais, and on September 4, 1832, he wrote to "the master:—"To-night I leave La Chênaie,<sup>1</sup> and I do this from a motive of

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<sup>1</sup> La Chênaie was a venerable country house in Brittany, about six miles from Dinan, whither M. Féli, as his friends fondly termed Lamennais, was wont to assemble his disciples during the last years of the Restoration and during the first years of the king of the *bourgeoisie*. The Lamennaisians playfully styled the humble habitation a *chateau*, but Féli describes it as a little hermitage. Between the years 1825 and 1833 many of the friends of "the master" resided altogether at La Chênaie, enjoying the tender hospitality of him whom they regarded as one chosen by God to form their minds for the defence of religion—the sole object of their lives. Among

honor, being convinced that at length my life is useless to you, because of the difference of our ideas on the Church and society, a difference which increases every day, in spite of my sincere efforts to agree with you." And he afterward said: "I abandoned M. de Lamennais because I believed that the Church was more likely to be right than he was, because she has more claim to the submission of my intellect than he has. I have not instituted a school in place of his, but I have entered into the universal school." His reasons for separating from his old-time friend are indicated by Lacordaire in a letter to Montalembert: "The Church does not say to you, 'See!' for she has not that power; but she does say to you, 'Believe!' She says to you, now that you are twenty-three years old, and addicted to a certain line of thought, just what she said to you on the day of your First Communion: 'Receive the hidden and incomprehensible God; humble your reason before that of God and His Church, His organ.' Why, indeed, was the Church given to us, unless to lead us back to truth when we have been beguiled by error?"

In January, 1835, Lacordaire was appointed teacher of the Lenten Conferences at Notre Dame, and then Paris beheld what was to her a strange scene—the great basilica invaded at an early hour by more than six thousand men of every age, religion and political school, all waiting to be refreshed by the all-powerful words of him of whom Montalembert wrote: "Who will render

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those who nearly habitually resided at La Chênaie was Gerbet, and among those who passed much of their time there we may mention, besides Lacordaire, Edmond de Corzals, Leon and Eugene Boré, M. de Coux, the Abbé Rohrbacher, the Abbé Blanc, the Abbé Bornet, M. de Hercé, Montalembert, the Abbé de Salinis, the Abbé de Scorbac, Eloi Jourdain (Charles Sainte-Foy), Cyprien Robert, La Provotaye, Daniel du Breil de Marzan, Hippolyte de la Morvonnais and Maurice de Guérin. The last named tells us, in his *Relics*: "Unless one experienced it, the charm of these conversations could not be described. There philosophy, politics, travels, anecdotes, tales, pleasantries, all dropped from the lips of the master in forms the most original, the most vivid, the most incisive." Every morning Féli assembled his friends in the chapel, which, in 1810, his holy brother and he had built at the extremity of the terrace, and there he celebrated Mass, and frequently fortified them with the Bread of Life. Many times during the day the company visited their Sacramental Lord, and on all feasts of celebrity they received the Benediction. Many years after he had quitted La Chênaie, and the most melancholy of dissensions had separated him from his olden friends, Lamennais wrote to M. Marion, who had advised the sale of some of the timber: "Although apparently I shall never again see La Chênaie, all my souvenirs reside there, and I cannot think, without pain, of that beautiful spot, so cared for by me, as shorn of any of its charms. In comparison with those charms, what is a little money? Even now I walk in imagination under those trees in whose sap my olden life ran. It seems to me that if they were gone, I would be alone in the world. I know well that others will cut them down some day, but then I shall be no longer alive. Therefore, I ask a respite for those poor trees; their age is too much like my own, and I cannot see death approaching those who looked on my birth." Letter to M. Marion, December 31, 1844, in the *Confidences de Lamennais*.



for us his surprises, his risky strokes, his familiarities—those adventurous assaults of a genius as audacious, as sure of itself, skirting the precipice without ever falling over, and then mounting to the highest heavens as Bossuet alone has ever done; an effort which literally overwhelmed his auditors, leaving them a prey to an emotion which only one word can express, that word *ravissement*, which has been so commonly abused, but which recalls to the Christian mind the vision of St. Paul—*quoniam raptus in paradisum*."

The grand conferences of Lacordaire are probably familiar to the reader; if they are not, let him know that all of the great orator's teachings, inasmuch as they affected the hitherto unbelieving portion of his hearers, may be summarized in his words: "The olden society perished, because God had been expelled from it; the new suffers, because God has not been invited into it." The limits of this article preclude any reference to his career as a Dominican friar, or to his momentous reception into the French Academy, which he entered, as he expressed the idea, as "a symbol of liberty, strengthened by religion." He adorned the Academy only for a moment. When he returned to his dear College of Sorèze, he greeted his brethren and pupils with these prophetic words: "I come to you like *Œdipus*, with a fragile laurel in one hand, and a bit of cypress in the other." He resumed his work, but his God had called him to his reward. During his last illness he composed that canticle on St. Mary Magdalen, which many regard as his masterpiece. On September 27, 1861, he resigned his office as provincial of the French Dominicans, and the last words of his eloquent tongue were uttered on November 20th, as he extended his arms toward heaven: "*Mon Dieu! Ouvrez-moi!*" He died on the following day, the Feast of the Presentation.<sup>1</sup>

Sadly different from the death of Lacordaire was that of him whom God seemed, at one time, to have given to His Church as

<sup>1</sup> If the reader would know something as to the personal appearance of Lacordaire, he may learn from Montalembert what the great orator was when he had just enlisted under the banner of Lamennais:

"He was twenty-eight years of age. His slender frame, his delicate and regular features, his sculptural brow, the royal carriage of his head, his black and flashing eye, and I know not what union of elegance and modesty in his entire person—all this was but the envelope of a soul which ever seemed to be on the point of flying away to heaven. His flaming glances emitted treasures both of indignation and of tenderness. His voice, already so nervous and vibrating, often assumed an accent of infinite sweetness. Born for combat and for love, he already bore the seal of the double royalty of soul and of talent. He appeared to me charming at once and terrible; the very type of enthusiasm for good, and of virtue armed in the cause of truth. I saw in him one predestined to all that youth adores and desires the most—to genius and glory."



the Bossuet of the nineteenth century. When the future ornament of the Dominican Order and his friend returned to La Chênaie, after their futile visit to the Eternal City, the former soon perceived that there was to be no revival of the serene delights which had made the "little hermitage" so dear to each of them. "The woods," writes Lacordaire, "had their olden silences and their olden storms; the sky of Brittany was the same, but the heart of the master was changed. The wound was still fresh, and each day the knife was turned in it by the very hand which should have withdrawn it and poured into its place the balm of God. Profound gloom had settled on that brow from which peace had been banished. Broken and menacing sentences dropped from those lips which had ever expressed the unction of the Gospel. Sometimes I thought that in him I beheld Saul, but none of us had the harp of David with which to calm those sudden irruptions of the evil one, and most fearful anticipations constantly overwhelmed my crushed spirit." The crisis could not be long delayed. In 1834 appeared the "*Paroles d'un Croyant*," a work which Lamennais himself pronounced a revenge for all the "disappointments of his life." Once that he had resolved on the publication of this book, which Gregory XVI. was to term "small in size but immense in perversity," he yearned to see it in circulation. He entrusted the task of putting the manuscript through the press to Sainte-Beuve, writing to him: "I send you herewith a little manuscript which I would wish you to have issued as quickly as possible. I depart in two days. Arrange with a publisher quickly, very quickly, I pray you." It has been well said that the contents of this work can be summarized in two propositions: all kings are monsters, and priests are the *seides* of kings. And over this blatant demagoguery the author affected to make the sign of the cross, beginning it with the invocation: "In the name of the Father, and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost." Royer-Collard fancies that he sees in the book the spirit of 1793 making its Easter duty. De Nettement calls it a would-be Apocalypse, interspersed with blasphemies. Vitrolles termed it the red cap of the *sans-culottes* surmounting the cross. These qualifications do not exaggerate, for the calmly judicial Encyclical of June 25, 1834, manifests the horror of the Supreme Pontiff for a volume which, as we have observed, he stigmatizes as *mole quidem exiguum, pravitate tamen ingentem*, and he declares that it presents propositions which are respectively "false, calumnious, rash, productive of anarchy, contrary to the word of God, impious, scandalous, erroneous, already condemned by the Holy Church when anathematizing the Waldenses, Wyckliffites, Hussites and other heretics of that stamp." We may also note that this Encyclical also condemns a system of

philosophy which is evidently that of Lamennais. "You must perceive, Venerable Brothers, that here we also speak of that fallacious system of philosophy, recently invented, which we must reprobate entirely—a system in which an uncurbed yearning for novelties seeks no longer for truth where she really is to be found, but rather, casting aside holy and apostolic tradition, introduces doctrines which are futile, uncertain, and not at all approved by the Church." Lamennais celebrated the Holy Sacrifice for the last time on April 7th, the Easter Sunday of 1833. "Who would have said on that day," asks Sainte-Beuve, "who would have said to those who were grouped around the master, that he who had just given to them the Holy Communion would never again give it to another, that he would ever afterward refuse it for himself, and that too truly his device was to be 'an oak beaten down by the storm,' with the haughty motto, 'I break, but I do not bend?'" Mgr. Antoine Ricard graphically describes the bitterly melancholy twenty-one years of existence which followed his rupture with the Church which he had probably once loved, and certainly had once served and honored so well. We wish not to dilate on sorrows such as these; the reader will find them depicted in the pages of Ricard, and he will receive new light upon them from the *confidences* of the unfortunate to a friend, revealed in 1886 by Arthur du Bois de Villerabel. Some years after the catastrophe the fallen champion wrote to a friend in Saint-Malo: "I am alone. I perceive time receding, just as a traveller, seated on a naked rock at the edge of a torrent, waits for the stream to become fordable, that he may push on to his night's rest." The end of his life's journey did not come until the winter of 1854, when he was seventy-three years of age. When it became evident, on February 27th, that the hand of death was beckoning to him, his loving niece threw herself on her knees at his bedside and whispered: "Féli, you wish for a priest, do you not?" The obstinate man replied: "No!" In vain the weeping woman besought him to have care of his soul; he continually cried: "Leave me in peace!" Friends removed the niece to the next room as she exclaimed: "It is terrible to me to see my uncle die in this way, for it was he who made me a Christian." Soon afterward the sufferer said: "I wish to be interred among the poor, and like one of them. Put no mark over my grave—not even a simple stone." They told him that the Archbishop of Paris wished to see him. He tried to speak, but seeing that he could not be understood, he made a gesture which might have indicated either impatience or discouragement, and turned

<sup>1</sup> Ricard narrates that Lamennais once said to his nephew that if he were asked to select an emblem indicative of his career he would choose the unbending, though possibly breaking, oak.

his face to the wall. What passed between God and his soul at that moment we shall know on the day of final judgment. His last act of intelligence was an anxious look around the room, and then, as though he had not seen what he had sought, he began to weep. Three days afterward seven or eight persons followed a hearse—one of the kind furnished to the very poor—to the cemetery of Père-la-Chaise. When the grave had been filled, the digger asked: "Do you want a cross?" One of the friends of the deceased, M. Barbet, replied: "No!" Not another word was spoken at the ceremony.

Among the olden disciples who, while reprobating the apostacy of Lamennais, remained personally attached to him until the very end, one of the most worthy and notable was Mathurin Houet, superior of the Oratory at Rennes, who died in 1890. Until the death of "M. Féli," Houet continued to hope and pray for his conversion, and when the master had gone to his dread account, the still loving friend tried to convince himself that the long extinguished luminary of the Church had finally been revived by "that penetrating and inexorable light which appears in our last moments as the dawn of eternity."<sup>1</sup> Enlightened far beyond the danger of superstition, the pious Oratorian nevertheless sought for justification of his confidence in that border land which is occupied by certain children of divine predilection. "Indeed, we may hope," said he one day to M. Roussel, "it has been revealed to a holy religious that M. de Lamennais is saved."<sup>2</sup> Strange as it may appear, Houet was convinced of the good faith of Lamennais. Roussel is of the same opinion. Edmond Biré thinks that such must be the conclusion of all who read the work of Roussel. "It appears to me that the author of 'The Words of a Believer' was not influenced, at the time of his rupture with the Church, by any interested motive. Far from having anything to gain by this rupture, it entailed upon him the loss of comfortable surroundings, of an immense popularity, and of a veritable intellectual royalty. It condemned him to isolation and to powerlessness. It deprived him of numerous devoted and enthusiastic friends, and threw him into a little group of sectarians who were foes of every ideal and of every grandeur. He was one of the grandest geniuses of his day, and perhaps he was its greatest writer. Nothing would have been easier than for him to have satisfied his ambition, if he had any, by a change of opinions. He derived from his persistency no other profit than greater pov-

<sup>1</sup> Letter of Lamennais to the Marquis de Coriolis, July 7, 1830, in the *Correspondence*, edited by Forgues, vol. ii., p. 147.

<sup>2</sup> Roussel, *ubi supra*, vol. i., p. 6.



erty and a long imprisonment.<sup>1</sup> Therefore his life testifies to his sincerity. If it were necessary, other witnesses would testify to it. I allude to all those friends of his early life, who, though profoundly grieved by his apostasy, remained attached to him."<sup>2</sup> Biré errs when he contends that Lamennais was influenced by no interested motive when he refused submission to the teaching authority of the Church. He was influenced by pride, than which no wealth or its attendant luxury and sensuality can dominate more the intellectual man who has once preferred its allurements to the empire of truth. And the pride of Lamennais was not that inflating sentiment which actuates the ordinary man. It was not that comparatively harmless bubble which should rather be termed vanity. The pride of Lamennais was, in the words of Gregory XVI., *Superbia Satanica*. At times it frightened himself. He tells us how, when only eight years of age, his nurse was leading him along the ramparts of Saint-Malo, while the sea was being agitated by a violent tempest, and how the sight so affected him that "he thought that he discerned the Infinite and saw God." Then, astonished at what was passing in his soul, he said of the heedless crowd around him: "They behold what I behold, but they do not see what I see." Often when narrating this episode of his childhood, the mature Lamennais would say: "Whenever I think of that distant time I tremble at the recollection of that haughty sentiment in a boy of eight years."<sup>3</sup> In 1809, when he was twenty-seven years of age, he wrote to Bruté: "You are right; one page, one line, one word of St. Francis de Sales or of the "Imitation" is far superior to all these miserably contentious pamphlets which only dry up the soul—mine especially, already so arid. My God! what has plunged me into this unhappy state? Pride! Yes, pride; every day I perceive that truth."<sup>4</sup> After the publication of the first volume of his "Essay on Indifference," he thus expressed his opinion of the projected second volume: "The second will be much more valuable. I shall develop a new system of defence of Christianity against incredulists and heretics, which will be extremely simple, but which will be so rigorously demonstrative that, unless one is prepared to deny his own existence, he will perforce repeat the Creed to the very end."<sup>5</sup> No one ever dared to contradict Lamennais. When he was not sure of the assent of his company, he either showed his irritation or wrapped himself in silence. Sometimes, however, a more than ordinarily candid

<sup>1</sup> On December 26, 1840, Lamennais was condemned to a year's imprisonment and a fine of 2000 francs, because of his pamphlet, *The Country and the Government*.

<sup>2</sup> Biré, *History and Literature*, p. 305, Lyons, 1895.

<sup>3</sup> Blaize, *loc. cit.*, vol. i., p. 8.

<sup>4</sup> Roussel, *loc. cit.*, vol. i., p. 22.

<sup>5</sup> La Gournerie, *loc. cit.*, letter of February 22, 1818.

admirer would venture to warn him of the risks he was running. Thus, in the summer of 1825, the chief luminary of the French bar, Berryer, having listened at La Chênaie to a most eloquent exposition of some of those audacious theories which the master afterward developed in his "Outlines of a Philosophy," felt that he was captivated; but he cried: "My friend, you frighten me. You will become a sectarian; and I foresee that you will lose the empire which you now exercise over me." Lamennais replied: "Sooner than do that, would that I could return to the womb of my mother."<sup>1</sup>

The works which Lamennais produced during the years of his separation from the Church were worthy of the author of the "Words of a Believer." In 1835 appeared a collection of extracts from those articles in the "Avenir" and the "Mémorial Catholique," which had entailed his condemnation; and in his preface he excuses his changes of opinion, both religious and political, by a law of progress in the human mind, the effects of which he has experienced. For the reader must know that during the early years of the Restoration our publicist had been more royalist than the king. When he became proprietor and editor of the "Conservateur" and of the "Drapeau Blanc," he seemed to have but one idea, namely, that there was safety for France and for the king in absolute monarchy alone. In the orthodox portion of his career he gloried in being a prophet raised by God to purge the French Church of Gallicanism. But even before he published the "Words of a Believer," he had deserted the ranks of the ultramontane theologians, and had enrolled himself among such of the Gallican jurisconsults as were really hostile to the independence of the Church, and who were condemned by the saner portion of the Gallican publicists. As an excuse for this change of attitude, Lamennais pleaded: "In the war which I once waged against you I was too much of the soldier; I perceived only one side of the question. Your parliaments have been reproached for their many great resistances against ecclesiastical jurisdiction, but they have rendered great services to society, and without their barrier against Roman usurpations, Rome would have seized on everything, and the priest would have become a king." Well did Boyer say that Lamennais, during his later career, condemned as nonsense every truth which he had once affirmed to be an axiom and a principle. In 1836 the "Affairs of Rome" appeared; in 1838 the "Book of the People"; in 1840 an "Outline of a Philosophy"; in 1846 a "Translation of the Gospels," with democratic and irreligious

<sup>1</sup> After his return to Paris, Berryer narrated this episode to Laurentie. See the articles on "The Abbé de Lamennais," by Laurentie, in the *Paris Union* for March, 1854. Also the *Mélanges*, by Laurentie, vol. ii., p. 714.

commentaries. In the "Outline," Lamennais tried to reconcile Christianity and pantheism. Like all pantheists, he rejected the Christian idea of creation; but he contended that God indeed created, though out of His own substance. According to this aberration, the divine intelligence at first conceived all the types of creation; and then, when God wished to actuate these types as created forces, He placed a limit to His infinite power, and the created forces came into being. Created spirits were actuated by God's placing a limit to His infinite intelligence. In fine, God placed a limit to His own infinite life, and thus completed what we see as life; He did this by attraction in the physical, and by love in the superior order. Every force in the universe, therefore, is the divine force and power—God the Father, with limitation. Every intelligence is the divine—the Son, with limitation. All life, all love, is the very life of God, with limitation. The force which is in us is really and substantially the force of God; our intelligence, which tries to find truth, is substantially God's own; our will, weak and vacillating as it is, is substantially God's will. Of course, Lamennais affected to modify what was an absolute deification of the universe. Although maintaining the idea of unity of substance, he held that the infinite substance, precisely because of the limitation which it receives on becoming finite, is essentially different from what it was in its infinite state. Thus he affected to preserve an essential difference between God and creatures.

The entire theory of the "Outline" rests on this distinction of a difference between God and the universe, which is not substantial but essential. Substantially, they are identical; essentially, they are different; although substantially identical with the infinite, the finite is nevertheless essentially distinct from the infinite. And when Lamennais is asked for a reason for this distinction between a substantial and an essential difference, he replies that it is a mystery. "It is the mystery of creation; and it would be absurd to try to penetrate it, since we know that substance is radically incomprehensible to finite beings." The reader shall judge whether the subtleties of Lamennais save him from pantheism.

REUBEN PARSONS, D.D.

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## THE NEW POLITICAL ISSUE IN IRELAND.

IT had long been a truism that Ireland's discontent over the Act of Union was founded upon no sentimental ground of grievance. The substantial reasons which underlay that dangerous feeling have long been apparent to those who are conversant with her financial and economic condition as a result of that arrangement. They had often been lucidly exposed by such adepts in complicated questions as the late Mr. O'Neill Daunt, Sir Joseph Neill McKenna, Mr. Mitchell-Henry, and other capable authorities. But it is only within the past few months that they have received the public attention which their vast importance demands. Now they have assumed the dimensions of a great international issue, and have challenged the attention of the whole world. The discussion has already changed the entire face of the long political struggle in Ireland, and introduced new and unexpected elements into the situation. Many readers may desire some light upon this exceedingly interesting development in Irish affairs, and if they have patience to follow this brief exposition it will help to clear the field.

For the first time since the Union passed from the stage of controversy into law, representatives of the aristocratic caste in Ireland have taken a public part with representatives of the electors in demanding redress of grievances which both classes feel to be intolerable for freemen. This is nothing short of a phenomenon. Apathetic regarding all other questions which the masses of the people considered to be of a national character, the landed nobility and gentry have at last awakened to the fact that they have interests of a substantial kind at stake in the incidence of imperial taxation, and some of them have shown that they are ready to defend those interests by vigorous action. It is not germane to the purpose of this paper to consider the wide field of Irish politics generally, or the hopes and speculations which the advent of these unexpected allies has quickened in the recognized political champions in Ireland. It is enough to say that the dawning of a better day is already confidently looked for, and if prudence and good sense prevail with all classes, this sanguine hope may soon be a thing of reality.

At the period when the Act of Union was arranged, the economic conditions as between Great Britain and Ireland differed widely from those which now obtain. The respective populations

of the two countries did not display the enormous disparity which they exhibit to-day. They might be taken, roughly speaking, as showing a ratio of about one to two. But the disproportion in comparative wealth bore no analogy to this ratio. The loose figures which were used as a basis for the assessment of the respective shares of imperial taxation showed that the revenue of Great Britain was about ten times as large as that of Ireland, yet the original proposal of Mr. Pitt was that Ireland's contribution to the general taxation should be in the ratio of two to fifteen. Mr. Grattan challenged the data upon which this estimate was founded. It was given to that great man to possess the keenest analytical power in statistical matters, together with the faculty of treating far-reaching proposals from the loftiest standpoints, and reasoning from particles to great principles. He maintained that the financial estimates of the minister were built upon a dishonest foundation. The revenue of Ireland, he showed in a series of masterly speeches, was overstated, while that of Great Britain was not fairly acknowledged.

One needs but little statistical discernment to perceive that this objection was well taken. Two years before that period there had been a formidable rebellion in Ireland. The cost of overcoming this had been added to the Irish public debt. Before the rebellion that debt amounted to four million pounds, and, after its close, by this seemingly plausible device, it had been raised to nearly twenty-seven millions. But the injustice of the proceeding was palpable. It was patent to all that the rebellion was a part of the whole scheme of Union, deliberately planned and carried out. Its cost was entirely saddled upon Ireland, and it was arranged that the entire Irish debt was to remain separate from that of Great Britain until such period as the effect of the respective taxation of the two countries had made an amalgamation of the two exchequers feasible. By an artful manipulation of the accounts this merging was effected in the year 1817. Mr. O'Neill Daunt, in the course of one of his lucid papers on the subject, exhibited the gross results of this system of cooking the accounts in the following succinct statement :

	British Debt.	Annual Charge.	Irish Debt.	Annual Charge.
1801, .	£450,504,984	£17,718,851	£28,545,134	£1,244,463
1817, .	734,522,104	28,238,416	112,704,773	4,104,514

How this enormous change in the financial condition of the country was brought about within so brief a period as seventeen years requires some explanation. The process may be fitly described as a gigantic feat in state legerdemain. While drawing away from Ireland the wealth which had previously kept her in-

dustrial resources going and paid her public demands, a burden of taxation was placed upon her shoulders which it was impossible for the people to meet. Of this the ministry had been solemnly warned, but they treated the monition with contempt. The close of the first fiscal year under the new system showed, as had been anticipated, a great deficit, but this, instead of being written off as uncollectable, was carried over to the following year's account on the debtor side. The next year showed a similar result: another deficit and another addition to the national debt. This process went on, until the Irish debt was made to bear such a proportion to the English debt as fulfilled the condition laid down in the Act of Union for the amalgamation of the two exchequers. During the brief period of seventeen years the national debt of Ireland, which stood in the year of Union in the ratio of one to sixteen and a half, had been piled up till it stood in the proportion of one to seven and a half. Two years before the Union Ireland had, practically speaking, no public debt; seventeen years' connection with wealthy England loaded her with a liability of nearly six hundred million dollars, and made her a partner in England's leviathan national debt, whose foundations have apparently been laid to last forever.

It is not in the power of these bare statistics to convey any just image of what lies behind their passionless record. To comprehend the significance of the disastrous change which those few years of Union rule wrought in Ireland, it is necessary to examine the subject from a broader standpoint than that of the mere statistician. We must survey the social and industrial position of Ireland before and after the great change by the light of the records which have come down to us, and mark the effects which the pauperization of a people have upon their moral temperament as well as upon their immediate material condition. To-day we see a peasantry and a working population languid, listless and destitute of hope of betterment; and a business community devoid of enterprise save in one part of the island, where the loyalty of the people to the English interest has gained the favor of the ruling classes and some support for the industry of the population. Outside of Ulster there is little but agriculture to engage the energies of the working-classes. A few large breweries and distilleries and bacon-curing establishments, with here and there a woollen factory, form the chief relics of the once extensive trade of the country. At the period of the Union there was a flourishing paper trade in the country, with a great output of books and periodicals. Forty paper mills stood on the banks of the Liffey; to-day there is not one. In a couple of years after the removal of the seat of the legislature to London, half the shopkeepers of Dublin had



been driven into bankruptcy as a consequence of the transference of trade. Both in Dublin and Cork there had been before the Union a thriving trade in silk, manufactured in these centres by colonies of weavers, originally French Huguenots, who had fled from France at the period of the revocation of the Edict of Nantes. That trade has now disappeared. There were also glass-works and wall-paper factories, besides many other industries no longer in existence. Cottage industries were many; hand-loom were to be found in many of the homes of the peasantry; the domestic spinning-wheel was quite commonly seen as a household appendage. England, with her enormous increase in machine power and factory enterprise, has absorbed nearly all the trade which kept Irish looms and spinning-wheels busy, flooding the market with shoddy clothing and wretched machine-made boots and shoes instead of the substantial and well-made clothing and foot-gear which the old race of tailors and shoemakers formerly supplied. The system of absentee landlordism drew an immense revenue constantly out of the country, all of which, or nearly all, had previously been spent among the people at home. As a consequence of these accumulated disasters, and the partial failure of crops, the country was scourged with successive famines of frightful proportions within six years—one in the year 1817 and the next in 1822. Then the agricultural industry, which had received an impetus owing to the wars with Napoleon, sustained a serious blow upon the cessation of hostilities after Waterloo, and something akin to their death-stroke when England adopted a free-trade policy and threw her ports open to the cereal products of the world. The awful famine of 1847 came as the culmination of these misfortunes, ruining thousands of landholders as well as slaying hecatombs of agrarian toilers. This was the price of the first half-century of legislative union with the richest country in the world.

In this cursory survey of a nation's decline, account has been taken merely of the material losses inflicted by the amalgamation of the two legislatures. It is impossible to form any adequate estimate of the moral losses inflicted upon Ireland by the transference of the centre of intellectual activity to an alien capital. Dublin was, previous to that event, the home of the native aristocracy, and their taste and generosity had made it a splendid and progressive metropolis. Architects, artists and decorators had been attracted thither, and the mansions of the gentry became palaces of art and luxury, the wreck of whose splendour may still be seen in many parts of the city. It was also a literary centre of high rank. All this disappeared after the Union. How far this misfortune affected the progress of the country in general can only be now a matter of speculation. It is easy to sum up all that the imperial govern-

ment has done for the advancement of the higher life in Ireland since it assumed control of her purse. Trinity College and the Royal Dublin Society were the only agencies which existed for the preservation of learning and scientific research until half a century ago, and the former was exclusively utilized for the benefit of the Protestant ascendancy, while the latter was the result of the voluntary effort of a few liberal-minded individuals to rescue the antiquities of the country from ruin and foster at the same time the material resources of the present for the general benefit. The establishment of Maynooth College ought not to be attributed to any desire to promote the country's welfare, inasmuch as it was confessedly done for a selfish imperial purpose. The fact that it has proved an inestimable blessing to the cause of religion must not be credited to any desire on the part of the British Government to further the interests of the Catholic religion. We must not forget that, speaking in Parliament thirty years after the Maynooth grant was voted, Sir Robert Peel declared, as prime minister, that "he felt a profound distrust of the Catholic religion."

It is simply amazing to observe the way in which the statements of the English side of this subject have blinded historians. Alison, for instance, who was a painstaking and, on the whole, a conscientious writer, seems to have been completely deceived by the pretensions of the English press that Ireland was being treated with extreme generosity by the wealthier partner. He speaks of the extraordinary munificence of England in the famine year of 1823, when about three hundred thousand pounds was sent over to Ireland through private generosity, in order to avert mortality from starvation. Then a sum of a hundred and seventy thousand pounds was voted for public works, and this seems to be the whole measure of the help given by government for the relief of urgent distress. In the same passage he lays stress upon the generosity of government in voting five hundred odd thousand pounds for the Irish police force. Any ordinary reader would imagine that Alison was a writer who took care to inform himself of the truth of what he wrote, and the soundness of the inferences which he philosophically draws. But how shallow and unreliable he is, after all, is easily seen by any one who is conversant with the truth about this period of Irish history. Practically speaking, the government gave nothing toward the relief of distress in Ireland at the period referred to. Expenditure on public buildings is nothing more than profitable outlay, and it is to be noted that under the Act of Union Ireland was bound to have her share of public money for such works, but did not get another penny for similar purposes until ten years ago, when, after sixty years' neglect, she succeeded in getting a grant for a national museum in Dublin.



The police grant is a matter of a totally different character. Sir Robert Peel is the inventor of this police, which is still connected with his memory in a nickname of contempt. The force was out of all proportion to the needs of any country supposed to be governed on constitutional lines. It is nothing else but a large standing army, kept in the country not to preserve the peace, but to overawe the people and pry into every movement of their daily lives. This police force has been the marvel and the annoyance of every visitor to Ireland for the past seventy years. Its members are ubiquitous, menacing, meddlesome. There are over thirteen thousand of these idle men distributed over the country, watching everything in the interest of the ruling power, and forwarding notes of the smallest happenings to the government daily. Moreover, on the pension list there are six thousand superannuated policemen, mostly able-bodied men. There are besides a thousand or more of a local force in Dublin, so that Ireland is the most police-governed country in the world. It was not the country's needs that called for this plethora of police, but the policy of England. This fact is admitted in the payment of half the cost of the force by the imperial government.

Now, the motive of maintaining this huge police force is quite evident. It is merely to keep up the pretence of constitutional government by calling it a civil force. But it is really a military force, inasmuch as its members receive a military training and go on duty every day with a military equipment. Behind this huge force there is the standing army of the military establishment, ranging normally from twenty-six thousand to thirty thousand men. So that Ireland is still, after a century of so-called union with England, held under military rule, a country at all times in a state of siege.

Let us turn aside for a moment to contrast this state of affairs with that which we find in Scotland. There the military garrisons do not usually exceed three thousand, and the police is entirely a matter for local adjustment. It does not require any preternatural sagacity to discover, looking at these facts, that Scotland is allowed to share the full benefits of the British Constitution, because the people are satisfied with British rule, while the Irish see no particular reason to love it. The Irish cling to their old faith and their national tradition, while the Scotch have fallen in with what they consider the inevitable.

A similar rule of overmanning prevails in the other branches of the public service in Ireland. The judiciary is much beyond what the public requirements demand. The salaries of the higher judges are enormous. To the lord chancellor a yearly stipend of eight thousand pounds is paid, and the policy with regard to pen-



sions is decidedly liberal. Each retiring lord chancellor receives a yearly salary of four thousand pounds, and, as these officials go out with the government, there have been as many as three of them at the same time on the pension list. Viceroy is paid twenty-five thousand pounds per annum, with a palatial residence thrown in. The chief secretaries are likewise liberally provided for at the public expense.

Besides this frightful load of imperial taxation, the country has to bear a heavy burden of local charges, and this is where the pretence that Ireland is treated as an integral part of the kingdom disappears. Last year the English and Scotch farmers received, under the provisions of the Agricultural Rating Act, grants in relief, from the imperial treasury, amounting to more than a million and a half pounds. Ireland was excluded from the benefits of that statute. This is a most important feature in the consideration of the whole question. It sweeps away the flimsy pretence that no difference exists between the two countries in fiscal matters. Although the respective exchequers of the two nations have been amalgamated for governmental purposes, the two peoples are totally distinct as taxable communities.

A simple statement of the actual fact as regards money matters might appear to put this whole question into a nutshell.

Previous to the Union the tax per head for national purposes in Ireland was nine shillings. Since the Union the Irishman's contribution has been gradually augmented, till it now stands at forty-nine shillings. Local rates in England have got great help from the Imperial exchequer. In Ireland they have received no such help. In England the gross taxation, imperial and local, does not amount to much more than half per head of what the Irishman is called upon to bear; and it has been shown by Sir Robert Giffen that the wealth of England stands in comparison to that of Ireland as twenty-two to one.

It is at this point that we are called upon to pause and reflect upon the fallacy of mere figures when they appear to be leading us to a certain line of deduction. As there is no chain stronger than its weakest link, so the power of a people to bear taxation can never be measured from its lowest point upward. The square of its minimum, in an ascending scale, would appear, rather, to be the just scale of measurement. The man who is taxed to his last dollar of revenue has no plank between him and ruin, in case of ordinary mischance, while the man with a comfortable balance to his credit, taxed only in the same ratio on his income, is subject to no hardship whatever. This is precisely the case with regard to the Irishman and the Englishman. After allowing the very modest sum of twelve pounds yearly for the maintenance of

each individual in Ireland, the total income of Ireland is seen to be taxed down to the narrow margin of one-fifth of the whole. On the other four-fifths the taxpayers are mulcted to the last farthing. In England, on the other hand, only one-ninth of the surplus income is called upon to contribute to the public purse. This is the ratio fixed by Sir Robert Giffen's evidence. On the average well-to-do man in England, therefore, there is not, strictly speaking, any real pressure of taxation, while in Ireland the screw is more crushing and remorseless than that of the Turkish tax-farmers in Armenia.

It was this view of the case which mainly led Sir James Caird, a few years ago, to declare that from a vast majority of the small farms in Ireland economic rent had entirely disappeared. Is there any reason to conclude that the situation has altered for the better since this impartial witness made that startling declaration? Unhappily, the facts all prove that the very contrary is the case. The population has decreased by at least a quarter of a million since he made the statement, and it needs no political economist to prove that the loss of population means loss of so much national wealth. It is safe to estimate the money loss to Ireland at a hundred pounds per individual. Therefore the country has lost twenty-five million pounds in money since Sir James Caird published that memorable statement in the London "Times."

Nor is this all. One of the most melancholy features of the annual agricultural returns for Ireland is the steady increase in the quantity of land going out of cultivation. Thousands of acres disappear every year and become weed-grown common or desolate moorland. Under the silent operation of a withering peace the same results are being wrought in Ireland as in Gaul on the downfall of the Roman power. The country is fast relapsing into a state of nature. It sounds startling, but it is none the less true, that the yearly decline of crops, taken at an average, resulted in a money loss to the country of twenty-four million pounds (a hundred and twenty million dollars) for the past forty years. This is neither guess-work nor romance, but the cold calculation of statisticians given before the Royal Commission. What is the world to think of the policy which works in such a groove as this? Are they statesmen who pursue it, or are they persons of ordinary common-sense?

It may be well to look a little further into this branch of the examination in order to satisfy ourselves of the actuality of the thing and note how the ruin has been brought about. According to the tables produced for the purposes of the Royal Commission the average yearly production of wheat has fallen since 1850 from 5.7 to 1.2 million cwts.; of oats from 30.6 to 18.3 million cwts.;



turnips, potatoes and other crops have fallen off in a similar proportion. It has been contended that this immense decline has been compensated for by a large increase in the number and value of live stock, but the statistics show that the political economist who argues this way is wrong, inasmuch as the total value of live stock in Ireland is at present lower than it was in 1869.

Thus we see three forces conjointly working toward the shrinkage and decay of Ireland. In the first place, a large and steady loss of population; in the next, a decrease in the cultivated area in proportional ratio to this diminution; and in the third, a huge addition to the burdens of those who are left in the island. It is an axiom of statecraft that a fool can govern in a state of siege. Practically this is the only sort of government which Ireland has had since the time of the Union, and her condition now is one upon which her rulers may well ponder. What will be the verdict of posterity upon their intellectual claims when the truth about the nineteenth century comes to be written? Ireland and India will be found branded on the escutcheon of England in characters of fire, a stigma of lasting discredit and a record of combined heartlessness and incompetency.

There is much more in this downfall of Ireland as an accusation against the ruling power than appears from a study of the mere statistics of her decline. One has to examine the question from the point of view of Ireland's natural capabilities. Gifted with a soil the most fertile and a climate the most mild, the natural products of the country are normally abundant enough for a population of double the number it ever attained. But owing to the false economical system enforced by alien rule, those natural products are diverted from their proper use, the maintenance of the inhabitants, and shipped to foreign countries, while the remnant of the agricultural population left in the island are compelled to live, for the most part, on Indian meal, potatoes and non-nutritive diet generally. It is asserted by social economists of authority that the soil of Ireland is capable of supporting sixteen millions of inhabitants in comfort, and in an admirable work by the late Sir Robert Kane, on the "Material Resources of Ireland," the means by which a population of at least twelve millions could find employment and support by the development of the mineral and other industrial resources and the reclamation of the five or six million acres of waste lands are scientifically exhibited. Not a single step has been taken since the work was published, fifty years ago, to give effect to any of its recommendations.

To-day Ireland "is more dependent on agriculture than it was a hundred years ago; its wealth is less; its population no greater." This is the conclusion of one of the Royal Commissioners after a



survey of the facts disclosed by the fiscal and statistical evidence produced before the commission. What a commentary on the roseate picture painted in the promises of Pitt and the menaces of Lord Clare a hundred years ago! Terse and terrible in meaning as the summing up is, it might be easily intensified. If the proposition were put in this way—for the latter half of this hundred years the population has fallen away one-half, or very nearly, while the annual taxation has had five millions (twenty-five millions of dollars) added to its amount, or, in other words, doubled, which means to the halved population quadrupled—if these were the terms in which the equation were stated—which is, indeed, only the statement of the literal fact—who could fail to realize in some measure the dreadful significance of the summary to a miserable population? Nor, of a verity, is there any real knowledge of the working of this vast mechanism of misery to be had until we search below the cold figures and tables and sift the *viva voce* evidence of the officials of the Local Government Board. Those officials are, by the nature of their duties, made familiar with the material circumstances of the people of each locality. They examine the accounts of the 159 poor-law unions, go through the work-houses, speak to the inmates, and make a close study of both the cause and effect of pauperism on its own ground and in the most practical way.

There is another board which dives deeper still into the workings of all the agencies of impoverishment, and patiently tracks their operation among not merely the families of the poor, but the very individuals of each family. This is known as the Congested Districts Board, and its chief official is a man who has gained universal respect for his humane and sympathetic disposition and conscientious discharge of a most trying and delicate function, a gentleman named Micks. His evidence is perhaps the most important of any taken before the Royal Commission, for it was founded on the most painstaking investigation and actual personal knowledge of the facts which he brought forward. Its chief value is in the answer it furnishes to the shallow taunt of the ignorant commentator, that excessive indulgence in strong drink is the cause of the Irishman's impoverishment.

As there has been, as we have seen, a deliberate attempt to prejudice the general mind on this subject, by misstating the real issue, it is well to take up the charge here, and once for all dispose of it by a simple statement of the facts. In the area dealt with by the Congested Districts Board is contained one-sixth of the whole extent of Ireland, and on this sterile soil a population of five hundred and fifty thousand persons vegetate—for they can hardly in truth be said to live. The depths of poverty here

sounded have no parallel, possibly, in any other part of the world where civilized rule is supposed to exist. And yet this area does not contain the worst: there are tracts outside in which the misery is deeper, and these are shut out from the operations of this Board, whose function is partial relief, by reason of the population not forming twenty per cent. of that of the whole country, as the Act of Parliament, which is its authority, requires. Careful returns have been obtained from each family within the society's supervision, and these show the incomes upon which the people are forced to subsist. The highest income was twenty-eight pounds (a hundred and forty dollars) a year; the lowest, eight pounds (forty dollars). The average number of the family is five and a half. Let any one picture, if it be possible, a family of five persons—perhaps six—living on a weekly income of about seventy-five cents per week, and then consider the charge advanced against these people, of being extravagant in drink expenditure! Wretched as these incomes are, the machinery of taxation is fine enough to embrace them in its clutches. On an income of eleven pounds per annum, the direct taxation reached to one-fourth of the outlay for necessities, chiefly on tea and tobacco. On the highest income taken by Mr. Micks, namely, twenty-eight pounds, six pounds five shillings went to the revenue treasury by the same means.

Mr. Micks's testimony on this point is emphatic. He never, he said, saw any sign of drinking or drink in any of the houses; in Donegal, he added, where the congested districts mostly lie, most of the people are abstainers. Here, then, we have more than half a million of the Irish population ascertained to be guiltless of the charge of wasting their substance on drink. Nor is the stratum immediately above that embraced in Mr. Micks's survey open, as a rule, to the same imputation. The small farmer and laborer are too poor to afford alcoholic drink. Perhaps, when the farmer goes to market on a Saturday, he may indulge in a pint of porter or two, or a glass of whiskey, but for the rest of the week he is practically a teetotaler. This is the rule; and the statement is made as the result of large personal observation. Now let us see what is the amount of drink actually consumed, and who are the classes who consume it.

In the fiscal year 1893-94 the total revenue derived from spirits, wine, beer and tobacco in Ireland was £4,848,489. This sum looks large, but let us examine how it is made up. The duty on spirits ranges from ten shillings to twelve shillings per gallon, according to strength. One can buy in the distillery the best quality of spirits for seven shillings a gallon, but before he can remove it from the bonded store its cost will be over twenty shillings, the

difference between its market price and the gross cost representing the government's desire to check intemperance and pay its soldiers and all the paraphernalia of state. A careful analysis of the returns shows that the whole consumption of spirits in the country in the year selected, which is a fairly typical one, did not amount to more than one gallon per head in the whole twelve months. If one-eighth of the whole population were to consist of moderate drinkers, imbibing each one glass per day, they would consume the whole amount, leaving seven-eighths compulsory or voluntary abstainers. This is the whole case for Ireland's drunkenness put into a nutshell. It is no guess-work, but the result of the most careful analysis of returns which neither conceal nor exaggerate, being simply recording instruments. Where, then, is the case against Ireland? Where are the proofs of those who so recklessly make it?

In Scotland, as in Ireland, the national beverage is spirits, and the consumption in Scotland, head for head, is double that of Ireland. Yet no one pillories the Scottish population before the world as a bibulous crowd. The Englishman's taste is for beer, and of this he drinks at the rate of thirty-seven gallons per head, infant and adult, in the year. The duty on a gallon of beer is only two pence, as compared with the duty of from ten to eleven shillings on whiskey. Had the duty been arranged on the scale of alcoholic strength in the respective liquors, rather than on the form of alcoholic media, proportionately to the Irish impost, the Englishman's contribution would be a shilling per gallon instead of two pence.

The consumers of spirits, then, in Ireland are the wealthier classes and the denizens of the cities and towns—the working population generally. As we have seen, the ratio of liquor to the population is so small throughout the whole year that a few score hard drinkers, tipping incessantly in the principal places, must be able to account for the whole consumption. The Englishman consumes, on the average, as much spirits as the Irishman, besides these thirty gallons of beer as compared with the Irishman's sixteen gallons, while his consumption of wine, as compared with the Irishman's, is in the ratio of 8 to 5. In considering these significant facts, it must also be borne in mind that the average Englishman is the best-fed man in the world. The abundance of animal food with which he is supplied renders his resort to stimulants inexcusable. The mass of the Irish people, on the contrary, are the worst fed and worst housed of any population in the world. A vast number live on potatoes, meal and skim milk all the year round, and only a small proportion can afford a meat dinner once in the week. Laboring in the fields, and exposed most of the time



to the severity of a proverbially moist and inclement atmosphere, the Irishman's temptations to resort to stimulants are much more powerful than those of his English neighbor.

No doubt there are ethical sides to this element in the problem which admit of no reasoning by analogy or comparison. The lamented Father Mathew would not, in all probability, admit any such plea in the ardor of his crusade against alcohol. But there are ethics in politics as well as in sumptuary habits. If we find a man addicted to the use of an immoderate quantity of intoxicating drink, are we justified in turning that melancholy fact to our own advantage or his ruin? By no sort of casuistry can we ever persuade ourselves that to rob a drunkard is a pardonable breach of the moral law. At the outset it was alleged that concern for the people's moral welfare impelled the imposition of a high rate of duty as a deterrent measure, but experience proved that it did not so operate. Then the tax was made higher and higher as successive budgets demanded additional sums from the people, so that it is impossible to escape the conviction that it was the case of getting the money rather than the moral scruple which prompted the enormous increase.

In the new inquiry which has been suggested by the government, it was intimated that the investigation of accounts should have a wider scope than that of the recent commission. To assent to this alteration by silence, as the Irish representatives appear to have done, was an egregious tactical mistake. Scotland, which was suggested as also having financial complaints, stands on an altogether different footing from Ireland. The question is one absolutely between the two high contracting parties; Scotland has her own set of books and her own special minister in Parliament to look after her interests, and the imperial policy towards her people, since the union of the two Parliaments in 1702, has been the very antithesis of that adopted toward the people of Ireland. Full equality in political matters, absolute impartiality in religious affairs, generosity in the promotion of national industries, respectful regard for national sentiment and tradition, have been the steady characteristics of English policy toward the people north of the Tweed ever since that time. There is no *locus standi* for Scotland in this controversy, and the intrusion of her claim could have no other purpose than that of embarrassing the previous question. But indeed the action of the government as to the whole transaction has been illogical and evasive. It is plainly a disingenuous after-thought to throw doubts upon the impartiality of the commission by suggesting that the majority of its members were supporters of Home Rule. No matter what their predilections were, their findings were based

upon the evidence of witnesses who could never be suspected of any desire to favor the Irish claims. These witnesses included one of the greatest living authorities on statistics and applied political economy, Sir Robert Giffen; an English official, the Assistant Secretary of the Treasury, Sir Edward Hamilton, who supervises the ledger of the whole United Kingdom; Sir Alfred Milner, Chairman of the Board of Inland Revenue; Mr. Murray, Chairman of the Board of Customs; Mr. Pittar, principal of the Statistical Office of the Board of Customs; all of whom dealt exhaustively in their evidence with the great salient facts of international account involved in the inquiry. Besides these English officials there were examined a large number of witnesses connected, under the wing of Dublin Castle, with the financial details of Irish government, so that the great bulk of the testimony given before this commission might in the aggregate be regarded as in no sense friendly to the intent of the investigation, save in so far as it related to a true discovery and a just balancing of accounts. Fifteen out of eighteen chief witnesses examined were paid servants of the Crown, the statements they gave were sifted and analyzed by the most painstaking process of examination, and in every case their perfect accuracy was demonstrated in the most unimpeachable way. Neither commissioners nor witnesses suffered themselves to be diverted from the one point which they knew to be the pith of the whole inquiry—namely, how much per head of the population was charged by the government in Ireland, and what proportion this tax bears to the assessment in Great Britain; for this, though not the kernel of the question for Ireland, was the substantial criterion of the manner in which the weightier partner had carried out her part of the Union compact. By what means it is contemplated to neutralize or modify the conclusions based upon the testimony of such a body of witnesses as these no plain mind can surmise. They have covered all the ground legitimately within the ambit of the inquiry, and the evidence is part of the official record of the Victorian Kalends. So far as it extends, it is the last word that can be said upon the case, and in statistical matters the audience never calls for an *encore*.

There are directions in which the scope of the inquiry might, however, be properly extended, if the Irish representatives make an effective effort in Parliament to that end. Not merely the letter of the fiscal relations between the two countries may be put under the microscope, but the spirit in which the provisions of the Union bargain have been observed ought to be taken up and rigidly scrutinized. For instance, why has that decennial revision of the accounts undertaken by Pitt never been carried out? or why those special abatements, which were also provided for in the Act of



Union to meet cases of distress or inability to pay in Ireland, never been attempted? Why, instead of abatement, has there been a piling on of taxes, decade after decade, in utter defiance of those solemn stipulations, and a deaf ear always turned to Ireland's remonstrances? Why, despite the express stipulation about the income tax, was that odious tax extended to Ireland, fifty years after the Union, without a word of excuse for such flagrant pledge-breaking? Why, when it was found that the operation of free trade, which Great Britain had deliberately adopted as an imperial policy, had ruined the whole body of Irish agriculturists, was no abatement made in Irish taxation, and no special legislation to meet her exceptional needs attempted? This certainly was the time for the exemptions and abatements promised at the Union to be allowed, if ever. But, instead of exemption and abatement, this was the period which marks the beginning of an iniquitous system of so-called fiscal reorganization, originating with Mr. Gladstone, under which the whole taxation of Ireland was raised, by a succession of frightful bounds, as much as 58 per cent., and the contribution for imperial purposes, which stood at thirteen million dollars per annum in 1850, by 1860 had been, not slowly, but nearly suddenly, forced up to twenty-seven millions, or an increase of 106 per cent. There is no valid reason why the inquiry should not extend into these amazing facts, nor why it should not go even further back than the middle of the century. A most important Parliamentary paper was issued, for instance, in 1833, showing the remittances of money from the Irish to the British exchequer, and *vice versa*, from 1793 to 1833. By this it is shown that during those forty years Ireland had sent over to England a sum amounting to close upon a hundred million dollars, as imperial contribution, and had received back as expenditure for imperial purposes only forty-one millions. The contention of the London "Times" and the government now is that if Ireland does pay more than her fair proportion of taxation she receives the money back in payment of public expenditure, and that the country, so far from being a benefit financially to Great Britain, is a positive loss. In face of the facts disclosed before the Royal Commission, it requires courage to do this; but it can hardly be said that the courage is of the order which compels admiration.

It is particularly unfortunate that Mr. Gladstone should be *hors de combat* at this phase of the quarrel between England and Ireland. In his prime he was one of the greatest masters of finance that ever held the portfolio of Chancellor of the Exchequer; but he seemed to have lost much of his old facility in figures when he came to draft his scheme of Home Rule for Ireland. It was out of the objections taken to the financial branch of that scheme that



the late Royal Commission originated, as Mr. Gladstone found, on closer examination, that a mistake had been made in the revenue returns which involved a loss of millions to Ireland. The aged statesman did not desire to proceed with the financial proposals until that mistake had been cleared up. The present heads of the administration have had the blunder cleared up and the injustice exposed, and they persist in perpetuating it. Herein we see the difference between Lord Salisbury and Mr. Gladstone. It is but just, however, to the rank and file of the Tory party to recognize the fact that this moral obtuseness does not represent the general condition of mind on the subject, for there has been no warmer advocate for redress to Ireland than the late Solicitor-General, Sir Edward Clarke. The Irish members of the Tory party are almost to a man at odds with the government on the subject, and many of them have made speeches on public platforms which, in the mouths of Irish Nationalists, would have invited the attention of the public prosecutor.

In the face of an injustice so flagrant, and an agitation so grave, it is difficult to believe that any British Ministry would have the cynical hardihood to deny redress. Only by going back to historical precedents can we convince ourselves that the attitude of Mr. Balfour on this subject reflects not merely his own cynical turn of mind, but the conscience of English Toryism on questions of simple honesty in commercial dealing. Mr. Balfour cannot destroy the Seventh Commandment with a sneer. If he had any respect for his own ingenuousness he would have hesitated to use so palpable a sophism as that the Irish could settle the question by abstaining from the consumption of the articles which furnished the revenue. On this point he was answered very effectively by Mr. Morley, who challenged him to put his theory into operation in England by proposing an additional duty on beer. Nor was there any greater force in his second contention, which relied on the exemption of Ireland from some forms of taxation imposed in England, such as land-tax, house-tax, and carriage-tax. It is astounding, indeed, that so acute a logician as he usually is, when he wishes, could fail to perceive that this line of argument is at right-angles with his own major premiss seeking to show the impossibility of regarding the countries as separate territory for fiscal purposes. It would require the cheerful hardihood of a Disraeli to maintain such a proposition in the teeth of that recent remarkable piece of differential legislation, the Agricultural Rating Act; but even before its enactment, the discrimination had been established in a score of cases connected more or less with the question of local government. It is idle to contend, as Mr. Balfour did, that England spends more in Ireland than she takes in the shape of

imperial taxation. The statement will not bear the test of analysis; but even if it were strictly true, it is false in constitutional law, inasmuch as the excessive expenditure is made in pursuance of a policy of repression and in open defiance of the terms of what is regarded by the advocates of the Union as a solemn and binding international instrument.

Can it be, after all, that Englishmen of the official Tory type are deficient in moral sensibility, when we find them thus standing up to defend conduct which in other spheres of life brands the perpetrators as criminals and earns penal purgation? Here we behold the country which boasts of being the foremost, the richest, the most magnificent of modern empires convicted of mercilessly fleecing, in defiance of her own engagements, an unhappy sister country rendered the poorest in all the world by the downright misgovernment of the stronger partner, and, when the crime is proved home, evincing neither shame nor the grace to mend, but stoutly maintaining that the injustice must go on.

There are certain classes of public wrong which involve the statesmen who uphold them in no personal moral guilt; but in this case the taint of personal identification with dishonesty comes perilously close to every member of the government and every member of the party which persists in the maintenance of that enormous wrong which has been brought home to their doors. Every individual of the English nation benefits financially, directly or indirectly, by the imposition of an unjust burden on Ireland. Ireland is compelled to spend money she has no right or desire to spend, and Englishmen's pockets are saved exactly so much as Ireland is thus obliged to disgorge above and beyond her fair proportion and outside her bargain. Was any spectacle ever so ignoble as that of a rich and powerful autocrat compelling a poverty-stricken and feeble neighbor to feed him and pay his bills? There is not an iota of exaggeration in the simile; it is literally true if we only extend it from the individual to the aggregation.

When the Liberal-Unionist party was first formed, the ideal which it placed before its mind's eye was to secure for Ireland every advantage which Home Rule could be supposed to bring to that country short of the vital one of placing her affairs within her own management. To this end it was decided by that party that co-operation with the Tories was not outside the pale of legitimate party action. By this time they have been taught the lesson that there is no immunity from punishment for the political crime and dishonor of compounding with one's own conscience. The Tories, secure in their brute majority, do not feel bound to show any gratitude for past services. They do not feel it imperative to assist the Liberal-Unionists in proving that their Irish policy was sincere.



Those Liberal-Unionists who represent Irish constituencies are now in a very unenviable position. They are unable to justify their former opposition to Home Rule, by the only tangible reason they could adduce for opposing it, *i.e.*, the material benefit of the English connection. With the balance altogether on the other side of the account, their reason for political existence has disappeared. They can no longer be regarded as representing anything, and are of no more weight, morally speaking, than so many disembodied spirits. Unless they repent and throw themselves heartily into the Home Rule movement, the period of their political extinction resolves itself into a matter of elementary arithmetic.

Men like Mr. T. W. Russell, who have deluded themselves or sought to delude others into the belief that a large extension of local government, or a system of county councils, would suffice to satisfy the legitimate needs of Ireland, cannot have studied such weighty problems as they deserve. How can it ever be conceived that the best system of county councils that the wisest heads could devise would be able to co-operate for the general good, as a central Parliament must, while their principle rested on the county limit? Local interests must, from the very nature of such assemblies, be the guiding motive in all legislation. How could it be possible, with such a system, to undertake any work of national utility? A convincing proof of the superiority of a national Parliament to any system of lesser authority is found in the eighteen years from 1782 to 1800, when the Irish Parliament was acting unhampered by the London government. During that period, brief as it was, the commerce of the country was placed upon an assured basis of prosperity, its manufactures were fostered, its interests promoted as they never were before. It was before the days of steam communication, but the enlightened spirit of the age is still seen in the splendid system of canals which were then constructed for the transportation of the produce of the inland towns and fields to the different ports. Toward the expense of this water-way the Parliament voted a national contribution of three hundred thousand pounds. Had there only been a system of county councils, such a work, it is perhaps superfluous to say, never could have been carried out, owing to local unwillingness to contribute to the general expense.

Here, then, is the position as between Great Britain and Ireland, after nearly a century of nominal union. The Parliamentary union is maintained, but the union of interests, Mr. Pitt's reason for the amalgamation, is ostentatiously repudiated. Mr. Pitt specifically provided that special consideration should be shown for the financial disabilities of the poorer country, and set up safeguards in the



Act of Union to that end. Lord Salisbury insists that the very opposite principle must continue to guide English ministers. The reference of the subject to another commission is a flagitious make-shift for delay. It transforms what had hitherto been regarded as merely obstinate persistence in an erroneous equation into what might be regarded as an act of deliberate fraud. Strong confirmation to this invidious view of the case is afforded by the action of the leader of the House of Commons, Mr. Arthur J. Balfour, with reference to the opportunity for discussion which was promised the Irish representatives on the subject of the new commission. By one of those Parliamentary technicalities which are so convenient for the purposes of evasion, he contrived to jockey Mr. Dillon when he rose to press for a fulfilment of the undertaking. Legislative legerdemain is a sorry substitute for statesmanship, and no one but a politician who knows he has no case to defend would resort to it. For the moment it may be successful, but it will be against all the facts of reference if a shabby policy of this kind shall ultimately prevail. The claim of Ireland is irresistible, and the united opinion of the injured country is a force against which no adroitness in Parliamentary forms can hope to stand for long.

JOHN J. O'SHEA.

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# THE TRAPPISTS IN ALGERIA.

"**M**ADAGASCAR is declared a French possession." So runs the news of the day; while month by month we, dwellers in its conqueror's country, have noted with somewhat listless interest the daily note of triumph swell louder and deeper in journal and review.

It is a rich and fertile, though uncultivated, country, and its new lords are now busy enumerating the various products which may successfully enrich French coffers from this latest "colony" under their protectorate. Coffee, rice, cotton, vanilla and other tropical products are expected to flourish; but who or what company or administration may be called on to make the yet uncultured wilds fruitful?

A letter, lately made public, from the pen of M. Laroche, the *Protestant* (French) Resident-General of Madagascar, gives official answer to our question:

"M. L'ABBÉ DE LA TRAPPE À STAOUËLI.

*Monsieur l'Abbé:* As a former Prefect in Algeria, I have retained a lively recollection of the virtues of the Trappists. I have seen with my own eyes the example which they set, their work, the magnificent domain which they have created, the sympathy which, by their hospitality and their good deeds, they have attracted to themselves from every one who comes in contact with them.

"Charged as I am with the great mission of founding a French colony at Madagascar, I want some chosen allies like the Trappists to help me to fulfil this object.

"Would you, therefore, be disposed to send a few of your Fathers to this distant isle? I am ready, for my part, to allot to them whatever concession of land they may wish to have, to look out for whatever is best for them, and to offer them—to guarantee, in a word—the most absolute security, authorizing them to count upon very cordial and special protection from the Resident-General. We will also give them the privilege of free transport from Europe to their projected establishment in Madagascar. The Trappists will, should they accept this proposition, render a special service to the new colony and to civilization in general, and will co-operate in the first ranks of the moral and pacific conquest of a country of which we are, as yet, only military conquerors. Trusting to receive a favorable answer, I beg you to accept, M. l'Abbé, the expression of my high consideration.

"HIPPOLYTE LAROCHE."

Commenting on this letter, a French journalist writes in the "*Gaulois*" that

"as new parts of France come into being, the republicans themselves bow before the conditions which helped to give birth to France itself, and the self-same government which seeks to exterminate these congregations on the one hand finds nothing better than they to present to barbarians as specimens of French civilization on the other."

The spectacle is, in truth, sufficiently absurd, were it not so unutterably sad; but let us pass for a moment to examine what are the marvels of work and life before which a French Protestant Republican official, in 1896, cannot refrain from a cry of admiration and veneration.

It is no uncommon occurrence in any Catholic country for the hard-worked parish priest or overstrained missionary to seek a brief mental rest and spiritual refreshment at some one of the Trappist monasteries which are scattered here and there over each land—true oases of faith and sanctity in the midst of much coldness of heart and evil in this our day. And so, when a certain country curé, or rector, as English-speaking communities would probably entitle him, proposed to one of his confrères and neighbors, at the end of a very successful mission which the latter had just held in his parish, that they should spend together a few days in retreat at La Trappe d'Aiguebelle, the proposition was accepted willingly, but without the least suspicion of ulterior results—of that long train of auspicious events—the grand apostolate in the future, whence generations yet unborn shall reap the fruit, which God was preparing in a career of which this excursion was the first and initiatory step.

The two priests—they were called l'Abbé Rouanet, Curé of Saïx, and l'Abbé de Martrin, Curé of Tels, in the department of Tarn, and archdiocese of Albi, better known to the historian of the past as the fair and minstrel-haunted province of Languedoc—seem to have made their pilgrimage by diligence; for they journeyed three days and nights without resting ere arriving at Pierrelatte, the nearest village to the far-famed monastery of Aiguebelle. From Pierrelatte the two priests, on pilgrim ways bent, proceeded with some difficulty on foot, bribing a village youth to serve as their guide. They arrived at midnight at the abbey gates, and, tired though he was after his long journey, one of them, the young Abbé de Martrin, betook himself straight to the great dim church to assist, from the visitor's tribune, at the monastic night office. This is always a very striking scene, and is thus described by an American visitor to one of the Trappist monasteries:

"Two o'clock in the morning is the general hour for rising. On Sundays, however, when Matins are sung instead of being merely recited, they rise at one, and on special feasts, called 'doubles,' when the office is unusually long, they rise at midnight, and are then, it must be remembered, up for the day. As the monks sleep in the habit worn during the day, their toilet does not occupy much time, and at five minutes after the ringing of the bell every monk is in his place in the chapel ready to commence the office. And here let me say that this sleeping in their habits is one of their severest penances. The guest-master, who had been forty-six years in the order, told me that it was the only rule he could never grow accustomed to. The Trappists, before each portion of the canonical office, recite the corresponding portion of the



'Little Office of the Blessed Virgin,' and their first duty on going to the chapel in the morning is to recite the Matins and Lauds of the latter. This occupies half an hour, and is followed by half an hour of silent meditation. The monks are obliged by their rule to commit to memory the 'Little Office,' and also all portions of the canonical office of frequent recurrence, and to recite or sing them without lights. The chapel is, therefore, for the first hour in darkness, broken only by the flicker of the tiny flame that tells of the presence of Him to whom they speak. Nothing can be imagined so weird and at the same time so devotional and impressive as this scene. The dim chapel, the altar-lamps, serving only to accentuate the darkness; the ghostly white-robed figures, with their graceful folds of drapery scarcely visible in the surrounding gloom, and through it all the plaintive yet ardent voice of most devout supplication, combine to produce an impression not easily effaced."

The arrival of our visitors falling on the Eve of the Assumption, the office began, of course, at midnight, the feast being one of the "doubles" referred to above. Later on in the same day, a still more striking ceremony took place—the clothing of those novices who had come here to die to the world. One, an officer, knelt before the altar in all the splendor of epaulette and sword, gold lace and braid, his numerous decorations marking him as no neophyte in this world's honors; then, all these gay trappings laid aside, their wearer took his place among the brethren clothed in the rough white garb and with the shaven head of the novice, while, during the High Mass which followed, a priest, well known to our two visitors as one of the most highly esteemed in their own circle of acquaintances, pronounced his final vows as a professed monk.

That same evening, as the Abbot was resting in his cell, after a somewhat fatiguing day, a knock came at his door. It was the young Abbé de Martrin.

"What! you here?" was his joyous exclamation, as, rising to receive his visitor, he beheld the youthful curé. The recognition and delight were mutual, for the Abbot's head being now uncovered, his visitor recognized in him, too, a former fellow-priest and friend, for some time past dead to his acquaintances and to all the world. "You here?" cried Dom Orsise, holding out both hands in cordial greeting.

"Even so, and I believe that God has led me to Aiguebelle to take up my abode here forever!"

"Assuredly!" replied his friend; and then and there the necessary preliminaries were arranged. Léon de Martrin received permission to enter the community on probation the next day, with the hope of being clothed a few days later.

"I have to announce to you," he remarked gaily to his travelling companion during the day, "that I am going to take up my abode here. Continue your retreat by yourself, and return to Albi afterwards. I am not going back."

The abbé Rouanet took this for a joke, as, indeed, it must have sounded from the lips of the lively young curé; but by-and-by the latter repeated his resolve in all sober earnestness. "To-morrow I shall enter the community on trial, and if you just wait here for ten days longer, you will see me clothed in the white robe of a novice!"

And, in fact, next day, the very priest whose profession had so touched him, and who had at once been made novice-master, inaugurated his new dignity by receiving Léon de Martrin as his first new subject.

But we must pause for a moment at the door of the noviciate, to review, as doubtless he reviewed it with his new spiritual guide, the past life of our neophyte.

Léon de Martrin was the first son and second child of a family of ten sons and daughters born to M. and Madame Auguste de Martrin-Donos, a younger branch of the noble family of de Martrin, whose representative, dying childless, had called his cousin to continue the family estate and line in his stead. They were a pious, noble and highly respected family; the father, described as governing his large circle with a happy mingling of gravity and tenderness, "wielding the sceptre of paternal authority with justice and firmness, tempered by devoted care." Madame de Martrin was a mother such as the mothers of saints are not seldom found to be—wholly devoted to her children from their earliest infancy, when, contrary to the usual practice in French noble families, they drew their first sustenance from herself, lisped their first prayers at her knee and gathered their earliest learning from her gentle lips.

Every evening the childish heads were grouped round father and mother, beneath the one great lamp which hung suspended in the salon, and one or other of the children were bidden to read some saint's life aloud to close the day piously together. Almost as soon as little Léon could pronounce his words he, as the elder brother, was the one chosen for this duty, and he wrote of it to his father many years later thus:

"You never guessed, my dear parents, and you in particular, dear father, that it was you who gave me the first impulse towards monastic life. You remember that when I was very young, almost an infant, you set me, during the winter evenings, to read aloud the 'Lives of the Saints.' They were generally monks, hermits, anchorites and others, drawn from the principal saints. I seemed, doubtless, entirely occupied with efforts to read well and without making mistakes, so as not to be found fault with, but all the time my heart was drinking in what I read. I was picturing to myself those good monks at their exercises, and the happiness they reaped from them. God, who makes everything work together for His own ends, thus sowed in me the seeds of religious life, which, germinating within my heart, have brought me where I am now."

Few memories have been recorded of the childish days of Léon

de Martrin. He is described as having been a lively, independent, spirited, yet affectionate, boy, with a natural leaning towards devoting himself to the service of others, inherited or learned from his sweet mother. His biographer tells how, when Léon was about eight years old, a certain general was lunching with the family, during some military manœuvres which took place in the vicinity, and while the elders were at table, little Léon, child-like, found, and delightedly played with, a gun belonging to one of the party. He managed to discharge the gun, which was loaded, and thereby brought down upon himself the paternal wrath; on which, conducted in disgrace before the guest of the house, the good-natured soldier begged forgiveness for the bright-eyed scapegrace, and, struck by his brave bearing, cried: "We will make a general of him!" Some months afterwards the bishop, who had just bestowed on him the sacrament of confirmation, noting the boy's extraordinary piety, cried in like manner: "We will make a bishop of him!" and his biographer notes the double prophecy as foretelling his future career; Abbot in religion and general of a nobler army than that of any earthly country, the white-robed army of St. Bernard and St. Benedict, where the strength of his will, the indomitable energy of his disposition and the natural gaiety of his character, all were destined to serve and further the work for which he was prepared.

In 1827, at the age of nineteen, he entered the Grand Séminaire at Albi as a "philosopher." While here, the piety which he had always shown became yet more pronounced, and he became the centre and director, so to speak, of a little confraternity or sodality of his fellow-students. Their object was a sort of apostolate—the practice of penance and of giving good example to others. Often, if they heard of any special affliction fallen upon the Church, their youthful director would organize a quarantine of expiation, during which each of the associates took one day on which to offer himself as a victim in expiation to the Divine Justice, sometimes feeding on bread and water, or imposing upon himself some severe mortification. Léon de Martrin showed wonderful talent in governing his little congregation, in stimulating their zeal and in attracting reinforcements; so much so that before very long the whole college was penetrated with their spirit of penance. It was the beginning of a life-long apostolate. One day a missionary, seeking recruits for a near mission to the Oceanic isles, made an appeal for subjects, with the bishop's leave, to the young seminarists, and Léon de Martrin was among the first to give in his name as a candidate; but political events afterwards put an end to the whole undertaking, and Léon continued his preparations for the secular priesthood.

It would appear that while studying for orders, de Martrin was



continually haunted by a sense of some further vocation, some secret call from God, the precise nature of which he was wholly unable to fathom. Neither director nor friend being able to solve his difficulties or calm his uneasiness, he determined to remain as far as possible in an attitude of waiting, watching for some indication of the Will of God in his regard. In this frame of mind he received the Sacrament of Ordination on the 22d of December, 1832, at the hands of Mgr. d'Astros, Archbishop of Toulouse, his own diocesan being blind and unable to officiate, and his ordination vows were a promise to follow implicitly that divine and "kindly light" which is never invoked in vain.

In accordance with this attitude of passive waiting upon the divine guidance, his first step after ordination was to request one of his maternal uncles, who possessed a certain amount of influence and was prepared to use it on Léon's behalf, to make no effort whatever for that object. Entering M. Bermond's study one day, the young priest thus addressed his uncle: "Uncle, I have come to ask you a favor." Then, as the latter smiled assent, believing the favor asked to be some good living or other advantageous post, "I beg of you," he went on, "to ask nothing for me; God will provide something." His request was granted; those who would fain have exerted themselves in the matter remained passive, and the result was that three months later all his former companions were provided with curacies or other suitable posts, while he alone remained idle. At length he was named curate of a neighboring village, and entered for the first time on priestly work. It did not satisfy his soul, and ever the same thought haunted him, of some unknown and higher vocation. Often and often did he use his filial privilege, and, going over to Albi, would lay his doubts and fears before the archbishop, a sympathetic and kindly man, who seems to have at once taken a special fancy to his young priest, and tried his best to make him content with the "common task" of a country "vicar's" lot. "My son," he said to him one day, "you tell me nothing definite; all this is very vague."

"Monseigneur, if all was clear to me, I should have no need of guidance," answered the young priest gently.

At one time it seemed as though a light were to be thrown upon his path in life by a somewhat curious incident. As the young curate was seated at supper with his superior one evening, a carriage stopped at the door, and a tall, gaunt, commanding-looking figure, preceded by a man bearing a lantern, strode into the little dining-room, and saluted them gravely. "I am M. Paraudier, a missionary," he said. "I am on my way to Mazamet; the public coach, by which I go, is waiting for me outside. The archbishop

has placed at my disposal some of his priests to help me in conducting a mission which is to begin to-morrow. Monsieur le vicaire, you are to be one of them!"

He paused for a moment, then, without giving time for a reply, turned on his heel, and, adding, "It is decided, I shall await you!" he disappeared.

The retreat duly took place, and the young missionary's eloquence and burning words took such happy effect, that the Abbé Paraudier proposed taking him to Constantinople, an arrangement which Mgr. de Gualy, the archbishop of the diocese, appears to have vetoed, desiring, no doubt, to retain the services of the zealous young priest for his own diocese. After being transferred successively to two parishes which needed specially skilled and careful management, the Abbé de Martrin found himself placed in charge of the parish of Tels, not very far from his own home. Here the strange doubts and questionings which had ever haunted him returned with redoubled force, and no word which bishop or friend addressed to him brought any light to his troubled spirit. He made a retreat with the Jesuits at Toulouse, to gain light as to his vocation, but only this much was vouchsafed to him, that his retreat director, to whom he unfolded the tale of his secret trouble, remained silent and recollected for a moment, and then said:

"God has formed a design of which you are to be the principal instrument. He is preparing all that is necessary for the fulfilment of His intentions. When all is ready, He will present the work to the workmen. Meanwhile, remain in peace."

So the time came with which we have begun our story; an invitation from a friend to "come with me to La Trappe;" a village fête, held before the Feast of the Assumption, to which, as though summoned by some unseen guidance, all his family came—father, mother, sisters, brothers, to the number of seventeen, and then a sudden storm delaying their departure, so that the farewell leave-takings grew to have a taste of more than ordinary solemnity, as, leaving his mother in his place to entertain some lingering guests, the young curé quitted his presbytery for a few days—as he believed—and drove off to join his friend upon the road to Aiguebelle.

The Order, or rather Reform, known to us under the name of La Trappe, takes its rise from that most illustrious of all learned orders, the Order and Rule of St. Benedict, and is more directly derived from those Cistercians whose name will ever be associated for us with their learned and gentle founder, St. Bernard. The Order of Cîteaux was itself a reform; beginning with a little band of twenty-one religious, who, desiring greater austerity of life, quitted their monastery of Molesme and, plunging into the depths



of an almost impenetrable forest, near Dijon, essayed to live the life of the anchorites in earlier times, felling a few trees, and constructing therewith groups of rude huts to serve as dwelling places and chapel. They lived thus for some time without definite constitutions, following only in practice the Rule of St. Benedict, under the holy abbot, St. Robert, who had led them forth.

We learn that, at the beginning, the little community was sorely tried by sickness, calumny and persecution. Death so thinned their ranks that they seemed on the verge of extinction, while, to crown all, the Pope ordered St. Robert back to his former monastery of Molesmes, where his wise and prudent rule was much needed. Still the little community struggled on, and its second abbot, St. Alberic, gave them a constitution and a habit. Hitherto they had worn the black robe of the Benedictine, but now, out of love for Mary Immaculate, for whom he had a tender devotion, and even, as it is said, in consequence of a special revelation, St. Alberic clothed his monks in white, leaving only the black Benedictine scapular.

In 1109 an Englishman, St. Stephen Harding, became their third abbot, and with him began the true glory of their order; for one day as he knelt in prayer beneath the forest oaks, surrounded by his little band of monks, pale, emaciated, feeble of frame, yet, may we not guess, their faces lit with some supernatural radiance as they gathered courage and fervor from that spiritual communion with God which they had left all things to seek, as it were, in the desert, a little band of men, some thirty in number, were seen to approach. At their head walked a young man dressed in the rich garb of a noble of that period. Velvet and satin, gold chain and jewel, doubtless, were not wanting, nor waving plume, nor jewel-hilted sword; and St. Stephen watched them coming, with some strange inexplicable presentiment thrilling at his heart. He rose and welcomed the strangers; but they, falling at his feet, humbly prostrated themselves, and implored the favor of admission into this first Cistercian monastery. Their leader was no other than Bernard of Burgundy, afterwards the great St. Bernard.

He was one of seven children, six of whom were sons, and his mother, Alith, "not content to offer him to God as soon as he was born, as she did all her children, afterwards consecrated him to His service in the Church, as Hannah did Samuel, and from that day considered him as not belonging to her, but to God; and she took a special care of his education in hope that he would one day be worthy to serve at the altar." She was herself a woman of singular holiness; so much so that when she died the abbot of a neighboring monastery begged for her body and bore it away on



his own shoulders and those of his monks, to bury as "a most precious treasure."

From his earliest youth young Bernard's purity, recollectedness and fervor were marvellous, and he "made it his continual earnest prayer to God that He would never suffer him to sully his innocence by sin." So that when, at the age of twenty, he found himself his own master, his first impulse was to join the severe Cistercian order, already coming into renown as "a place where God was served with great fervor."

But he would not leave the world without drawing some with him to lead a life of perfection; and so eloquently did he plead his cause that first his uncle, a nobleman of great reputation as a swordsman; then Bartholomew and Andrew, his younger brothers; then Guy, the eldest, who was married and had two children (his wife consenting and becoming a nun herself); then Gerard, the second brother, "a captain of reputation and full of the world," besides many friends and kinsfolk, all accompanied Bernard to his retreat. We are told how, on the day appointed for their departure, Bernard and his brothers went to take their last farewell of their father and to beg his blessing, when, going out, they passed little Nivard, the youngest, at play with his companions, and Guy called out to him: "Adieu! my little brother Nivard; you will have all our estates and lands to yourself!" And the boy answered: "What! you then take heaven for your portion and leave me only earth? The division is too unequal!" They left him, but, not long after, he followed his brothers into the cloister; and their aged father afterwards sought the same refuge, received the habit from his saintly son, and died happily at Clairvaux.

Fifty years afterwards the order had so multiplied that it numbered five hundred abbeys or monasteries. A hundred years after there were eighteen hundred. The Abbey of Aiguebelle, with which we have to do, was founded in 1137, and flourished down to the time of the great revolution, when, like all similar institutions, it was for a time left desolate. Meanwhile, among the many hundreds which, as we have said, rose in quick succession during and after the lifetime of St. Bernard, was one, founded by a certain Count Rotrou, in a lonely valley, well wooded and watered by many streams, and called Notre Dame de La Trappe. It was an ordinary Cistercian monastery like the rest, and, like the rest, became relaxed; so that when its famous abbot, de Rancé, underwent his world-renowned conversion, its reformation and reorganization rendered it in the eyes of the world almost a new order, giving its name to all the other houses which followed their reformed rule.

The conversion of the Abbé de Rancé is one of those striking

events about which a whole web of romance and fictitious matter has been woven, so as to entirely obscure the abundantly interesting and romantic facts of the case. As every one knows, the story ran, not among writers of the present day alone, but even among those who were his contemporaries, that he was a young and worldly priest, who, given up to libertinage and vice, received a sudden shock, leading to his conversion, owing to his entering, after a short absence, the apartment of his mistress, the beautiful Duchesse de M——, finding not only her dead body, but her ghastly decapitated corpse, which the undertakers had thus mutilated to fit into too short a coffin. Some writers go on to hint pretty plainly that de Rancé's mind became somewhat unhinged, and that the Reform of La Trappe was the result of a morbid and gloomy, if not altogether diseased, imagination. Nothing could be farther from the truth. De Rancé was indeed one of those, unhappily too numerous, ecclesiastics who, forced by his father and family reasons to receive the tonsure at an early age (he was tonsured and a canon and prebendary of Notre Dame de Paris, and in the receipt of rich revenues as abbot-commendatory, or titular abbot of four monasteries of different orders, among which was La Trappe, *at the age of eleven years*), led a worldly and self-indulgent life up to the time of middle age; but it is, to say the least, doubtful whether the Duchesse de Monthagon, the mother of his playmates, and ten years older than himself, was even more than a congenial friend, in whose home he found a second home circle, and of whose reputation he was careful enough even to refuse to drive in the same carriage with her. During her last illness he was at her bedside, exhorting her to prepare for death, and procuring for her the last sacraments, and was only by chance absent at the moment of her death, having left the house to take a little repose.

The Duchesse de Monthagon died in 1657, and for six years afterwards a gradual transformation was taking place in the life of M. de Rancé, until at length, recognizing the divine call, he resolved to live in and reform one of the four monasteries of which he was already titular abbot, and chose that of La Trappe. Those who are conversant with the history of that period will readily understand how, though abbot-commendatory of La Trappe since his childhood, he had never before exercised any influence or authority in the place, or even set foot in it, and his first visit brought so violent a storm of resistance about him that his life was actually in danger, and he was forced, after taking the habit in another house, to pension off the more rebellious of the monks, and bring in a new body of men from one of the stricter Cistercian monasteries. Gradually, but perseveringly, did he and his new brethren shape



their lives in accord with the old traditions of ascetic severity which came from early Benedictine times. Rigorous fast, painful penance, strictest obedience and abundant prayer soon made La Trappe a model and a household word in the land. Travellers came, saw, were welcomed with antique hospitality, and departed to spread the tale; beggars swarmed thither to share and marvel at the coarse food and harsher discipline of men whom they had known to "fare sumptuously every day;" sinners and worldlings, touched by grace, went to La Trappe to learn how to amend their lives, or, special note of the Trappist Order, "to learn how to die." So, gradually only, the Cistercian brethren at Notre Dame de la Trappe became the Trappist monks.

At the Revolution of '98, when monasteries were dismantled and their inmates fled, the Trappists, like all other orders, were banished from their native land, and, led by their intrepid novice-master, Dom Augustin de Lestrange, a very remarkable man, almost a second de Rancé, they took refuge in Switzerland, where they founded a now celebrated house, that of Val Sainte, near Fribourg. At the Restoration they returned, bought and took possession of four of the ancient Cistercian abbeys, those of La Trappe, Aiguebelle, Bellefontaine and Melleray, which thus became the mother-houses of the modern order.

In the year 1834 a Papal decree united all the various "reformed" Cistercian monasteries under one head, and gave them the Abbot of La Grande Trappe as vicar-general; but as, since de Rancé's time, a second reform was carried out in some of the Cistercian houses under the name of the "new reform," while de Rancé's rule was termed the old, or first reform, this sole headship was found inadvisable, and a further ruling from Rome in 1847 gave each branch liberty and separate existence. The Trappists, however, in course of time, felt that the slight differences which divided them were scarcely such as to justify such subdivision, and the subject of our memoir, Pere Regis, did much, during his life in Rome, to promote the cause of unity. Finally, not long ago (in 1893), the Trappist order has again been united under one head, in the person of Dom Sebastian Wyart, a former Pontifical zouave and distinguished soldier and patriot, now vicar-general of the Reformed Cistercians in all their branches.

The stranger who visits any Trappist monastery at the present day may easily fancy himself transported to the times of St. Bernard, or even, perhaps, to those of St. Benedict; for there, more than in most monasteries under other rules, the ancient order and observances are still followed out in minutest detail. St. Benedict tells his monks to "*omnes supervenientes hospites tanquam Christus suscipiantur*" (receive all guests as though they were



Christ Himself); and lo! as the massive door opens to admit the visitor he is received by the porter on his knees, while two of the brethren prostrate themselves before *Christ in the person of the wayfarer*. Again, "vere monachi sunt si labore manuum suarum vivunt sicut patres nostri et apostoli" (they are true monks if they live by the work of their hands like the apostles); and forth come a train of brethren at sound of bell, robe tucked up and hood well over head, so that no vestige of the face can be recognized, to go their divers ways, one group to the fields, another to the farm, another to dig the ground, or hew wood, or wield the blacksmith's hammer; and all these avocations under the seal of that marvellous perpetual silence, which was, as it were, the keynote of de Rancé's Reform. Strange stories, indeed, are told of that silence in de Rancé's own time; how a basket-maker, having been employed to teach the brethren his trade, lived for three months among them without even being able to induce them to utter a single word. More than that, two masons, whose sons were among the lay-brethren, were permitted to work side by side with their sons for fifteen days, under the same strict observance of silence; and they afterwards related how edifyingly their sons had behaved, casting happy glances to heaven at the pious sentiments uttered by the two fathers during their conversations together, but showing by grave and displeased looks their disapproval of any lighter talk. Many a wayfarer, thus received and entertained in solemn silence, was so attracted thereby as to solicit admission into the order; and the voluntary submission of the brethren to what seems, in the eyes of the world, merely a hardship, was often carried by them to the extent of confessing, as a fault, the utterance of some involuntary cry in the presence of grave danger; as when a lay-brother, attacked and tossed by a bull, permitted himself to cry aloud for help, but accused himself afterwards, in Chapter, of grave infringement of the rule; while others were known to have incurred imminent danger of death rather than utter a word.

As in St. Bernard's time, too, the monks sleep little, and their couch is hard. A couple of planks or a truss of straw covered with sackcloth forms the material of rows of beds in a common dormitory, where, always habited and even shod, some of earth's noblest sons snatch brief repose, rising at midnight for a four hours' office of watch and prayer. For two-thirds of the entire year the Trappist monk fasts daily; his one repast at half-past two in winter, or four o'clock in Lent; and indeed his meagre repast of vegetables or fruits can scarce be called at any time a meal. "The life of a monk should be a perpetual Lent," so runs their rule; and though a little milk, or vegetables prepared with milk,

is allowed on feast days, the usual fare is meagre in the extreme. For the benefit of the curious on this head, we will transcribe more exactly de Rancé's own rule :

"Nothing shall be served in the refectory save vegetables, roots, herbs or milk food ; never any fish, meat, eggs, pastry or anything approaching them, even cream. By vegetables we mean lentils, peas, beans and haricots. By roots, carrots, beetroots, turnips, oyster-plant, citronilles (gourds) and artichokes. By milk food we mean soups, preparations of wheat, barley, rice or Indian corn. By herbs, lettuce, sorrel, spinach, and cabbage. No flavoring is to be added to improve them, nor any spice properly so called, but only scallion, onion and tarragon, and great moderation in these. Butter is never to be used ; it may be replaced by a few drops of milk, which are to be omitted during Lent and Advent, all fasting days and Fridays (except within Paschaltide), when vegetables and roots are to be cooked in salt and water only."

Like the early Benedictines and Cistercians, the Trappists' invariable allowance was "two portions of cooked food," *due pulmenta cocta* at the principal, or on fast days only, meal, "so that," as St. Benedict explained, "he who could not eat of one dish might eat the other"; together with an allowance of one pound of bread per day ; and though the food in question would not seem to our more pampered tastes to offer any great variety, St. Bernard thus indignantly apostrophizes some of his brethren who appear to have complained of their vegetarian diet : "Can one find nothing in garden or field to suit your stomachs?" while de Rancé quoted an ancient Cistercian abbot to the effect that "we have three grains of pepper wherewith to season our coarse food ; the first grain is to rise long before daybreak, the second to work with our hands, the third to have nothing better to eat. For which reason we have hardly anything on our platters." This, though an eye-witness tells us that the bread at La Trappe was so black and even full of straw that it seemed only fit for dogs, and their portions of cooked vegetables were so watery and tasteless that they were sometimes even refused by the poor of the place.

And now we may return to our modern novice, the young Abbé de Martrin. After a few days' probation, Léon de Martrin, with another priest-postulant, was conducted to the feet of the abbot, in accordance with ancient Cistercian rite, to ask for "the mercy of God, and thine." The abbot then expounded to him the severity of the rule, and inquired his intention again, to which he repeated his desire to keep it all. The abbot then said : "May God, who hath begun a good work in thee, Himself accomplish it." His luxuriant locks were shorn, his cassock exchanged for the white robe of the Trappist, and Léon de Martrin-Donos became Brother Francis Régis, taking the name of a saintly apostle who had been one of his own most glorious family ancestors. After the ceremony he was permitted to take leave of his sorrowing fellow-



traveller, whom he charged to break the news to his family, together with a letter, and a paper distributing his possessions among them; and then the Curé of Albi wended his solitary way homeward, quoting sadly, as he took his leave, the words of Holy Scripture: "One shall be taken, the other left."

We need not dwell upon the surprise and grief of parents and sisters as the coach drew up bringing "Léon's portmanteau, but no Léon," and death itself was feared in that first moment of uncertainty, until they learned that it was the living death of the cloister; but we must give in full the touching letter addressed to him by his bishop, showing, as it does, in what esteem he was held.

*"Monsieur et Cher Curé:—*

"It is with lively sorrow that I find you taking up your abode at La Trappe, because I lose in you a priest according to the mind of God, full of prudence and zeal, and capable of directing important parishes in the ways of God. You might have sanctified yourself elsewhere, and at the same time sanctified, with yourself, a multitude of souls which the Divine Providence would have confided to you, and which you would have been able to present to the Father, on the great Day of Revealing, as your title to a brilliant crown.

"In your present retreat you will be directly useful only to yourself, indirectly to others by your prayers. God forbid, however, that I should attempt to turn you from your pious purpose. You believe that God has called you to solitude; you choose the surest path; follow your vocation; I consent. Correspond with the designs of Providence for you. Only, if during your novitiate you recognize that God asks something else of you; if the great austerity of La Trappe affects your health; if complete solitude does not suit you; in a word, if you find you ought to leave the monastery, do not hesitate to take refuge in the arms of an archbishop who will receive you as a father would receive his son, and who would be delighted to see you and employ you again. You know my paternal affection for you. You deserve it, since up to to-day you have never given me anything but satisfaction. It will follow you in your monastery, and will end but with my life."

If such was the grief of his spiritual father, what must have been that of his earthly one? M. de Martrin-Donos at first refused even to answer the long and affectionate letters which Léon dispatched one after another to his parents; then, finding this course ineffectual, he went in person to La Trappe to pour out his reproaches and rebukes. "Father," cried the young novice, falling on his knees before the angry old man, "if you believe your son ungrateful, scourge him; here is my discipline!" The friend who accompanied M. de Martrin-Donos threatened to take the fugitive back by force; the archbishop offered the inducement of advantageous posts; his father, joined by the other sons, proffered "a double portion" of their inheritance, did but their holy prodigal return, but all in vain; Brother Francis Régis made his profession on the thirtieth of August, in the following year, 1842.

On the day of his profession he wrote to his mother a letter



which is very touching in its singularity and faith. "I do not know," he says, "whether God has been content with me, but for my part I am very content with Him. Before entering religion I thought I had a good chance of working out my salvation, but I was far from suspecting all the consolations which life at La Trappe procures for one; in truth I am unworthy of all the sweetness which God deigns to pour upon His unworthy servant."

One cannot help recalling, as one reads these words, the dying utterance of another holy servant of God, Suarez, the Jesuit: "I never thought it was so sweet to die!"

Almost immediately after his profession Dom Francis Régis was appointed Master of Novices, and won golden opinions by his tact and sweetness, his delicate thoughtfulness for the neophytes under his charge, some of whom were no longer young and found their new life of subjection and obedience somewhat hard in practice; and, in fine, showed such universal qualities and capacities for command that, while still quite a young religious, he was chosen to fill the very honorable and difficult post which makes him the subject of these pages.

Not long after the profession of Dom Francis Régis, a proposition was made to the Superior of the Trappist Order, much resembling the recent one with which we began these pages. It was a request that the Trappist Fathers, whose work and whose energy were well known, would aid in the colonization of Algeria, then a newly-conquered country, by establishing there a branch of their order. After some delay, owing to the unreliable nature of the terms offered by government, a satisfactory arrangement was arrived at, and Dom Francis Régis was sent out, as first superior, with one of his brethren, to prepare the way for the new foundation.

On Saturday, the 12th of August, 1843, after a sea voyage of fifty-two hours, the two Trappist Fathers set foot in Algiers. It was not then the fashionable and civilized resort which it has since become, and being but newly conquered, or in fact half-conquered, was subject to frequent armed raids from the Arab foes, whose chief, the Emir Abd-el-Kader, threatened that "as long as a breath of life remains to me I will make war against the Christians." Our two Fathers, then, on landing, were hospitably received by a friend of one of their order, and the next day, after paying their respects to the bishop, they presented themselves before the military governor of the district, General Bougeaud. He was a straightforward and able man, and had already assured the Trappists' introducer, M. de Corcelle, of his good-will and protection, though his own cherished scheme for the colonization of the country had been for civil rather than religious occupation. He re-

ceived his white-robed visitors somewhat brusquely, though civilly, with the words: "So you are the Trappists! You know it was not my opinion! We don't want celibates for colonizing Algeria; but I am a soldier; you bring me letters from the Minister of War, who is my chief; I obey! I accept you as children of our new colonial family. But, gentlemen, you will work no more miracles than others can. I warn you that you will meet with great difficulties. When they appear to you to be insurmountable, apply to me. When will you begin?"

"The sooner the better," replied Père Régis.

"Well, I am going to convoke my council; when they are assembled I will summon you."

Some hours later the two white-robed monks entered the council chamber and found about twelve or fifteen of the general's staff, in full uniform, awaiting them. General Bougeaud, having briefly explained to his coadjutors the scheme of the projected establishment, which, he said, would prove a most useful one, proceeded to the practical part of the affair.

"You, Monsieur l'Intendant, will give them tents to live in; you will organize a service of mules and relays for their benefit, with rations and all arrangements as if for military service. You, M. le Directeur of engineers, will set up their workshops and procure tools for them at army prices. You, M. le Directeur of the fort, will choose out for them sixty convict workmen."

Then, taking up a pen, he wrote out a list of the number of blacksmiths, carpenters, carters, masons, etc., who were to be placed under the orders of the colonists of Staouëli, a spot in the desert where a grant of land 1020 hectares in extent (2500 English acres) had already been allotted to them, together with a year's provisions and 60,000 francs for building-money. Then he added, turning towards the Fathers: "You say that you wish to begin as soon as possible. It would be desirable that you should do so before the winter rains begin, so fix the day."

"The 20th is the feast of our holy father St. Bernard; we should like to pitch our tents on that day."

"Very well! On the 21st our men and material will start for Staouëli. Be there to receive them."

That same afternoon, the eve of the Assumption, Père Régis drove out in the bishop's carriage to visit the scene of his future labors. Staouëli, their allotted land, is described as presenting the appearance of a vast plain, almost a desert, sloping gently towards the Mediterranean, which bounds it on one side, and covered with rough bushes and tangled undergrowth. Here and there a group of dwarf palms broke the dead level of what seemed all one stretch of arid waste, where jackals and other wild animals



roamed at will. It was not without its memories, however, this wild plain; some remains of fortifications, and broken shells scattered here and there, recalled to the visitors that fierce battle of fourteen years before on this very spot, where five thousand Arabs on the one side and five hundred Frenchmen on the other perished upon the battle-field of Sidi-Ferruch. Père Régis, who had pictured to himself some smiling country, bright with orange trees and rose-gardens, felt his heart sink for a moment at the dreary reality before him; but quickly recovering himself, he hailed the sight of two small streams as giving promise of water for their agricultural requirements; and gathering a branch of "laurier-rose" (oleander) to send "home" to Aiguebelle, he planted, under a palm tree, the rude wooden cross which he had brought with him as their token of possession. It was already almost a holy spot, for here, after the battle referred to above, the chaplains who accompanied the army had offered a Mass of Thanksgiving.

"It was there," writes Père Régis to his former superior at Aiguebelle, "that I planted my humble cross. We all fell on our knees to salute it. The sun was setting behind us, beyond Sidi-Ferruch and the sea, and just before us the moon showed herself above the horizon. To the left, the sea. To the right, far off, a group of farm buildings. Everywhere one profound silence, and we, recollected and silent also, in this majestic temple of nature. I cannot express to you the thoughts which filled my heart. Before rising I repeated aloud the Pater, Ave, and Credo, with the others, and ended by placing ourselves and our future under the protection of the Queen of Heaven."

The following days were spent in various preparations, and on the afternoon of the 20th, after a morning spent in office and prayer in honor of the great St. Bernard, the little company set forth to take possession of their new property. It will not be forgotten, that it was on this same day only two years before, that the young Abbé de Martrin had set foot for the first time in La Trappe. And now, a professed religious, he was beginning anew in the responsible position of superior of a new foundation. And such a foundation! Colonist, missionary, builder, monk, he may well have marvelled at the development of so choice a vocation, and many and deep must have been the thoughts which filled his brain as the little band of pilgrims, on foot this time, trod slowly the sandy waste towards the sea. Besides Père Régis, there were some eight or ten secular and religious priests (not counting his fellow-Trappist, who was in delicate health and would follow later with the workmen), the Superior of the Jesuits, and three Jesuit lay-brothers, whom their superior's forethought had added



to the party for the purpose of carrying and cooking their provisions.

Absorbed with pious talk and the memories of the past, the little company suddenly discovered that they had missed their way and were lost in the desert! Père Régis naïvely confessed that he could not find his "big palm tree" which was to have been their landmark, and the whole party were forced to camp for the night where they stood; surrounded by howling jackals, and not daring to light a fire or discharge a gun, lest the Arabs should discover and attack them. When day broke, they continued their route, discovered their palm tree and cross, and taking possession of a dilapidated hut or sentry box left by the soldiers in 1830, they made an improvised altar within it, cut down palm branches to serve as candlesticks, and there the founder of a new Trappist mission, after sprinkling the ground with holy water, said his first Mass.

"Oh, what a day!" he wrote to Dom Orsise. "In the midst of the desert we raised an altar. The blue vault of heaven was the dome of our cathedral, earth and sea its extent, an old, worn palm tree the table of the altar. From its branches, overhead, hung an image of Jesus; among its leaves two statues, those of Notre Dame d'Aiguebelle and of St. Francis Régis. They are our two founders. I said the Mass of the Holy Ghost, with memento of the Blessed Virgin and of St. Bernard. All were much moved, I myself more than the others. I felt as though I were saying my first Mass."

As the little party sat on the ground after Mass, enjoying a modest repast prepared by the lay-brothers, the military and convict workmen came in sight, and very soon all was work and bustle. Tents were pitched, plans drawn out, the ground surveyed, and future work prepared. Here the masons were constructing a lime-kiln, there some carpenters nailed rough planks together to serve as provisional shelter for the monks. The tent of the new superior was marked by a bunch of flowers—a graceful act of the convict workmen, and when he had been called to give the first stroke of the pickaxe at the spot chosen for the monastic buildings, the work of levelling and digging went on apace, under the direction of a military engineer. At the end of the first week the wooden building which was to serve as temporary monastery was complete, and gave shelter to monks, convicts and overseers alike. There were a blacksmith's forge and a carpenter's shop, a stable full of bullocks for the plough, carts, tools and every other requisite for the work, while the disused tent which had sheltered their first altar still served as a temporary chapel.

Up to this time Père Régis had been a superior without brethren, a shepherd without sheep, as it were; for his sole companion in religion, Père Gabriel, seems to have been in ill-health and remained at first in more civilized quarters in the town; but on the

13th of September, to the great joy of the courageous pioneer, a welcome reinforcement arrived in the shape of ten Trappist brothers and two fathers, sent from the parent house at Aiguebelle, to form the nucleus of the new foundation. Next day, the Feast of the Exaltation of the Cross, an interesting ceremonial took place. The Bishop of Algiers, Mgr. Dupuch, in the presence of the governor and his staff, various notabilities of the place and a crowd of colonists and Arabs, sang a solemn Pontifical Mass, at an extemporary altar erected in the midst of the work, blazing with lights and garlanded gracefully with myrtle and oleander. Then, repairing in procession to the spot where the foundation-stone was to be laid, this brilliant little company witnessed a thick layer of cement being spread over the unique basement of a closely-packed layer of bullets picked up off the field of battle; after which a chiselled stone, which had once formed part of a Roman villa in ancient times on this very plain, was laid with the usual ceremonies, ending with a salvo of artillery, and followed by a modest collation, served in the new wooden building, whose walls were literally covered with flowers. About forty guests surrounded the rough wooden table, waited on by the white-robed brethren, and "some great dishes of cigars," which, for the lack of other delicacies, the good superior added to the dessert, were, he told his correspondent, much appreciated; while one of the newly-arrived brethren related how, in 1830, he had fought as a soldier on this same battle-field of Staouëli, and had actually helped to erect the "bloc-haus," or hut, now temporary chapel, in which he had received Holy Communion that very morning from the hands of his new superior.

Their simple fête seems to have been productive of much indirect benefit to the good fathers, for, sad as it is to say it, officialism and public opinion in France were by no means uniformly favorable to their work. "Get yourselves talked of as colonists as much as possible, and as monks as little as possible," was the advice of one of their supporters, and wary indeed had to be their conduct under the watchful eyes of many a secret enemy, who criticized each movement, and even accused them of "spending the public money on their own buildings rather than on cultivating the land," as if the unhappy colonist-monks must needs be grudging even necessary shelter. They suffered enough as it was, for the winter rains came on before their building was far enough advanced to replace the temporary plant cabins, which let in wind and wet, and one after another fell ill until more than half their number had been removed, for better air and nursing, to the Jesuits' house some miles off. Few ever guessed what courage, as well as administrative talent, it needed for Père Régis to fulfil



his double work ; on the one hand hastening the building on which the health, nay, the very lives of those committed to his charge, depended, and on the other, forced, through the suspicions and hostilities of the civil power, to begin too soon the outdoor labors which were to justify their presence there.

On the twenty-fifth of March following, eighteen more brethren arrived from Aiguebelle, and some days later a government inquiry into the progress of the religious colonists elicited the information that two wings of the building were about to be roofed in, two more were in course of construction, and, for the land, 60 hectares had been cleared, 20 converted into fields, and 2500 trees planted on the property. The inhabitants of the little colony now numbered some forty-three monks, twenty lay-helpers and about a hundred government workmen. So far, the result was satisfactory, but the very calculation and examination elicited by this inquiry revealed to Père Régis the alarming fact that not only the original government subsidy, but all the money so generously given by the Aiguebelle brethren, was exhausted, and in a few days more he would have no more funds even to pay his workmen. After strenuous exertions and endless appeals, a further sum was voted by the colonial Council of Administration, but, unfortunately, the authorities in the French Chamber refused at first to ratify their vote, and the poor Trappists were reduced to the greatest straits. To add to their misfortunes, the hot season now set in, and their first experience of an Algerian summer was a terrible one. First, about two-thirds of their harvests perished, dried up and burnt, and the little that remained turned out almost worthless ; then the heat struck down one after another, and day by day the convict workmen were carried off to the town hospital, while the unhappy monks, who had no such refuge, shivered and burned with agues and exhausting fevers, the "dengue fever" of marshy plains, to which such pioneers of civilization are ever subject. It was a terrible time. The brave superior, himself weakened both by fever and by the violent bleedings with which they sought to combat it, till he could scarcely hold a pen, sat writing, in the intervals of ague, pathetic appeals for help to their European brethren ; while one after another his pale, shivering, emaciated monks would creep to his side to implore help or gather a word of encouragement. Some, gasping under the almost unendurable suffocation of that hot air and brazen sky, broke down completely, and begged to be sent back to France ; others lay helpless and broken in spirit upon the wooden couches, the sweat of utter weakness pouring from their brows.

At length Père Régis felt that there was but one thing to be done—to return to Europe and make a personal appeal for help



both to government and to the other houses of the order. His unhappy and suffering brethren parted reluctantly from him, and, weakened by fever as he was himself, he set sail for Europe on the 30th July, 1844.

Once more in his native land, he left no stone unturned to procure material help for the new foundation. From Soulthery, where the minister of war was interviewed, he passed on to Paris, not, however, without giving his family the consolation of a short visit, during which an interesting little episode may serve to show how Staouëli became peopled. Brother Casimir, the monastery baker, had come from a town near his superior's old home, and Dom Régis, mindful of this fact, went, during his short stay in the neighborhood, to visit the parents of his brother in religion. There, sitting in the peasant's kitchen, and surrounded by parents and relations of the absent one, he told them, in his own bright and kindly fashion, of Brother Casimir and his bakery, and all the little details of his every-day life. Then, as the good folk shed some natural tears, "How is this?" cried the father. "I thought to give you pleasure by telling you about your son, but I fear it only makes you unhappy!" "Oh, no, indeed, father," was the answer; "our tears are only tears of joy; and to show you that it is so, we have another son, a boy of fourteen, still at home; if you wish, you may take him too!" The boy was hiding in a corner of the room, bashful, as peasant boys mostly are. Dom Régis looked across to him with his kind, sweet smile, and, holding out his hand, called, with the affectionate *tutoiement* for which we have no equivalent, "Veux tu venir avec moi? Nous irons rejoindre ton frere." "Yes, I will!" cried the boy, suddenly jumping into the good monk's arms. And he went back with him to Algeria.

From Paris Dom François went on to La Grande Trappe, where he hoped to enlist the sympathies of a meeting of superiors about to be held there, which he did, and received encouraging promises of recruits and funds to accompany him to Algiers. Thence he passed to Melleray, where he was received with open arms and urged to rest awhile amid his brethren there. But ill news followed him thither; one death after another had taken place since his departure from Algeria; dysentery, that scourge of southern climates, had set in among the monks, and no less than five had succumbed to its attacks. Needless to say that their superior's paternal care was doubly yearned for at this season of trial, and in face of the pleading letters which came he could not find it in his heart to delay his return. The good Abbot of Melleray gave him six of his best subjects, and sent him forth with them in ceremonious procession, the brethren accompanying them

as far as the limits of their property and bidding them farewell with the kiss of peace, "with the same ceremonies with which St. Bernard, eight centuries before, had quitted Citeaux for the desert of Clairvaux."

Passing by Nantes, Angers, Tours, Orleans and Lyons, where they gathered offerings and gifts as they went, they halted again at the mother-house, Aiguebelle, and taking thence two more recruits and a further sum of money, the little company re-embarked for Africa. It was a sad and suffering community which welcomed them back. One young priest who lay dying could only murmur: "Father, I have prayed to live till you returned, that I might receive your blessing," and the next morning he too had gone to his rest. Three more, stricken unto death, were sent back to Aiguebelle, and died there, while the new-comers set to work courageously at building and planting, as long as their funds should last.

Space would fail us were we to enlarge further on the difficulties, the trials, the sorrows of that fateful time. Suffice it to say that at length the work was so far advanced that the bishop was able, in the presence of a brilliant assembly of the principal notables of Algiers, to consecrate the monastery chapel. Not the least of his silently-borne crosses must have been the trial that our brave superior, who had been the life and soul of the work, was now himself laid prostrate, and the consecration day found him on a sick bed, tossing in high fever. Summoned, not long after, to join a general chapter of superiors in France, he obeyed the call, and once more set sail for Europe, arriving in so prostrate a condition that while going by sea from Bordeaux to Nantes he heard his fellow-passengers whispering among themselves, "That monk will die on the way," and he was obliged to seek a resting-place with some friends at Nantes before continuing his journey. "I want to die at Melleray," he said, and had himself conveyed there to the care of the abbot, who "loved him like a father." But he did not die this time, and profiting by a slight amendment in his health, he returned once more to his post, where the works were now far enough advanced to justify the raising of the monastery to the position and title of an independent abbey.

Although Dom Francis, in his humility, now sought to retire from office and to make way for a new abbot, it will readily be understood that his name, and no other, left the election urn. He was forced to yield to the votes of his brethren, and his promotion involved a new visit to Europe to obtain formal ratification of his election from the abbots of the older houses. He found them assembled in Rome on important business, no other than the question of sub-division or unity already referred to in these pages. For, as we have before explained, the Trappists were divided into



two branches: one following the reform of De Rancé, the other living under the original rule of Cîteaux, and called the "new reform." By a decree of Pope Gregory XVI., in 1834, these two branches had been so far united as to be placed under one head, while still respectively preserving certain differences of discipline and practice; but this arrangement was found burdensome to tender consciences, and thus practically undesirable, so that they now petitioned to be independent as before. Eventually, by a Papal decree in 1847, their request was granted, and while de Rancé's original reform claimed four principal monasteries, as well as that of "Sept Fonts," which held the position of mother-house and sent forth various offshoots with which we have not now to do, the stricter, or new reform, counted as its own not only the original Grand Trappe, but Melleray, Bellefontaine, Aiguebellé, and its offshoot Staouéli, and several others, of which those that probably interest us the most are those at the "Tre Fontane" in the Roman Campagna, Mount St. Bernard in England, Mount Melleray in Ireland and Notre Dame de Gethsemani in the United States.

After a consoling interview with the Supreme Pontiff, and many expressions of appreciation from friends and superiors, Dom Régis returned for his consecration to his African home, and received his abbatial crosier in all due form on the 28th of December, 1846. The Staouéli foundation was now complete, though still subject, in some measure, to the parent stem, Aiguebelle, and henceforward, though not exempt from trials and dangers, its existence and work were assured. In 1849 its lands, which had hitherto been held, as it were, temporally and revocably from the local administration, were secured to it in perpetuity, and new buildings, new subjects, new or extended spheres of action gathered round it year by year.

One of the trials of the little colonist community lay in the frequent changes of governors-general of Algeria, which political events in the mother country unfortunately necessitated. The young Duc d'Aumale, in 1847, proved an even stauncher and more gracious protector to the "Christian marabouts," as they were called by the population, than his predecessor; but the revolution of '48 recalled him to France, and governor after governor in rapid succession was called upon, while administering the affairs of the colony, to look favorably upon "the worthiest of their subjects," as one and all agreed to call them. The marvellous gift of administration exhibited by Dom Régis in particular, and the prosperity of his monastery, called forth frequent expressions of admiring surprise from the officials who visited it from time to time. One of these government inspectors thus describes his visit:



"I wish I could more worthily describe this worthy and saintly abbot. His zeal and energy remind me of the great reformer of his order, and the work which he is engaged in is hardly inferior to that of de Rancé. He is like him, too, in another point, which is his facility for dealing with the world and worldly matters, and making his appearance wherever the interests of his community call him. Constantly on horseback, booted and spurred, Père Régis rides with all the ease of practiced horsemanship, and thinks nothing of riding from Staouéli to Algiers and back in the same day. Or, one may see him out in the fields at work in his rough sackcloth working habit, and with his bright, ruddy, sunburnt face, ever smiling, ever alert, *with one eye on souls, the other on his fields*, and here, there, everywhere at once. One moment on the plains of Algeria, the next at Marseilles, or Paris or Rome, flying at express speed wherever duty calls him. . . . He did the honors for us with exquisite grace, and an almost indescribable frank cordiality. I must confess that I had imagined a Trappist superior a much more sombre individual."

Nothing could have been more favorable to the interests of the growing community than this pleasant, courteous, fascinating abbot, for the new monastery had not only to attend to its own spiritual affairs and to its fields, agriculture and farm operations, but had also a distinct social work to perform. Hardly any visitor of importance—governor, prince, distinguished traveler, or official representative—landed in Algeria, but he must go, or be taken, to visit the Trappist settlement. Did any question arise as to the kind or amount of culture to which that long tract of land between French buildings and Arab possessions might be successfully submitted, the Trappist monastery was quoted, examined and held up as an example for lay colonists.

One of the most interesting episodes in Dom Francis Régis's African life, is his friendship for, and conversion of, the famous painter, Horace Vernet. Visiting the Staouéli Monastery, like so many others, from curiosity, he fell under the charm of its winning founder, confessed, made a retreat, fulfilled his Easter duties and thus initiated a bond between them which was to be loosed only by the hand of death; for his affection for the white-robed father seems almost more than ordinary friendship, the clinging of an artistic and sensitive temperament to its master and guide. While Vernet was in Algeria, an expedition was planned into Kabylia for the purpose of punishing some native tribes who had refused to pay tribute to their conquerors, and the general in command begged Horace Vernet to accompany them. "I will go," said the painter, "but I must have *my Père Régis* with me!" Seeing him to be in earnest, the governor-general sent off a special messenger with a pressing letter to the abbot, inviting him to join the expeditionary corps, and assuring him, on the one hand, of all the respect and appreciation which would be paid him amongst them; while on the other, he dwelt on the immense field for good which would be open to him among the soldiers in camp and on the battle-field. It seemed a strange step to take, and Dom Régis,

hesitating much, consulted first his monks and then his bishop, on the advisability of accepting such a proposal. "Go!" said they all, and the bishop added: "It is very seemly that religion should accompany the flag of France." So he went.

During all their march—and it lasted several weeks—Dom Régis and Horace Vernet rode side by side. They ate together, the same tent sheltered both, and when at length the summoned tribes brought tribute and hostages and owned themselves subject to France, the governor, after receiving their oath of fidelity, returned their money-presents, bestowed new dignities on the now submissive Sheiks, and, turning to Dom Régis, said: "Now you shall have the honor of finishing this ceremony." The "finish" was—an altar raised in the desert. And such an altar! One feels that it was erected under the hand and eye of an artist. One great oak, levelled by the sappers attached to the expeditionary corps, was fashioned into a huge rustic cross, which towered high in air; beneath it, row upon row, a pile of drums formed an unique platform for the portable altar raised upon them, which, garlanded with some of the rare desert flowers gathered near the spot, was still further decked with a contribution from a steamer, which lay at anchor near, two enormous ship lanterns, supplementing the usual and necessary liturgical wax candles on either side. As the commanding figure of the Trappist monk, robed in his abbatial insignia and vestments, stood before the altar, the painter's eye swept over a strange and picturesque sight. The whole army corps, ranged in a semi-circle, stood in serried ranks, their general and his staff in the midst; outside this circle a throng of white-robed Arabs, wondering and watchful; away in the distance a long stretch of desert on the one side; on the other the blue Mediterranean sparkled beneath the sun. He was so struck with the scene that he has immortalized it in one of his most famous pictures, entitled "*Une Messe en Kabylie*," in which, as he said himself, he offered to God "the expression of his gratitude for having been brought back to Him." The time chosen by the painter is the moment of the elevation. Dom Régis himself, served by a Trappist brother and a secular priest, stands full in view before the temporary altar, on a platform supported by piles of drums, and surmounted by the gigantic cross. To the left kneel row upon row of *Chasseurs d'Afrique*, in their picturesque zouave jackets and full trousers; while graceful Arab figures, in turban and ample white *bournous*, fill the foreground; and far away in middle distance the white tents of the soldiers stand out against a background of tall mountain; while the cannon smoke, which marks the moment of adoration—"sole incense worthy of such a sacrifice"—hangs over all.



Curiously enough, the general in command on this occasion was a Protestant, and though he admired and revered the good Trappist abbot, he only abjured his errors some time later, under the guidance of the celebrated Père Olivaint; but, before that event, he had already marked his appreciation of the "desert Mass" by soliciting and obtaining from the emperor the Cross of the Legion of Honor for Dom Régis, in memory of the bloodless campaign in which he had shared. Meanwhile, the two friends, monk and painter, had returned together to Algiers. Vernet set sail at once for Europe, and had the happiness, some time later, of officiating as "godfather" to his beloved Père Régis, when the latter, on one of his visits to France, received "the Cross," bestowed, with all due ceremony, in token of his own, or, as he preferred to take it, his monastery's services to the state. The official pages, "*Le Moniteur Universel*" (of August 16, 1853), thus announced the considerations which motived the distinction :

"De Martrin-Donos, in religion Francis Régis, priest, director of La Trappe at Staouëli, has powerfully contributed, since 1843, to the development of the Algerian Colony by the foundation of an agricultural establishment which is justly considered to be a model one ;"

and the "Univers," more appreciatively, wrote of the distant monastery on Algerian plains as one which "the whole world admires, while travellers and the poor bless it."

And now the foundation of Staouëli may be said to be complete; for the monastery—though not the stately church dreamed of by its founder, for which sufficient funds were still lacking—was built, inhabited, and self-supporting. One might naturally imagine that after ten years of labor, and slow, even painful acclimatization, one who had never spared himself and whose genius had made the place what it was, might in some degree reap the fruit of his labors; but it was not to be. Having learned by bitter experience not to run headlong into expense, or begin a work which he held no certainty of carrying through, Dom Régis, with the prudence learned by many a failure, had omitted as yet to erect full and sufficient barriers between the monastic part of the building and that open to workmen and soldiers. It was the next work which he proposed to himself to undertake; but, as so often happens in life, ere his plans could be carried out, one of the periodical visitations from the mother-house at Aiguebelle took place. The defect was noticed, and perhaps a little—one can scarcely say blamed, but—taken exception to; and Dom Régis was invited by the General Chapter to repair for rest and retreat to Aiguebelle, leaving a temporary substitute (the Prior of La Grand Trappe), in authority in his place. He obeyed, and started at once, followed



by an urgent appeal from his monks, who were in consternation at his loss, to return among them; he, however, bravely and humbly upheld the decision of his superiors, and applied himself to second in every way, by counsel, information and influence, his successor in command. And the situation needed all his frank support; for many who had befriended Staouëli for his sake, now threatened to withdraw their influence and to "visit it no more, now that its abbot was *banished*," as they worded it. Dom Régis, on his side, spared no pains to induce the benefactors of his Algerian foundation to continue their support, while his firm friend, the Abbot of Aiguebelle, wrote in all directions to contradict unfavorable reports, and then, the more effectually to discountenance them, sent him on a confidential mission to Rome, to treat of the affairs of the order.

And here, did we treat exclusively of the Trappists in Algeria, our story would close; for never again, save for one brief passing visit, did Dom François Régis behold his beloved Staouëli. "I have planted, Apollos watered," is, and must ever be, the device of many a religious founder; and the fair cloisters and cool fountains of La Trappe in Algeria have been an oasis wherein many have found rest in life and peace in death, but never he whose strong brain and ready hand first made that "desert to blossom like the rose."

Not, however, that his life of active usefulness was at an end. Possessing, as he did, in largest measure, that marvellous gift of sympathy which made them say of him, as was said of St. Francis de Sales, that he was "all things to all men" ("*Avec les Bédouins je me fais Bédouin*," he said himself, in his Algerian days), it is small wonder that his superiors should soon have named him for a post in which tact, and gracious ways, and ready speech, and "the courage of his opinions," had full play, and were valued at their true worth. He was made Procureur-General of the Congregation of La Trappe, an office which obliged him to reside in Rome to represent, and transact the affairs of, the order; and this post, an honor in itself, and yet to him personally a trial, involved, of necessity, the resignation of his abbatial chair. He is said to have felt this so keenly that his hand shook and tears rained down his cheeks as he signed his formal resignation; but he presently threw himself heart and soul into his new work, induced one of the most learned of the cardinals to become Protector of the Order, and succeeded thoroughly in his mission—that of making the Trappists better known and appreciated at headquarters.

It had for some time been a great grief to the superiors of the various houses that their order was looked upon with little interest or favor at Rome. Besides some hampering restrictions which

threw difficulties in the way or their obtaining postulants, a decree of 1837 had even divested them of the permission to make solemn vows, a decision which was felt to be so grievous and even humiliating that it was some years before the heads of the principal houses could make up their minds to acquaint their subjects with Rome's ruling. Dom Régis set his heart on the revocation of this edict, and finally succeeded, and was rewarded by being the first of all the Trappist Superiors to pronounce his own, and receive the others' solemn vows. Another of his successes, and one which we all know well, was suggested to him by the Holy Father himself. Questioning Père Régis, at his first interview with him as procureur, on Staouëli and its foundation, Pius IX. let fall a remark destined to bear rich fruit. "And why," he asked "should you not make a Staouëli in the Roman Campagna?" Père Régis accepted the idea with enthusiasm, and forthwith drew out and submitted plans to the Pontiff; but much to his disappointment, they were found too expensive to carry out at that time, though later on he was allowed to carry out a modified form of them, in the celebrated "The Fontane," which we all know, and which was, indeed, in many ways a second Staouëli.

Once, and once only, during his procuratorship and later years, Dom Régis was allowed to visit Staouëli, the child of his love and of his prayers, "l'enfant de sa douleur," as he called it, but surely also the child of his truest joys. The Abbot of Aiguebelle, Dom Gabriel, knowing his friend's love for this, his "first-born" work, sent him in his stead to make the regulation visit to their Algerian affiliation. It was in 1860.

On his arrival in Algeria, Dom Augustine, the Abbot of Staouëli, met and welcomed him cordially, and conducted him, with all the state doubly due to Father Visitor and venerated Founder, to visit his early religious home. Nothing was spared which could enhance the dignity and brilliancy of the occasion. As Dom Régis approached the monastery (the abbot having gone on before to receive him ceremoniously) its bells rang out a joyous peal; garlands of flowers and greens, recalling his first day there, decked the long avenue; banners floated proudly overhead, and two long lines of white-robed brethren in festal garb awaited his approach. The venerated founder was conducted with all due ceremony to a raised dais, under a triumphal arch, where, having been solemnly and affectionately welcomed by the abbot, he was invested with the insignia of his office, and the whole community went in procession to the church; whence, after receiving the blessing of their visitor, the fathers proceeded to the Chapter Room. Here, mastering his emotion as well as he could, with eyes and heart alike full as they noted each familiar spot, each



well-known scene, with here and there a recognized face looking up at him from among stranger-brethren, the Founder of Staouéli spoke once more from its Abbatial Chair. He chose the words of St. Paul, "Ecce tertio hoc venio ad vos," "Behold, the third time I have come among you." He reminded them how first, in 1843. he had come to this savage spot alone, or with one companion only, to plant the banner of the Cross, and to reclaim a desert for the service of God; how, for the second time, three years later, he had made his solemn entry as abbot into the newly-built monastery; and now . . . . and now . . . . for the third time he had come among them . . . . And as he spoke these words he burst into tears, and all the brethren wept with him.

After some moments of emotion, Dom Regis continued his speech, and traced the history of his beloved monastery from its establishment until that day, concluding with the words: "I left it a child—I find it a well-developed youth, full of fair promise." Then came the visits, he examining into every corner and minutia of the property, and applauding the results of the skill and labor of abbot and brethren, their extensive vineyards, their active distilleries, the well-watered fields, which Dom Augustine's peculiar aptitude for such work had made exceptionally fruitful by means of tiny rivulets and canals carefully conducted from spot to spot; then, as the secular world heard of his presence, his old friends flocked to see and welcome him. All was brightness and joy; and as he wrote to a friend:

"The sight of Algiers and of Staoueli moved me greatly. Staoueli is really beautiful. . . . I found about forty of the brethren who were of my time. The plantations, the clearings of ground, the husbandry, everything has succeeded. The community is numerous; there are one hundred and twenty brothers and as many workmen, civil and military. The spirit of the house is good. I am satisfied!"

These words were, as it were, his "Nunc Dimittis" to Africa. For some years afterwards he lived on in Rome, working, without, at the affairs of the congregation, and within, at that harder task, his own sanctification, as one who knew that "the Lord was at hand." "My God," he wrote among his private papers, "I want to make myself a saint, *mais entre vous et moi*, but between Thyself and me, without anyone else in the world knowing it; everything else is nothing to me so long as I love Thee with all my heart, and that I am loved by Thee."

As his health failed, he was ordered by the physicians to a better climate, and his superiors desired him to accept a pressing invitation from some relatives to make a long stay in their chateau, whose situation offered the required temperature. It was the final sacrifice of his own will, for he earnestly desired to end his days



in one of the houses of his order; but, humble and obedient to the end, he took up his abode at Montbeton, where his days, weary rather than continuously suffering, were passed in solitude, prayer, and meditation, in the midst of a pious and affectionate circle of friends, until a stroke of apoplexy came to prelude his death-agony, and amid litanies and prayers, sacraments and benedictions, he passed away on the 13th of May, 1880.

But the love and the gratitude of his order did not leave him here. Nay, for they brought the frail body back where it would most have loved to rest, to his own Monastery of Staouëli. Once more it passed along that desert road, and entered the gates raised by his pious care. A magnificent tomb, designed by Dom Augustine himself, received the mortal remains of Francis Régis, and there he lies, awaiting the resurrection morn. There still waves, above the entrance-gate, the aged palm tree which first marked the site of his choice, and a vast silent village of monastic buildings cover the surrounding acres. About four hundred hectares of cultivated land bear witness to the successful industry of the brethren, including vineyards, arable land, and constructions of every description; and many a good work, not only in Algeria, but in the mother-country, reaps the reward of their labors in the alms and offerings which flow from their enriched coffers.

We learn from a Trappist annalist that

"The monastic property comprises about 1200 hectares, stretching out to south and north of Sidi-Ferruch. . . . After twenty-three years of labor, most of their land is now cleared and prepared for cultivation. About one hundred and fifty hectares of cereals, corn, barley, and wheat, twelve of Indian corn, fifteen of kitchen garden, twenty-five of vineyards, are in full cultivation. They are trying the culture of cotton, and some years ago their fruit trees extended to 1500 feet of wall-fruit of various kinds; apricots, pears, apples, pomegranates, oranges, lemons, almonds, and so on. They succeed well with linseed, sesame, colza, and other oil-yielding plants. The fathers work two lime-kilns, one brick-kiln, and several quarries, and were the first to introduce threshing-machines into Algeria. They had constructed viaducts to conduct the water from some distance to their plains, and their stables held seventy bullocks for harness, seventy milch-cows, twenty horses, a thousand sheep, and six hundred pigs."

It is not surprising that in one of the great French Exhibitions of Agriculture, the Trappists of Algeria should have won the gold medal awarded to "agricultural intelligence as exhibited in the best cultivated farm."

And now, one asks, what field does Madagascar offer for the like civilizing and religious labor in its plains? A correspondent of the "*Figaro*," at Algiers, has already interviewed—for this is the age of interviews—the present Abbot of Staouëli on the subject of their possible future colonization of Madagascar, and the following is their conversation, as reported in a French paper:

The Abbot of La Trappe received me very affably, and replied pleasantly to my questions, with a strong Toulousian accent.

"Shall you go to Madagascar?"

"It is my most earnest desire, for I consider that those who have already given up everything ought to be the first to go into danger. Madagascar is very unhealthy, and the numerous victims who have been sacrificed there already do not encourage French peasants, who are naturally timid, to settle there. Some one must set the example, therefore, and who can do this better than our fathers? See what they have done in this country, and what satisfactory results they have arrived at. Nevertheless, it is possible that we may not go to Madagascar. The question will be settled not by us, but by the superior-general, after a meeting of the various abbots who form the council of the order."

"Do you not think it rather extraordinary that Governor Laroche, who has left Catholicism to become a Protestant, should be the one to call upon Catholic monks for help?"

"Monsieur Laroche," replied Dom Louis, "is a man of high intelligence and absolute rectitude. Our fathers who knew him here, when he was Prefect in Algeria, know and appreciate his worth. He often came to hunt over our property, and dined with the abbot who preceded me. I do not know him personally, but from what I have heard I think that the government has chosen well. Monsieur Laroche, better than another, is fitted for a dangerous part, which necessitates the presence of a man with energy and tact. He has embraced Protestantism; well, so much the worse for him! But that should not prevent us from taking action. We must not object to stand side by side with others who are working from motives of humanity. Shall we go to Madagascar? The question has yet to be discussed. But it is certain that if it is answered in the affirmative the government must help us, must protect us, must assist us out, and must hand over a certain amount of cultivable land to us."

"Are you not afraid of the English Methodists who have for so long been rooted in the island?"

"Not in the least! Whenever the Catholic monk encounters the Methodist, it is the latter that has to give way. What is more to be feared, if prompt action is not taken, is that the Jews will take possession of the best and richest parts of the island."

So for the Abbot of Staouëli; and now from another quarter we gather a much more glowing description. A well-known German writer, M. Wolff, says, in a letter to the "Tagblatt Berliner," that:

"Madagascar may be made the storehouse of France, if only the Creoles are prevented from taking possession of it. If the Creoles are allowed to do as they like in Madagascar every effort will be in vain. From Suberbieville to the frontier of Imerina the country is admirably fitted for the raising of cattle, while the mountain ranges will serve for sheep runs.

"France will be able to get from Madagascar all her provisions of wool, and will thus no longer need to depend for it on Australia or the Cape. Coffee, cocoa and tobacco will grow plentifully. In fact, it is an admirable and wonderful country, having its frigid zone, its temperate zone and its torrid zone; a country where all imaginable products of the earth grow and flourish. I know of no other country where, side by side with the banana and the mango, you find the apple tree and the strawberry, or where, as in the market of Tananarine, you may see side by side the European potato and the eastern *patate*, or sweet potato. I would willingly give all the parts of Africa which I have visited in exchange for Madagascar, with the firm conviction of having made a good bargain! In case of war, too, everything necessary is to be found in the island—food, fuel and minerals—so that Madagascar is destined, in my eyes, to play an important part in future international considerations."

Whether, then, a second Staouëli will arise in that distant land only the future can tell; if such should be the decision of the Trappist Council, we know that the splendid self-devotion, the earnest labor, the entire self-abnegation of some future founder will be as fruitful, as glorifying to his Divine Master, as were the life and work of Francis Regis in the old, yet ever new, toil-worn, yet ever stainless habit of sweet St. Bernard, under the burning southern sun.

FRANCE.

T. L. L. TEELING.

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### THE SITUATION IN ROME.

ABOUT the situation in Rome, as it was during the month of September, 1895, *The Saturday Review* then wrote as follows: "Italy has hardly moved forward in any respect during the last twenty-five years which have elapsed since the last French zouave quitted Rome and the vanguard of the Savoyard's troops marched in by *Porta Pia*. New problems and changed conditions occupy the attention of the rest of Europe. The Italian Kingdom lags behind, not far from where September of 1870 found her, still engrossed in the apparently impossible task of digesting the Papacy. The national energies have been concentrated upon this solitary undertaking, to the exclusion of everything else. The abnormal outlay upon an army and navy several sizes too large for the country is only one of a number of sacrifices which the attempt has involved."

The writer of the article next proceeded to detail some of the efforts made in this connection, and then concluded his statement: "The acquisition of Rome has, in fact, sterilized the Italian Monarchy. The vehement protests of Pius IX. and the no less effective, if more suave, obstinancy of Leo XIII. have availed to keep the Roman Question alive for a quarter of a century. It is well known that the Vatican holds in reserve a great host of pious voters, who have never yet exercised the right of suffrage; its influence over the women of Italy is as powerful as ever. These elements of resistance can at a given signal be turned into an offensive force, strong enough to wreck any ministry, and perhaps a dynasty along with it. It is to nobody's interest that this stupid dead-lock should continue. Fortunately, there seem to be indica-



tions that a solution, or rather a compromise, is no longer regarded by those most closely concerned as altogether out of the question."

There is much matter for profitable meditation in these paragraphs of the habitually acute not less than suggestively written periodical. That periodical, we may reasonably suppose, regarded the situation in Rome objectively, and, as we may also suppose, was at least not moved by any feeling of sympathy towards the Papacy. We, therefore, quote its judgment because this may be regarded both as impartially made and as representative of the views which candid observers in every part of the world must, some willingly, others unwillingly, some at an earlier, others at a later date, be brought to entertain about the situation in Rome and in Italy.

The statement bears witness to the fact that Italy has absorbed the Papacy without assimilating it. The conception of this fact must be the groundwork of every just conception of the situation. The statement, furthermore, bears witness to the fact that Italy has expended the best of her energies during a quarter of a century in a vain endeavor to assimilate the Papacy, and that instead of showing any promise of a better success in the future she is compelled, for the sake of internal peace, to confront the alternative of compromise or of chronic disorder. This may be taken to be the permanent condition of the Italian State in respect to the Papal Church. The desired solution has not yet come, but the "stupid dead-lock" continues.

And to set still more in relief the impartiality of the statement, regarded as an expression of unbiassed opinion, we may point out that it was made during a season when international comity or courtesy would have disposed even a *Saturday Review* to an expression of good-will, since at that moment Italy was ostentatiously solemnizing "the Silver Jubilee" of her "wedding with Rome," which "wedding" is here represented, under a very different figure of speech, as the swallowing of the last Papal morsel.

Consequently, we possess in this statement a high level of favor towards Italy, and a corresponding or lower level of favor, or even of indifference, towards the Papacy; favor and indifference which are duly opposed and duly combined in the forming of an estimate. Yet, this estimate is an explicit recognition of the rightfulness of the Papal demands. Catholics do not stand in need of such support, for they have been accustomed to neglect, but they may set some store by such a testimony. There have been given many such, but the present one has been quoted here simply because, within a brief and correct outline, it summarizes the existing situation and indicates the hopeless nature of the evil until a compromise shall have been sought and attained.

It has been, and is, the password among those who are averse to the Papal claims to say that there is no Roman Question. The thing has been done to death, and the insistence and obstinacy with which, in Italy especially, the denial has been bandied about are very much akin to the frantic methods of the traditional atheist who acts as though he had resolved his negation into a positive belief.

We will here take for granted that there is a Roman Question. If there is, Catholics have a duty of considering it and of approaching it with all possible courage and with the fewest possible preconceptions. Within a score of years not only the conditions but the possibilities of the case have changed. The view which appears to prevail in the Roman Curia is most likely to be the correct one, yet few Catholics are thoroughly conversant with it. It tentatively embraces, or tends towards, a solution which is offered, or strongly suggested, by the situation itself. It is, therefore, the most obvious and, at the same time, the most natural. It is also the least difficult of effectuation.

To describe it, or rather to characterize it, in a somewhat philosophical manner, we may say that many, at least, of the best-informed regard a solution as possible, as potentially near though practically distant, and this because not visible to the vulgar eye. If it be such, and if it be entertained in such quarters, it must recommend itself even to all those non-Catholic Christians who cherish the desire of a lasting and effective peace between Church and State.

The month of January, 1890, and the same month in 1897, may be regarded as the time-limits of any description of the present moral and material situation in Italy as regards the Roman Question. From 1870 to 1875 ran one marked period; from 1879 to 1889 another not less marked. Though clearly distinguished by the characteristics proper to them, their precise limits of time are either not easily discernible or are unimportant. They were highly marked by events. To these two periods has succeeded a third, which is at present incomplete, but which shows more important, though less salient, characteristics than those possessed by either of its forerunners. It is a period of reflection.

That elapsing between 1870 and 1879 should have been, like an "era" in geology, a period of formation, adaptation and preparation. It was the first period of the Italian domination in Rome, yet it was scarcely less stagnant, as far as thought was concerned, than it was inoperative as far as commencements were concerned; a period not so much of transition as of simple inaction. The Italian Government stood—it did not even so much as sit—with its hands folded. A man to whom opportunity and conscience dictate at cross-purposes is often stimulated into feverish activity



after he has preferred to follow opportunity rather than to obey conscience. The paradox of Italian inaction from 1870 to 1875 is explained by the uncertainty of the tenure held of the Holy City. The pictures then presented survive, obsolete and grotesque, in the minds of some Catholics. It was a period not of stagnation only, but of stupefaction also, they were told ; a demonstration of the folly of Victor Emanuel in hoping to rule in the Papal City, they were also told. All this was well enough, had its consequences not been come to be joined with every possible phase of the Italian occupation. Without the Pope, they also learned, grass would grow in the streets of Rome ; while, on the other hand, no potentate but he could establish a secure footing in the Eternal City. The first things have changed ; the others were part of a kindly superstition which Divine Providence has allowed to be falsified, and was like to the reverential pseudo-prophecy about the years of Peter in the supreme Pontificate. Indeed, the Italians did not at first seem to have come to stay. Their sovereign, or his minister, Sella, had affirmed the contrary : *a Roma ci siamo e ci resteremo*;<sup>1</sup> but for a spell of years the fiat was not lived up to. The new masters dwelt in furnished rooms, so to speak. Victor Emanuel might almost have been mistaken for a royal guest outstaying his welcome in the summer residence of his friend, the Pope. At the worst he resembled Charles VIII., and it was more probable that Pius IX. would have enthralled his conscience and subdued his will than that Alexander VI. should have compelled the French conqueror to cower on his knees. The Pope was in a plight only a little worse than that of Leo IX. after the battle of Civitella, and the king, in his devotion, was not altogether dissimilar to the Norman adventurer. Therefore, the native Romans were emboldened to make the most rigorous resistance of which they were capable. Their *bon mots* were diverted from the incidental foibles of the former Government to the natural constitution of the new. The one had been derided because paternal ;<sup>2</sup> the other was detested because liberal and intrusive. Their inevitable gibes and delicious pasquinades were multiplied, used as the equivocal output of some hatred and much contempt, and given a novel permanence in gusty sheets.<sup>3</sup> Altogether, there was no cohesion between the old and new in Rome. There was not even adhesion. When the environs of Rome were darkened with Cadorna's host

<sup>1</sup> This bald dictum, *Here we are and here we stay*, has been injudiciously compared to the *Hic manebimus optime*. The comparison is unfortunate, from a literary point of view, at least.

<sup>2</sup> Mary Lafon has been at pains to read a perfect fanaticism of rebellion into the secular ebullitions of Roman fun *before 1870*.

<sup>3</sup> *La Frusta*, etc.



on the eve of the breach, the Pope was reported to have declared that Rome could not undergo capture. It could be invaded, but it could not, would not, be taken. His confidence was not shared by all the good, but it was accepted by very many, even of the indifferent. When the city actually fell, some of the devout believed that it would not be entered; when it had been entered, they felt sure that it could not be held. In general, the faith in a miraculous intervention was changed, in regard not so much to its object as to circumstantial details. The confidence in the benign and mysterious power of the unarmed Pontiff was nourished. Thus it was that not only the more loyal believers and adherents but many of the less disinterested waited and did not rally to the dominant power.

Then a change came. The ensuing period has been well described in a summary way by a French writer:<sup>1</sup> "*On s'aperçut alors que la France ayant repoussé, par la main des catholiques libéraux qui s'étaient fait ses repondants, la salut que la monarchie allait lui apporter, ne tarderait pas de renvoyer ce gouvernement bâtard, qui ne voulait pas faire le mal, mais qui était impuissant à organiser le bien. Le gouvernement français penchait à gauche, la France ne comptait plus pour la Sainte Siege, et Victor-Emmanuel pouvait jouir en paix des fruits de son usurpation. Alors on poussa activement les travaux d'assainissement et d'embellissement et on commença la transformation de Rome. En 1874, la population est de 256,000 habitants et s'élève graduellement chaque année. En 1885, elle était de 345,036 individus, avec un accroissement de 11,000 personnes. Suivant cette moyenne, nous sommes au dessus de la vérité, en assignant maintenant à Rome (Mai, 1887) une population totale de 368,000 habitants.*" L'augmentation de la population de Rome est un fait assez facile à expliquer. Le gouvernement voulant s'établir solidement dans sa nouvelle capitale dont il connaissait bien l'attachement au Saint Siège, n'avait que le choix entre deux moyens; déporter les vaincus, ou les noyer dans la masse des vainqueurs. Le premier procédé, qui est le plus ancien était plus radical; mais heureusement il n'est plus dans nos moeurs force était de se contenter du second."

So an aspect of stability was given to the Italian sojourn here. The huge and tasteless structures of the new Rome arose to receive, in straitness or squalor, the denizens who came to fill the city and to make it the antithesis of all that it had been in the past. We will here digress so far as to say that the Government which

<sup>1</sup> M. Felix Grimaldi, *Rome Après 1870*, pp. 162-3-4. He assigns 1874 as the date of change. The difference is immaterial, both for the reason given above and for this other, that he takes 1874 as a point of starting, not as one of realization.

<sup>2</sup> I have omitted a sentence from the quotation. The population of Rome is now of about 435,000 souls. Before 1870 it counted less than 200,000,

erected these structures may abide here as long as they continue to resist the swayings of storms and the force of centripetal attraction. Without the casualties of an earthquake or a siege they, and the Government with them, may abide here the tenth part of a cycle. To say so is not to make a prophecy, if only because a prophecy would be valueless. But it is not useless to record the expression, naturally only approximate, of what has been learned by watching the Roman Question undergo submergence and return, and by computing the strength and weakness of the opposing parties and the efficacy with which the protests sent out from the Vatican reverberate against the Aurelian walls. Nor need an inference drawn from the construction of the new city be unduly fanciful. There is much of reasonableness, as well as of naturalness, in the sentiment of how symbolic is the setting of stones in order for the building of the homes of men, of how an innate, though perhaps unconscious, conviction of transitoriness may make itself felt in the dull, cemented stones destined to stand as witnesses through years, through centuries or through ages. The low-walled Palatine of Romulus soon gave place to a commencement more worthy of *Aurea Roma*. Augustus found the city of brick and left it of marble. Italian Rome was jerry-built.<sup>1</sup> But its jerry-built houses need not crumble in the course of a century.

In a finer way, too, the new Rome contrasted itself wantonly, and to its great damage, with its predecessor. It was not necessary that there should have been a guiding inspiration of perpetual dominion in the structures set up during the seventies and the eighties, but it was desirable that there should have been the express significance of a healthful and solid art.<sup>2</sup> On the contrary, the sickly self-conscious artificiality of stucco Rome arose, the gods beholding and the world of culture blaspheming. In this the new builders were more eloquent than it was either decorous or prudent for them to have been.

Intimately related, as cause to effect, as part and counterpart, to these were other moral manifestations. There was an appetite for bigness, though there was no taste for grandeur. To satisfy this appetite, which was also a pressing one in point of time, imaginary wealth and credit came into existence, flourished, and fell into an abyss of debt and collapse, leaving in its stead ruin, and, worst of

<sup>1</sup> I am speaking of Europe, and not of America; but the case is the same, with changes, *mutatis mutandis*, in America also. The flimsiness of Constantinople was not a generally pervading characteristic. Cf. Gibbon, *Decline and Fall*, ch. xvii. The *Cloaca Maxima* of Tarquinius is still the principal sewer of Rome.

<sup>2</sup> It is the same in things great and small. A wretched and suspicious-looking booth near the bridge of S. Angelo bears the following inscription over its veiled entrance: *L'Arte rinnova i popoli, e ne rivela la vita*. The inscription might serve as a characterization of the entire city. It is a grandiloquent parody.



all, an overgrown and parasitical population, one item of which was sixty thousand workmen without work.<sup>1</sup>

The collapse befell with something of the melodramatic; with loud fallings of stately banks and financial associations; with popular protestations and clamor, and with the semblance of, or an ineffectual attempt at, a public revolution; but, for the greater part, the evil wrought itself out sullenly, almost silently. Its gradual evolution—for the trouble is still a present one—has flowed over the riots of 1889 and become, with slight modifications, a characteristic of the third period. The vast ruin has engendered vaster discontent and skepticism still more comprehensive about the ideals and inspirations of the Revolution. Evil multiplies in progression, and the disasters of the second period assumed national dimensions.

Hence it may be, that if the murmurs have lapsed into quiescence, the endurance of calamity in silence may have become a permanent fact of ill-boding significance. Another people might not suffer fools gladly in high places and robbers in the centres of ruling, but the Italian people could scarcely make a revolution in any circumstances whatsoever. A people, however, which is not ardent enough for a revolution must be cool enough for reflection. The distinction points the solution of the Roman Question.

Reflection, then, is giving wisdom to the generation of to-day. The period in which the Italian people are now living is one of rumination.

And this brings us to the purely moral phenomena of the situation. The people think they are, by nature, cunning and self-seeking, as might have been suspected from the conscious nature of their art and the reiteration of their claims to be reputed idealists. They are, above all else, seekers for bread, and neither Heaven nor men will judge them severely for this. They have worked up their fictitious enthusiasms, lived through a crisis, and, the experiment over, settled down to gather the fruits of their experience.

To their thinking, or at least to the thinking of very many among them, one fact protrudes itself more forward than any other. They, like the French on the eve of the Terror, have the

<sup>1</sup> The material aspect of that period has been made famous by Mr. F. Marion Crawford in one of his Roman novels. We are concerned with the moral aspect. It is curious to observe in this connection the alliance between the two orders of phenomena and the way in which both have forced the Roman Question into prominence. After the building craze, financial crisis and *Panamino*, came the African disasters. The three former originated in the desire to make a home in Rome; the last, in the ambition to form a colony abroad. All of them sprang from the situation created by the Papacy; in Africa, many of the weapons of Menelik's troops were the discarded arms sequestered from the Papal army in 1870.



millennium, but they have not bread. The occasion, perhaps the cause, of their poverty has been this enterprise against "the priests,"—*i preti*—, for their poverty has been not lessened but increased by the coming to Rome, and was insufferably augmented by the disasters which Rome produced. To the material chasm created in the hour of crisis corresponds a cleft in the moral situation now—a cleft which has not been repaired, which has remained, and which has expanded, and which may go on widening until it have set at difference every element in the nation, every department of the public, and of the private life of the people every family, almost every household.<sup>1</sup> For Christ has come to set men asunder.

In this maelstrom of the present—if the conditions of good-natured and perhaps flaccid people deserve such a name—in this turmoil, at least, search must be made for every evidence or glimmering indication of forecast about the future of the Papal question. If the conditions of thought and feeling and the posture of facts, political and social, existing in Italy to-day do not present the picture of a maelstrom, it is due to the absence of the necessary agitation, not to that of confusion; due in general to the mild acceptance given to the facts and not to the want of potency in the facts themselves. Perhaps these conditions present rather the picture of a sea. Every presentment of the condition of Italian affairs is illusory, because of the various and conflicting causes which escape from investigation or which defy analysis, and also because we exaggerate and minimize in our inability to resolve into truthful figures the paradoxes which substantively disclose themselves to our observation. To be at all accurate, we should be tediously careful neither to minimize the strong eddyings of Italian thought nor to exaggerate the impetuosity of the reflux. To the landsman, as has been well said, the ocean seems to be one huge, immeasurable and equal flood, obeying as a mass the simple law of ebb and flow, and offering to the navigator a single uniform force, whereas in reality it is the movement of myriad streams urged by a thousandfold direct and contrary impulses, so that its seeming uniformity covers the energy of countless currents and counter-currents, making the sea-floor to be not even and the same, but an unequal surface, the resultant of varied conditions of elevation and subsidence; not one mass, but the aggregate of many masses, each moving along definite and particular lines.

May we not all have gone too far, *à la de Maistre*, in identifying for the most part naturally disparate forces of Philosophism and Revolutionism? It was rather "the Evangel according to Jean

<sup>1</sup> In Italy the word *family* is used in a tribal sense; the *household* represents the American *family*.

Jacques" than the apocalyptic infidelity of Voltaire and the Encyclopædists which brought the revolutionary movement to birth. The latter graduated the planes for the downrushing of the old-constituted polity of the world; but the predominant among the specifically determining forces, the real agency, was intrinsically and derivatively not religious but social, and directed, when in action, against the State, which suffered final suppression, not against the Church, which is for evermore. Long before the Law of Prairial or the Festival of the Supreme Being, the movement which we call the French Revolution was formed, set on the way to its own completion or annihilation and to the achievement of its aims. It was also made irresistible by virtue of its internal constitution not less than by favoring circumstances, though of this last it may have been uncertain or unconscious. There existed all that which constitutes a human movement, a volume of thought incorporated in a living and powerful body. The entity thus constituted not only began its career, but discharged many of its primary functions without employing the terror of its calm or maddened onslaughts against the Church. That was the French Revolutionary movement. Its degeneration into madness, its making war upon religion, its reverting to barbarism have puzzled its admirers<sup>1</sup> and tended to hurry Christians into the delusion that the enemies of king-craft were the enemies of Christianity also. But impartial history can scarcely hesitate to admit that the revolution which Louis XVI. mistook for a revolt was an uprising against over-taxation, an uprising prompted by the want of bread and determined by the scrutiny which revealed the immediate and mediate responsibility of the *Seigneurs*. The *peuple taillable et corvéable à merci et miséricorde* had no direct quarrel with priests, and it was long before, by a perversion, war began to be made against the rank and file of the French clergy and against the status of its members as the ministers of a spiritual religion.

The acknowledged identity of the Revolution in Italy with that which preceded it in France would suffice to show that the latter was not essentially or necessarily anti-religious.

The Revolution which in Italy overthrew seven dynasties and set the descendant of Humbert the White-handed on a throne in the Quirinal Palace was a *bourgeois*<sup>2</sup> re-enactment and repetition of the French Revolution. In some ways it was a parody; in other ways a vitalized and worthy repetition.

We are living in the centenary of the introduction of the Tricolor

<sup>1</sup> See, for instance, Lord Macaulay's essay on Sir James Mackintosh's *History of the Revolution*, and his other on Hallam's *Constitutional History*.

<sup>2</sup> We hope that it is not necessary to apologize for the use of the foreign term, which is the only exact expression of our idea.



in the Cisalpine Republic.<sup>1</sup> The Italian generation of 1797 was too much a thing of periwigs, powder and paint to become sincerely revolutionary or thoroughly subversive. But many whole-souled revolutionaries were begotten out of its loins. The new Italian revolutionary might be all or something of, let us say, Robespierre or Marat, of Timoleon or Harmodius, of either Brutus, of Cola di' Rienzo, of Giovanni Capocci, or of Pier Capponi. He conformed more or less to one or other of these types, in proportion as he was more or less *bourgeois*. His ideals were as much as possible Italian. The non-classic and least old of these types had smaller efficacy, and even among the older there were gradations of honor and of imitation. For other reasons the more Catholic and conservative Cola di' Rienzo and Pier Capponi might undergo obscurity while Stepano Porcari and Giovanni Capocci might become more resplendently exemplar.<sup>2</sup> The types were varied and even confusing, and so were those who conformed to them. The revolutionaries should have been demagogues, but they were not always such. The leaders, however, were often tribunes, and it might have seemed impossible to be successfully revolutionary after the days of Terror without becoming democratic. Whether this was or was not the inevitable condition of being a revolutionary *au complet*, the Revolution could at no time have triumphed unaided. Its adherents were but a fraction of the people before the middle of the century. Hence the Red-shirts, even after so late a date as 1860, few in number, were recruited from the royal forces of Piedmont,<sup>3</sup> and for their own dear cause they achieved little and served a royal master on behalf of another

<sup>1</sup> The Senator-Poet Carducci is the last of a long line of witnesses to the substantial identity of the two revolutions. See the eloquent peroration of his speech on the centenary of the Tricolor: *O giovani, contemplaste mai con la visione dell'anima questa bandiera, quando ella dal Campidoglio riguarda i colli e il piano fatale onde Roma discese e lanciossi alla vittoria e all'incivilimento del mondo? O quando dalle antenne di San Marco spazia sul mare che fu nostro e o par che spii nell'Oriente i regni della commerciante e guerreggiante Venezia? O quando dal Palazzo de' Priori saluta i clivi a cui Dante salvò poetando, da cui Michelangelo scendeva creando, su cui Galileo sancì la conquista dei cieli? Se una favilla vi resti ancora nel sangue dei nostri padri del Quarantotto e del Sessanta, non vi pare che su i monumenti della gloria vetusta questo vessillo della patria esulti più bello e diffonda più lieti i colori della sua gioventù?* In this, its youth, the movement was an offspring of the French Revolution. In moments of fervor the Tricolor waved gloriously over the legionaries of an idea; in moments of desperation it was folded not less gloriously but mournfully over them. All the enthusiasts who were gathered from Ticino to Caltanissetta to fight the battles of independence lived and died in the faith of the Tricolor. It was the banner not of the epopee only, but of unification also.

<sup>2</sup> Because both had unremittently resisted Popes, and because the theatre of the actions of both had been the Papal City itself.

<sup>3</sup> The historians and chroniclers of the movement allege facts in support of this assertion. See, for instance, Th. O'Clery, *The Making of Italy*.



cause. The king had to rely upon the elements which the country afforded, and the *bourgeoisie* was everywhere the predominant power. For the purchase of the kings<sup>1</sup> and its co-operation, the movement initiated by *Sansculottes* and continued by *Carbonari* became a *bourgeois* Revolution, a precise parallel to which has been seen nowhere else.

The inherence of this quality in the Revolution must be borne in mind during every survey of Italy as it is to-day. The well-dressed citizen<sup>2</sup> decorates his house with the portraits of Mazzini and Garibaldi. With his family he listens to the *Inni* of both, and of Goffredo Mameli, while he sips iced drinks during the music played in the public piazzas in the soft summer time. The emollient seasons maintain the character which they have helped to make.

From these strange conditions, apparently like, but in reality quite unlike, to those existing under the Third Republic in France, various conclusions may be drawn.

The first may be this: that a *bourgeois* is always a *bourgeois*, never a *prolétaire*. If, therefore, any question arise, even a question of the stability of the State, it will appear to him to be quite secondary compared with the stability of property. In every contingency he will use his power on behalf of the stability of the existing body politic. That is why he can be loyal now, and that is why he could be disloyal at a juncture, and why his loyalty, after a juncture, would be readily attached to a new master. He is unchanging in nature and desire under every flag. He cannot change. His conditions may change. Then he adapts his old feelings and methods to his new environment. He cannot but love his houses and his rent-rolls, if he possesses them, or his apartment, if he does not, even as he cherishes his wife and children with incomparable fondness. Whether the theoretic distinctions between the universal *meum* and his particular *tuum* be clearly or faintly discernible to him, there is always that sheet-anchor of his possessions, great or small, to save him from being swept into the full stream of revolutionary thought.

The second conclusion may be this: that in becoming a half-hearted abettor of the revolutionists he has diluted "the sweet and heady must of their new liberty," watered down the wine of madness from which every good democrat of necessity drinks to keep himself in life, and not only given his color to the victorious party, but also secured its control. Thus he has made democracy

<sup>1</sup> The sovereigns of the two Sicilies, of Tuscany and even of Parma had been invited to co-operate and share or absorb the spoil. Piedmont, which was less powerful than the two Sicilies, accepted the offer.

<sup>2</sup> Even though he be a church-goer.

a failure in Italy; its representatives in Parliament, in the press and in public opinion weak; its followers few, its creed sterile. The *bourgeois* has his titled betters with him, but he is the predominant partner.<sup>1</sup>

The third conclusion may be this: that just as lawyers prove to be the best legislators, so the men of the middle class, like to lawyers in sobriety of desires and objectivity of perception, are the most healthful and hopeful elements in the Italian State, estimated from the point of view of the Papal question, and from almost every other rational standpoint. The members of the middle class of Italian society cannot but discriminate. They will not, because they cannot, easily lend themselves to the machinations of those who would destroy the existing order, because they are organically incapable of sharing the enthusiasm of destroyers. Elsewhere they compose the stable element in the State. So do they here also. In a country revolutionized to their liking and by their consent,<sup>2</sup> they cannot but wield a similar influence over the destinies of the body politic, and scarcely less over the spheres of the moral world. They give the intonation to thought and to action.

There has been a great mis-reading of these aspects of Italian life. Italy has been represented as a Catholic nation asleep. The figure halts with more than the ordinary lameness of tropes. The Italian *bourgeoisie* first distinguished the major premiss of a syllogism and then proceeded to make a revolution. Those who see the revolution, and who will not conceive of the distinction, will never cease to be mystified by what they see in Italy. The Italian revolutionaries absolutely repudiated, and still repudiate, both in theory and in practice, what they were told by their teachers to regard as priestly encroachment on legitimate national aspirations.

No purpose can be served by blinking this fact. Accepting it, we cease to wonder when we look on a class which has dethroned

<sup>1</sup> It might very well be argued that Italy, which has the largest titular nobility in the world, has hardly any aristocracy. But it might be argued with equal plausibility that there is no *bourgeoisie*, in agreement with and in contradiction to which it may be replied that everybody who is not a prince, duke or *prolétaire* is a *bourgeois*. Princely and ducal titles were only given in the Italian States having kings for sovereigns; hence the counts and untitled *Nobili* of Tuscany, which was ruled by a grand duke, must be regarded as the equivalents of princes and dukes. By the Italian *bourgeoisie* I mean the proprietary classes who possess something in contradistinction to the *prolétaires* who possess nothing, and to the nobles who actually perform, or who might perform, the duty of satellites at the courts of the Vatican, of the Quirinal, of Palermo, Naples, Florence, Monza, Turin, etc. The Italian *prolétariat* is an inert mass; the nobles are elegant trifles. Only the middle class has to be reckoned with.

<sup>2</sup> Not, however, in the same degree with their active co-operation. It would not be untrue to say that, after they had given their concurrence to the movement, the common people fought at their behest.

the Pope and still preserved its spiritual allegiance to him—an allegiance which is specifically different from that of the modern Frenchman who receives the sonship of God in Baptism and who approaches the Holy Table on the verge of youth, but who, during the remainder of his passage to the grave, sees priests only quite casually, at the funerals of his friends and the christening of his friends' children, and who dies, too often, without the consoling ministrations of those about whom he has had so little concern. The Italians of the middle class have no cult other than that of Christianity, yet they, for the most part, feel a need of religion—a need which, when perceived at all, must be imperiously recognized, if not effectively obeyed. The overwhelming majority of them obey it in practice, but modify its teaching with the distinction mentioned above. Therefore they profess themselves to be religious—at the worst after the manner of the profoundly religious knights whom the American met at the Court of King Arthur. Be this religiousness great or small, practical or unpractical, it does not, and it probably will not, act in any notable degree upon their political consciences unless the Papal question be raised in the highest circles.

In a State which is unstable as well as nervous by reason, let us suppose, of chronic dyspepsia, the stability which the *bourgeois* supplies to it is not such as to give it any satisfactory assurance of immunity from grave and perhaps fatal disasters in the future. Two efficient and necessary supports to every State should be found in the clergy and the middle class. In Italy the clergy is hostile; the support of the middle class precarious by reason of the hostility of the clergy. For just as the *bourgeois* is loyal to the interests of the Government in so far as they are identified with those of the nation, so the Papacy, when actually obliged to use measures of hostility, is most meticulous in distinguishing between the Government and the nation. The distinction does not pass the comprehension of the people. Hence the active fury of anti-clericalism has gone out of date. Could it be shown that the interests of the Papacy and of the nation were radically and permanently the same, a process of elimination against the common cause of discord would eventually come into play.

There are not wanting indications that such may fall out; nor are those who direct the action of the Papacy by any means blind to the fact, that were the full and necessary evidences of such a community of interests given, the other obstacles might not long bar the way to a perfect and lasting peace. A case in point occurred, when, in the spring of 1896, Leo XIII. used his good offices with the Negus on behalf of the Italian prisoners at the prompting of a desire to succor Italy<sup>1</sup> in an hour of desperation.

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<sup>1</sup> That it is: the people and the country, not the Government.



It is natural that even the purely religious influence should be made some account of. A class which is not fervently religious may still be partially, if not totally, actuated by religious motives. The momenta in causation are, almost always, not less numerous than complex, and in the collective force of causes one propellent factor is always present and generally discoverable. Such is often the influence of religion. It is in great crises that religion imposes its authority most effectually upon the political elements of nations. Princes go to Canossa in an hour of weakness, and States seek the timely help of the Church in the face of impending disaster. Thus not the Italian middle class only, but the Monarchy itself, might make an offer of peace, but, directly or derivatively, the power of impulsion resides in the entire body of the people, and most of all in the middle class. Now, the interests of the Italian people require, nay are, peace and prosperity at home, protection and honor abroad. As long as the feud between Church and State endures there may be prosperity, but there can be no secure and lasting peace. Nor will the absence of this secure and lasting peace be made evident only theoretically. The disorder is enteric. The last test of truth lies in the application of facts. It is undoubted that at least a large minority<sup>1</sup> of the Italians would be conscience-stricken if drastic measures were used against the Holy See in their name, would be paralyzed by Papal prohibitions in the case of a demand for their co-operation on behalf of the State in a cause which the Pontiff placed under a ban, and would always remain of such unalterable conviction as to the rightfulness of his demands and the injustice of the refusal to entertain them that they would utilize, or allow to be utilized, a moment of danger to the Government to establish peace. The attempt might be dangerous; but they are already so militant, that is, so courageous and so well organized, that their future fidelity to their public professions must be reckoned with as a certainty. To use an Italian form of speech, there is not a dog in Italy that does not know all this. In application it embraces, with relative distinctions, both the Catholic and half-Catholic sections of the nation. But if this be admitted, it follows that the identity of interest between the *bourgeoisie* and the Roman Pontificate is so strong as to create a variety of possibilities in which not only a recognition of national interests but even a sensibility to the claims of the Pontiff could bring an already formidable and apparently increasing number of Italians to his side. But we wish to observe that such combinations as those indicated would spring rather from the general rela-

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<sup>1</sup> Upwards of 50 per cent. of the Italian electors abstain from the voting-booths in obedience to the Pontifical injunction that they shall *neither elect nor be elected*.

tion of the four ideal conditions of the country to the Roman Question than from any peculiar and exceptional causes. In the circumstances which would promote the proposal and accomplishment of a consideration of the Papal claims, we must distinguish two kinds: the one, of those which would arise from some agreeable incident; a brochure coming from the pen of a notable personage, the Sovereign meeting with a Cardinal and discussing "reconciliation," the advocating of a reconsideration by some high-placed political personage, etc.; the other, of those which would be more imperious and at the same time calamitous; bankruptcy, an insurrection, a war, etc. Upon such grave casualties as these latter, of which the potentiality for producing or allowing change is the greatest possible, foresight can be but indifferently and conjecturally exercised, though, except in the hypothesis that a Republican or Anarchical Government were set up, the chances should, from the outset, tell strongly in favor of the Holy See.<sup>1</sup> It is sufficient that the general exigencies of the country should have a pertinent relation to the Papal question in order to arouse religious and semi-religious discord of a nature so acute as to bring the question forward as one of actuality. There can be no settled peace while a prince remains in the Vatican surrounded with a numerous and avowed following, and possessed of an influence on the conscience of almost every citizen.<sup>2</sup> Prosperity is intimately allied to peace. There can be no prosperity, assured against injury, while his energetically reiterated protestations periodically set the political world agog. By the character and security of the peace and prosperity enjoyed at home will be regulated the protection and respect enjoyed abroad. Most of all must be borne in mind a double historic law bearing upon the case. Discord between Church and State has uniformly borne this character: that the religious loyalty of the people is restrained within forms of passivity and subordinated, as far as may be, even at the price of sacrifice, to loyalty towards the State. There is a parallel to this in the lives of individuals. The calls of spiritual interest are made secondary to those of temporal interest in all except great things and by all except pious people, but the power of *revanche* is inherent in the command which the spiritual order possesses. In the crises of the individual lifetime, and in moments of reflex and fully introspective thought and of sudden illumination, the majesty and superiority of the spiritual order are

<sup>1</sup> I believe that the Holy See would prefer either of these systems, if established, to the Monarchy, since the difficulty would then, for obvious reasons, be set on the high-road to adjustment. But to covet the end is not to desire the means.

<sup>2</sup> This last phrase is a variation on one used by Signor Crispi in his memorable article in *The New Review*.



enthralingly realized and instinctively obeyed. The very instinctiveness of such obedience intensifies the energy of the actors. So, in countries rent with a politico-religious quarrel, the ordinary tenor of combating tells in favor of the more pressing and present demands of the State, but in acute stages, when the issue is tried in a particular engagement, fortune more often favors the spiritual power, while the enduringness of the resistance of the latter almost invariably gives it victory in the long run. The tactics, so to call them, of the antagonist of the State are more expensive, provoke more defeats, entail the necessities of a less splendid warfare, but possess a superior promise of triumph.

Thus in Italy, the Papacy following a magnanimous conduct of abstention from open and aggressive hostility for the good of the Italians, and obeying an historic law which affords a promise of victory only the more consoling in proportion as the incidental losses of an habitually passive resistance are galling, enjoys the rational confidence that, should the trend of ordinary events fail to give it justice, it holds in its control the factors which are decisive in a crisis.

A precise measure of the possibilities thus presented lies in an estimate of the religious forces at the disposal of the Vatican. A less direct but scarcely less significant measure may be found in the calculations made by the Italian Government itself. This is an appreciation of that.

The present hour supplies us with one of this kind—with a measure which, if duly considered, would dispense with the need for any other. Di Rudini has broken up a servile Parliament in order to reorganize a political party and a moral power against the only real danger of the Italian State—the Catholic party.<sup>1</sup>

A glance at the direct indications amply justifies the conviction of the Premier.

The readiest of these indications may be found in an estimate of the forces displayed by the Catholic reaction now in progress.

The Catholic reaction was shrouded in that obscurity of a dawn broken only by faint glimmerings which is the prelude of great and triumphal movements. As it was with the Catholics of Italy, so it may be with the Socialists of Italy—years of unnoticed preparation were followed by a sudden success.

The first signs of awakening from the long night of inaction were given when they resolved to make strenuous efforts to assert themselves at the municipal and provincial elections. The open-

<sup>1</sup> The assertion is capable of detailed proof, *a priori* and *a posteriori*. The motive of the Noble Marquis has, however, been publicly stated by his organ, *Il Don Chisciotte di Roma*, in an article signed by the editor, *Il Saraceno*, and printed during the month of January.



ing year of 1894 gave them the predominant power in the Communal Council of the Southern Metropolis; from being a small minority they came to be an overwhelming majority at Naples. Then in the late summer of 1895 the polling for the administrative elections, both municipal and provincial, gave them the balance of power in half the strongholds of anti-Clericalism. While they girded themselves for victory, the idle vaporings of the Liberals—always prone to exaggeration and always ready to self-glorification—would have shaken the faith of any distant observer. But these suffered defeat after defeat; and their rout was all the more inglorious because they had always boasted that Clericalism, as they always will call militant Catholicism, was a *quantité négligeable*. The costs which they had to count, reckoned retrospectively and prospectively, amounted to moral insolvency. They belonged to a party which had vaunted that it was not only master in the field, but numerically overpowering; they had taken their stand not on the transitory basis of a political party, but on that which belonged to the compact and invulnerable majority of a nation. Ever since the days of battle, when they built up the unity with disasters like those of Lissa and Custoza, more especially since the pitiful<sup>1</sup> siege of Rome, they had lived through a time of apotheosis, and in all this long apotheosis they had made it their boast that they were ninety-five per cent of the nation; that they were the nation. How, then, without giving promise of imminent ruin, could their power collapse at this onrushing of the *gens lucifuga* of the political world? They had said, *L'état c'est moi*, and, lo! at Fermo and Thiene, at Bassano (Veneto) and Ancona, at Venice and Treviso and Savona there appeared, in the words of a Liberal paper,<sup>2</sup> "a crushing majority, a host of most black<sup>3</sup> candidates upholding without reticence and without human respect the banner of the Pope-king." Where he did not conquer the Socialists did, as at Imola, because the Catholics abstained from voting. That was the accomplished revival of Catholicism in Italy. It had been pinioned with red tape, suppressed, cancelled. It was revived, powerful, triumphant, fearless, uncompromising, demonstrative. It could not be crushed, for the efforts made to crush it had failed, and they had been the completest of all possible efforts. It had the double strength which is in a reaction; it cried aloud in the streets, and, with a superb assertion of its powers, annulled the *status quo*.

In that moment Liberalism threw up its hands. In its belligerent it foresaw its victor; for a thing which has been predicated as dead, in every revelation of vigor becomes a Nemesis. Liberalism, in its very babyhood, had seemed to strangle its adversary.

<sup>1</sup> Because tactically faulty.

<sup>2</sup> *L'Adriatico*.

<sup>3</sup> Clerical or Catholic.

In its youth it had killed the Nemean lion. It had no stomach for its other labors. It was prematurely old; more than all else, it was prematurely rotten. Its adventures had proved failures, its heroes criminals, its statesmen thieves. It had spent its strength, wasted all its unlovely vigor, after it had let the reins loose upon the neck of its lusts. Had it found no enemy, its manhood and its virtue would have had to suffice in absence of a competitor; but here was an enemy which was beyond all question indomitable, for had it not survived wounds more than mortal?

These feelings were the feelings of all. The perception that the Catholics were the healthiest social, moral and political elements in the nation sunk gradually into the minds of the majority of their enemies. Its impression is deepening daily, and must logically prepare the way for the advent of the Papal party to public life and to political power. Political Liberalism is corrupt; they are incorrupt. It is disillusioned; they are enthusiastic. It is nerveless; they are vigorous. It has seen its ideals vanish and its works wither; they have a glorious ideality and the sanction of success. It has failed; they hold the promise of victory.

The reasons are not far to seek. Catholicism has been purified in castigation. Liberalism has been debauched in victory. The nation seemed<sup>1</sup> to be Liberal, and Liberalism, in fulfilment of splendid promises, gave it loss and disappointment. The Italians who clamored for unity, who fought for it and who effected it, were mostly *doctrinaires*. But they were few. Persuasion had never come to the rest. Every serious calamity is fatal to such a party, and the moral and material depression which is the burden of every description of the country represents a serious calamity.

With the Catholics the happy reverse is the case. They owe their existence as a party to their obedience in a dogmatic religion. That obedience involves the love of and the cherishing of patriotism for the country in which the Government of that Church is placed. They are patriotic Italians for the same cause for which they are fervent Catholics. They have a positive and reconstructive policy; their only negative policy must be reduced to the removal of a perennial fountain of discord. They are not necessarily monarchical or anti-Monarchical, Republican or anti-Republican; consequently, with the fulness of their national creed, the efficacy of their willingness, the experimented and acknowledged capacity of their administration, they combine a consummate adaptability to the needs of the State. In a soundly-minded and moderate people, such as the Italian is, it is impossible that such a party

<sup>1</sup> Seemed, but was not, since the unorganized Catholic body was always powerful numerically. The policy of total abstention, both active and passive, from the elections made it seem powerless.



should be subjected to exclusion or be permitted to continue in abstention to the damage of the State. The result, if not the price, of their co-operation must be some one of those reasonable and satisfactory compromises which are suggested by the situation.

Second in prominence to the religious question only, in so far as an issue out of the present situation is to be sought, is the social question. The social question is the source and summary of all the political questions which affect the situation. Alone, or in conjunction with the religious, the social question may become a vital national issue of the highest emergency. It is so, potentially, even now. Were it to be brought into such operation, the decision concerning all the complex embarrassments presented would chiefly lie with the middle class. In a State which is made hyper-nervous by permanent intestinal disorder the danger of being confronted with a serious social question would be very great, even if the social evils were not in part derived from the discord itself. In the one case that discord might become the ready occasion, in the other it might become the natural cause, of conflict. And here it is obviously sufficient for a remedying of the Papal complaint that the power which stands constituted as its official and capital enemy should endure notable embarrassments, not to say great damage or total extinction, since in a period of upheaval or anarchy the Papacy would possess a following not only more numerous than the anarchical faction, but efficiently equipped for active interference on its behalf. Thus, if the enemy of the actually-existing social order were to overpower its defenders, that calamity would be more than half a victory for the Papal claim to independence, since the unsuccessful of all the protestations made on its behalf has been due to the presence of a united and hostile power enjoying respect, receiving loyalty, guaranteeing order and satisfying the principal material needs of the nation, to which last, as has been said, spiritual needs appear secondary, except in a period of unusual religious fervor. The supposition of an organized *Commune* in Italy must be put aside as being at least equally impossible with that of a permanent state of chaos anywhere else. The Republican party, represented in the Chamber by less than a tenth of the deputies, could only give a realization to its ideals in the case of a rallying to it of the majority or the exercise of tyrannical and military methods. But the Italian troops are not Pretorian Guards, nor ever National Guards, while the odd forty in every hundred of the Italian electors whom the Pope holds in restraint could be at once marshalled to wield, or to acquire, the balance of power. It may well be doubted if the devoted Italian Catholics of to-day are timorous; if they are, then it only remains to be said that in a crisis cowardice often prompts, as courage would.



In its relation to the independence of the Roman Pontificate, the social question, like the political question, would turn upon a choice between the two powers—that of the Vatican and that of the Quirinal. The latter has a double foe—the Vatican and Extreme Liberalism and Anarchism in all their modifications. These extreme parties are opposed to it as the constituted and Monarchical authority. The Vatican is opposed to it as the unrelenting occupant of its own necessary safeguards of every condition of vital independence. So long as the Vatican maintains this discord it enjoys a relative immunity from the assaults of the Extremists, for the double reason that it is not a constituted authority and that it is in formal antagonism to the constituted authority, while its feud might suggest itself as a lever to be used against the State. As the vanquished party and as a depressed influence the Vatican enjoys the right, just as it is forced into the necessity, of utilizing the difficulties of the Monarchy on its own behalf. The interests of the universal Church would certainly induce it, in favorable contingencies, to abandon its passive attitude. Regard for the popular good would be the last measure to its policy of vindication.<sup>1</sup>

Apart from such forced abandonment of its passive policy as the Vatican would be brought to in a crisis, whether that crisis be of the graver or less grave sort, there exist material causes which might dispose the middle class to unite with, or to incline towards, the Papacy as the only, or the only available, influence offering or making possible a panacea to the evils of the State, to the unbearable military and naval equipments, to the stagnation of industry, trade and commerce, and to the general impoverishment.

It is unnecessary to crowd the narrow limits of a review article with elaborate proofs of this. The cases are suggested by a consideration of the posture of parties and of the conditions of the country. Thus, if Italy were to abandon her ambition to maintain a vast war establishment which has served for scarcely a single positive purpose during the space of a generation,<sup>2</sup> and of which, besides ambition, there exists for cause only the Papal difficulty, she could easily recover that prosperity which is proper to her and create other safeguards for her honor and integrity. Though not a wealthy country, she is endowed with sufficient means to support a far larger population than she at present holds. She is op-

<sup>1</sup> Some have talked and written about an alliance between the Vatican and the Republican and some of the other extreme parties. The matter is not worth discussing in theory or as matter of present policy. As one of preparation, the policy would not be very unnatural. A temporary alliance to overthrow the Monarchy would be natural.

<sup>2</sup> It is no consolation to the people who suffer *pellagra* from the want of salt to know that Italy has been entrusted with the command in Crete. Indeed, this command was given on account of her relative unimportance.

pressed and famished almost solely by this military establishment. Incidental financial depressions and incidental ruptures of treaties, such as that of the commercial treaty with France, may be provided against, and, even when past, are reparable or irreparable, because accidental. It has been too freely denied that the Italians nourished political ambitions, but the fruitlessness of these ambitions and the inadequacy of their means, have convinced them that a curtailment of this expenditure and a devolution of the care and wealth expended on them to internal prosperity belong to the wisest policy, and constitute the only policy capable of securely maintaining prosperity. Therefore, the necessity of adjusting or of oppressing the Papal claims is the only remaining cause for the enterprise. That enterprise ended, the troubles of Italy would have no further reason for existence.

In the case of a practical people, and the Italians are such, it is hardly necessary to illustrate the variety of circumstances which may arise in which they would be brought to settle the question which the Papacy has never prejudiced in their eyes by the invoking of foreign aid, by the active fomenting of discord, or by the maintaining of even a semblance of faction at home. Thus we have spoken throughout of hypotheses of cases which we have described as potential. It should be observed, however, that the necessity of adjusting the Papal claims is so real that this conditional description is only true when taken in connection with all the influences which make its solution to be within the proximate possibilities, within the more distant probabilities, or within the remote certainties. If these claims have such qualities, it must be difficult to conceive why the chances should not be more mature and near to accomplishment, and why, in view of their extreme naturalness, we do not esteem their adjustment as an event which is not only certain but among the certainties of the morrow. To this it may be answered that a thing which is possible, and which might receive a determining cause within ten years, may be prevented from realization for a hundred years by some of those complex conditions which, taken as a whole, make its eventual solution both certain and subject to chance. We will try and explain this by a consideration of the general situation in Italy and of the particular development which is, if we mistake not, bearing the Roman question towards a certain but perhaps far-removed finality of solution.

Some of these necessary motive-causes would be violent if brought into action now, and violence is not a characteristic of the mother-land of humanism. Reliance, we have said, may be placed upon the middle class of Italians, not less for sobriety of political judgment than for stability of economic tenure. These, their



characteristics, are long-standing and well-known, and they may be traced backwards to the middle classes of the mediæval republics, where a *bourgeoisie* came into existence and first assumed the rôle of an important social factor. The Italians gave the type which modern Europe has copied, and, if they have changed since they created the type, they have changed by reason of the increase rather than of the decrease of the milder characteristics.<sup>1</sup> They became, first, less barbarous; then more intensely humane. The middle class of Italians, though neither highly educated nor very arid of culture, are humane, not less by reason of historic conditions and of the influences of environment than from natural instinct.<sup>2</sup> To be humane and to be still *bourgeois* is to repel violence, and to excel in that common-sense which is the distinctive quality of "men of the world" and *hommes d'affaires* in the court, the camp and the cabinet. If the Italian *bourgeois* seek his national ancestry he will find its fullest types in the merchants of Genoa and Venice, which republics, like modern England, not only spread a network of commerce over sea and land, but absorbed the carrying-trade of the world and exercised supremacy on the sea; in the financiers of Florence who supplied "the sinews of war" to the third Edward; and, in general, in the titled and untitled burgesses of "the hundred cities."<sup>3</sup> More acumen may have been exhibited at Genoa, more craftiness may have been displayed at Venice, more success may have been reached at Florence. Both qualities were cultivated, and success was attained; and all three tended to create an aversion to war at a time when the people of France, Germany and England were making of the playthings of chivalry the business of their lives, and its bloodier exercises the purpose of their nationhood. The Italian burgess came early to abhor blood, and it would not be difficult to show that the conciliatory disposition and the practice which make the very soul of diplomacy were by him early acquired as a virtue and long retained as a habit.<sup>4</sup> From being a habit they passed to be a second nature.

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<sup>1</sup> Consequently much of the description in Lord Macaulay's *Essay on Macchiavelli* would not be true in the present day.

<sup>2</sup> Ladies from abroad invariably observe how kindly they treat their cats, yet I have never noticed a fondness for cats. These domestic queens are neither *ill-treated* nor *fondled*.

<sup>3</sup> The privileges and characteristics of the burgesses belong to the middling orders of the present day. It is with these middling orders that we are concerned. The *haute bourgeoisie* is not very clearly distinguished in all its points from the aristocracy, but the *petite bourgeoisie*, with its *locupletes* and *assidui*, is contradistinguished from those who are literally *proletarii*.

<sup>4</sup> The remembrance of the *bravi* and of the inhuman methods of "the age of despots" should not be referred to the entire Italian history of the Middle Ages. This is not the place to show how limited by time, place and other circumstances such



So moderate is the temperament of the people in general that Italy is the only European country which has never experienced the horrors of a religious war, though it has been the most tormented of all by civil wars and most frequently embroiled in other wars unconnected with religion;<sup>1</sup> though it has been the seat of the Popes, and has witnessed the rise and progress of the faction of Arnold of Brescia, the crusading of Frederick II.,<sup>2</sup> the incursions of foreign and unorthodox invaders, the possession of North and Northeastern Italy by the Albigensian heresy, and the violence of more than a score of Papal schisms.<sup>3</sup> The present relations of courteous hostility observed by the two powers in Rome are due to these dispositions as well as to the conviction of the uselessness of any other method, and to the common though differently shared hope that such a course may prepare the way for peace, while removing the causes of unnecessary friction without bringing detriment to the rights of either.

These conditions of feeling and of policy<sup>4</sup> naturally suggest that they may be not only the best expedient for the moment, but the surest preparation for future peace. And, indeed, the policy of patient waiting which the Vatican has taken up, and which Leo XIII. has repeatedly asserted to be his only policy would at first blush seem to indicate that the wisdom of the Roman See regards the settlement as both necessary and as necessarily to come from Italy itself, saving always such abrupt or violent chances as have been mentioned.<sup>5</sup>

Great caution is required in approaching this portion of our

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practices were. Admitting, however, for sake of argument, their universal presence in mediæval Italy, it would be quite sufficient for our present purpose to point out that while the modern centuries have obliterated every vestige of such practices in the Italian *bourgeoisie*, the character of the latter has been extremely mollified, while retaining much of shrewdness and of that spirit of negotiation which is the middle-class adaptation of diplomacy.

<sup>1</sup> In such several instance it has abandoned the pursuit of peace only at the dictates of temporal interest.

<sup>2</sup> The Lombard League may suggest a contradiction of this. But Alexander III. acted then as Julius II. did later, when he merited to be saluted as *Italia Liberator*.

<sup>3</sup> Intrusions of anti-Popes. In all, twenty-six at least, from that of Novatian in 254 to the last of all in 1439.

<sup>4</sup> I have noticed that Roman ecclesiastical dignitaries dislike the word *policy* used of the Pope's course of action. We accept the repudiation, but retain the word because of its susceptibility of a finer and purer meaning than it generally receives.

<sup>5</sup> The present Pope may be supposed to have had these changes in view when, on December 27, 1896, he said to the veterans of the disbanded army of 1870 that from Canada, from Ireland, from Belgium, from France and from other countries filial offers of (military) service had come with great frequency. He had replied that he was thankful, and that he hoped the time would soon come when he would again see himself surrounded by so many faithful and dearly-beloved sons. I have commented upon the import and importance of this declaration of His Holiness in *The Tablet*, January, 9, 1897.

theme. We will advance, therefore, by the safest method, that of exclusion.

The Pope may, in the mind of Catholics, be delivered, to-morrow or the day after to-morrow, out of the *impasse* by an intervention of Heaven ordering events wonderfully and manifestly, or by the more natural medium of foreign political interference. The first matter lies beyond calculation. The second medium must be either pacific or not.

With this, as a remote and not impossible contingency, must be coupled another, viz., that the entire Papal dominion as it was before 1840 or an even more extensive territory or power, may pass from the spoiler to the despoiled. Such are ever the chances of spoils. The *Osservatore Romano* believes that those who are unwilling to sacrifice something may lose everything.<sup>1</sup> It might be to the interest of some third person, by the use of positive or negative means, to make possible or to allow an entire restoration to be made, but the stability of the present European settlement and the aversion to war tend to favor consolidation in Italy, and to shut off occasions. General Boulanger dreamed, or said he dreamed, of an Italian Federal Republic with the Pope at its head. It is difficult, however, to see what active interest the European States can have in showing aversion towards Italy or favor towards the Papacy. Yet, without such interest, only the abstract justice of the case could induce them to intervene. Without active intervention no solution can be proposed with effect from abroad. The *status quo* meets as many exigencies as busied and worried chancelleries can bother about. The same rule is applied at Crete, at Constantinople, and in what is called Armenia. Only Ecuador protested against the capture of Rome in 1870, and Ecuador has gone back from what it became under Garcia Moreno, and could effect nothing if it had not. A foreign intervention might occur without a war. Its chances, however, are about proportionate to, though partly distinct from, those of a war. There has been an unceasing and prurient potentiality for war in Europe since the year which saw the downfall of the Papal dominion. War might have been almost at any hour; at some hours it has seemed about to burst out; but the crises have all passed, leaving behind them only a confirmation of peace and every sentiment and moral circumstance which make war more difficult. The material conditions tend to produce war; the moral conditions hold them in check. The reverse is verified in Italy. The necessity which is

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<sup>1</sup> *I.e.*, The Italian Monarch. I repeated this statement to the late Cardinal Galimberti. He qualified it as rubbish. There is every reason, however, to estimate it as it is here estimated.



potential for solution is a moral one. The material adjustment is its restraint. The Roman Question might have been settled at any time; at some times its settlement<sup>1</sup> seemed to be at hand, but each propitious occasion has followed the other out of the field of pressing questions, making a settlement by means of foreign intervention, pacific or not, more and more difficult.

In its present form the feud between the Monarchy and the Papacy is, *in se*, internecine, and it is among the risks of such a feud that one or other of the combatants should in a moment of extreme adversity find himself between the devil and the deep sea. In an hour of success the Papacy might wish to secure a future friend by saving the Monarchy, but it might be too costly for it to attempt such a redemption. The eventuality of the Popes being enabled to entirely recuperate either all their patrimony,<sup>2</sup> or a wider sovereignty still, or a position of greater political eminence than they formerly filled, must be considered as chimerical only in so much as the erection of Prussian ascendancy over Germany seemed chimerical in 1808. There is a case nearer home. The Italy of to-day has been well described as having issued out of the stuff that dreams are made of.<sup>3</sup> Its unity has been achieved in obedience to precepts and ideals which were only the logical sequence of dreams. The idea of independence in unity seemed, within the memory of men still living, to be a dream—*parevano sogni*. What has been created out of the figments of dreams in fifty years is capable of being easily modified in the strangest and most dream-like way. The great lesson of the situation is the almost unlimited possibility of unmaking and making in politics. Consequently, in the worst of all hypotheses, the supreme, the inevitable, the permanent must prevail over everything less than itself. Against such imperious necessity there are no barriers, just as there are no obstructive laws. The false and the unreal must die; but is not the situation of to-day the most anomalous of unreal and false situations? The degree of darkness and uncertainty existing before change is the measure of the prizes to be taken in the effecting of change.

The estimate of the situation thus presented suggests a natural question to the faithful: *Why not propose a plan of conciliation?* To this question comes the serene answer: *It is not for us to propose a compromise or the terms of agreement. The question has not been raised on the other side. The Pope may have terms to offer if*

<sup>1</sup> At the time of the Tosti brochure; again, and in a different way, at the time of the Giordano Bruno commemoration.

<sup>2</sup> This word, now used descriptively, should be clearly distinguished from the patrimony of St. Peter.

<sup>3</sup> *L' Illustrazione Italiana*, number for September 20, 1895.



*the question were raised in a formal and appropriate manner.* And, in truth, it would not be a part of wisdom to propose a compromise unasked. No such offer would receive other than hostile reception, and the hope of an effectual and satisfactory solution might suffer.

Every probable indication goes to show that the Holy See cherishes, not ambitions, but conciliatory dispositions, though the Pope, who is the only arbiter of the situation, keeps his own secret. No pronouncement has ever come from the Vatican. It has formulated no demand, because the recognition of its rights has never been diplomatically proposed. But it has given a negative measure, and has thus far afforded an insight into its views. It renounces nothing so long as nothing is offered, but at the same time the Pope's claims have been indicated in such terms as these, and in terms still less vague:

"It was a most singular privilege and great fortune for our country to be chosen from among so many others as the guardian of the Apostolic Chair, and every page of its history attests what an abundance of benefits and what an increase of glory were continually derived from the immediate care of the Roman Pontificate. Has the nature of this last changed or has its power weakened? Human things change, but the power for good which is in the supreme ruler of the Church is from God and is unchanging; but with this difference, that being created to last throughout all ages, it follows with loving vigilance the path of humanity, nor does it refuse, as its detractors imagine, to adapt itself as far as possible to the reasonable needs of the times. If listening docilely, the Italians would have recourse to their ancient traditions and to the knowledge of their true interests' whence to draw the courage to cast off the Masonic yoke, we would open our heart to the most agreeable hopes for this dearly-beloved Italian land; but if the opposite be the case, we regret to say that we can foresee nothing but new perils and greater disasters.<sup>1</sup>

The terms of compromise seemingly indicated may be classified in two divisions. The first would include the concession of Rome and its natural territory. The second would include larger concessions, or, rather, casualties.

There is good reason to believe that, if sufficient guarantees were forthcoming, the Vatican would entertain proposals of either class without difficulty and accept them in a definitive settlement.

It is true that when in possession of a restricted territory, such as that which it possessed in 1867, the Vatican was not satisfied. But that territory was hourly threatened, and Rome had been declared the capital of Italy in the Parliament sitting at Florence. After a settlement every such minatory attitude would cease, and the theoretic desirability of having the capital in Rome would be renounced. Three proofs may be given of the possibility of effecting a compromise on such a basis. The one is certain, the other is probable, the third is drawn from authority. First, the

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<sup>1</sup> Letter to the Cardinal Secretary of State, October 8, 1895.

famous *Ransom of Rome* scheme, proposed in *The Daily Telegraph*, of London, on September 16, 1895, which was inspired in accordance with the sentiments, and drawn up at the dictation, of staunch friends of the Holy See.<sup>1</sup> That scheme proposed that :

"The Italian post and telegraph, the railways, and certain other services might run through Rome and the reduced Papal State would be matter for arrangement and mutual advantage. That the interest on the floating debt of Italy should be reduced from 574 millions to 349 millions of lire—in other words, that a permanent relief of 225 millions of lire should be effected—would bring substantial relief to the whole population of Italy."

It concluded thus :

"The problem is to find a solution and a remedy. There are not wanting well-wishers of the Kingdom of Italy and of the Papacy who profess to see in the present dead-lock the elements of a final solution of this complicated question so thorough and complete as, if rightly used, to promise a new point of happy departure in the history of the Peninsula. The kingdom is stifled under the double incubus of her financial difficulties and the ever-threatening Roman Question. *Rome demands certain temporal guarantees as essential to the life and action of her unique religious institutions, whose influence and authority are recognized from Berlin to Washington, from Lisbon to Japan, and to Egypt.* What if a scheme could be devised by means of which each should supply to the other what is lacking? Such an hypothesis may at first sight appear extravagant and impossible. As a matter of fact, it is under serious consideration. Nothing less is proposed than that the Catholic countries and peoples of the world should combine to *ransom Rome*. To those familiar with the organization and working of the Roman Catholic communion, and with the intensity of the desire which animates the Catholic Church to secure the perfect independence of its Spiritual Head, it would not be difficult to believe that, the scheme once set on foot, a large sum of money may be collected and placed in the hands of Leo XIII. The Pontiff, with £ 200,000,000 at his disposal, would have it in his power to deal with the distracted and bankrupt Government of the Italian King more effectively than at present. It would rest with the Pope to meet the Government with proposals that might save the Italian Kingdom, reinstate its exchequer, restore peace, unity and prosperity to Italy. And if it should turn out that, by some singular obliquity of mental vision, the Italian Government should fail to come to fair and honorable terms with the Pontiff, the latter might feel justified in withdrawing from Rome and establishing himself or a period elsewhere, in a position of vantage other than the Vatican, while there would be withdrawn from Rome at the same time that immense sum which is annually brought by the Catholics of the world to the Eternal City, and is there expended."

Secondly: In the spring of 1893, the learned Abbot Tosti, a custodian of the Vatican Library, proposed a plan for the restitution to the Papacy of Rome and a diminutive adjunct of the territory surrounding it. There is a strong belief in Rome that, though he may have exceeded his authority, he was empowered to act, and on a not altogether different basis.

Thirdly: A member of the Sacred College expressed himself as follows in terms which are certainly not unusual in that sphere :<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> I may be excused from offering a public proof of a private matter which belongs to my certain knowledge.

<sup>2</sup> Printed in *The Catholic Standard and Times*, February 13, 1897. The Cardinal



"Any one of a hundred possible chances would, I believe, be sufficient to secure those assurances and to create that state of independence. In one hypothesis the first step might suffice. That first step would be the removal of the court and its dependent administrative bodies to Florence or some other city. No express renunciation of sovereignty would be necessary. Rome might then be Italian or non-Italian; Italian and at the same time not Italian, I repeat; it could enjoy something similar to the condition of a Hanseatic city. The rest of the difficulty would adjust itself by the natural procedure of events and by the inevitable developments of the causes so created and set in action; both of which—the events and the developments—would be promoted in the proper way by the good dispositions of the people and by the very necessity of conciliation, a necessity which is innate in the nature of things, as these are and must be in Italy. But a sovereign—ah, there is the rub!—a sovereign is and must always be a symbol. Were the Pope to be confronted in the streets of Rome by the President of a Republic which included Rome in its dominions, he might pass him by without suffering in prestige. He would inevitably overshadow the transient head of a Republican State by the majesty of his personally-embodied sovereignty. A King, with his court, is quite another thing. His person is a contrast and his name a rallying cry. Two embodied sovereignties, the persons, I mean, of two sovereigns, cannot meet in the same city, just as their respective powers cannot be exercised over the same field. In either case there must be collision and conflict, in which the one or the other royal person will undergo obscurity. Therefore the power of one must be restrained—as it is at present—to avoid difficulties. Over one and the same city or region the two jurisdictions cannot be wielded, and as little can the persons of the two sovereigns be brought into contact. Were they brought into contact, there would be a reflection upon their respective personalities and estates. They would obfuscate and jostle each other, or the one the other. This would naturally generate clearly-marked popular preferences and accentuated civil discords, so that even the common and elementary interests of the public order would be jeopardized. A Pope and a King cannot be equal. Neither can they permit themselves to be less than equal. This is the kernel of the present difficulty in Rome. Hence the means of solution which I have suggested.

And outside of Rome! Personally I believe that Rome, the *Civitas Romana*, the Roman city and its natural environment, would, in the case of a consideration being made, become the natural and the principal, possibly also the exclusive, subject of an arrangement. The Pope, in his wisdom, might see fit to sacrifice something, more or less, for the permanent and general good of the Church. We do not ask for what is impossible, just as we do not lament the inevitable. The necessity—the ethical necessity, so to call it—of territorial independence for the Papacy is this: That the acts and utterances of every Pope should be free even from the suspicion of partiality; that France and Germany, that Austria and England, that Spain and America, that every nation, the greatest and the smallest alike, should know that in whatever the ruler of the Church does or says he is not actuated directly or indirectly by a desire to subserve the good pleasure or to avoid the displeasure of Italy; that he should not even seem to abide in the danger of suffering intimidation or of falling into subservience."

In any similar solution, agreement might be made that the defence of Rome should remain in part at least the care of Italy, that its municipality should enjoy autonomy, that the Pope should exercise an absolute, as well as suspensive, veto on every measure. All similar points would be merely incidental to the cardinal fact and theory that the Pope should be sovereign. He could be ex-

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has no political *color* of any exceptional kind. Hence his opinions may be regarded as normal, though personal.



operated from the odious duties of a civil ruler, such as would be the signing of death-warrants, the repressing of disorder, the interfering with the *police*, the even indirect gathering of taxes and all those functions of a supreme ruler least grateful to the Head of the Church. He should be left the supreme control.

In his good pleasure the Pope might condescend to accept such a situation which, from the knowledge of the Roman question in the possession of the public, seems to be lacking in no essential element. These conditions are merely material. The spirit of conciliation is everything. If regard be had to the grounds upon which the Papal demands are made, it is clear that a sincere spirit of conciliation, a true desire for peace on the part of official Italy, would make a settlement easy. Only a minimum of sacrifice would be requisite. Any proposals, even of such limited nature as those which have been considered, if formally made and if informed by the spirit proper to them, would afford a quick passage to the ideal objects which now, daily, more and more, satisfy the cravings of the Italians, peace and prosperity at home; protection and honor abroad. Otherwise, every effort is vain.

The postulate of every inquiry which is not a mere waste of time, and the indispensable preliminary of every attempt at adjustment which is not a mere piece of futility,<sup>1</sup> is this: that the Roman See will never renounce its asserted right to, or cease to make a demand for, sovereign independence. Were any occupant of the See to make a renunciation, formally or informally, his act would be such a deviation from a policy necessarily immanent in the Pontificate itself as to bear every aspect of an anomaly at the time, and to call for a rectification on the part of his immediate, his earlier or later, successors. The second or third, if not the first, of following Popes would in all probability undo his work, just as Urban V. unsuccessfully, and Gregory XI. successfully, set about replacing the Papal throne in Rome, thus unmaking the change wrought by Clement V. Few Catholics need any ample demonstration of this contention, but for logical completeness it may be well to explain it in some way, since every explanation accepted of the Roman Question is a gain to the cause of universal peace. Let us suppose the Roman Pontiffs of the past to have reared with lofty ambition<sup>2</sup> and to have sustained with shrewed statesmanship a huge fabric of feeble but specious claims<sup>3</sup> affecting dissident churches, heretical bodies and ethnical

<sup>1</sup> Like that of Signor Crispi in 1895. I have described his efforts in *The Catholic World*, February, 1895.

<sup>2</sup> The last account of the commencement of the civil rule of the Papacy is probably that of P. Brunengo, S.J., *Le Origini della Sovranità*, etc.

<sup>3</sup> Not jurisdiction, but overlordship in the middle ages, and pre-eminent dignity and the Apostolic Office unvaryingly.

communities. Such eminence, such cunning, such authority would enable almost every successive autocrat to feel the unrestricted and intangible power embodied in himself, and oblige him to desire that it should be transmitted, if without increase, then at least without diminution, to his successor. Each reign would accumulate new sanction and influence, and enlarge the compelling force by which the princes most separated by character and circumstance would be both enabled and obliged to maintain unimpaired all the seemingly essential traditions of their office, the abandonment or neglect of which would have become equivalent to a nullification of the right to exist. Let us suppose that a long course of centuries<sup>1</sup> had deposited among the strictest of these external traditions one imperative tradition by which these hierarchs were at once put in contact and placed on an equality with the rulers of States—that this adjunct of their power had become its “complexion” in the eyes of all. Now, in this manner, at the lowest estimate, all this must be admitted, universally and with few distinctions. If the dexterity of the Bishops receiving, and not the generosity of the princes donating, created the temporal apanage of the See of Rome, all this is none the less true. Hence it is clear that this body of traditions, once acquired and increased, should remain, against every proof of adversity, a vital law. Whatever may be the opinion entertained about the principality of the Popes, as existing before 1870, or as factitiously existent since that date, there are countless irrefragable testimonies to show that its possession and re-acquisition have become mutually related and counter-balancing: the cardinal principles in an absolutely immutable policy. There is an entire literature on the subject, a literature which is chiefly modern,<sup>2</sup> and which shows that abandonment is not less out of the question now than formerly. And if not now, then at what time? If not in 1800, in 1848-49, in 1870, in 1878, then why in 1897, in 1997, in 2297? The far-reaching effects of such a policy must be estimated by the endurance of which the Papacy gives promise.

Nor is it less rational to regard this permanent influence, and all the ramifications of helping influences which it creates and centres about itself, and all the opportunities which it makes, or of which

<sup>1</sup> From 800 to 1870 is a long cry, yet these dates form the limits of the minimum period within which the temporal sovereignty of the Popes must be placed.

<sup>2</sup> The library of the late Cardinal Howard, now a part of the English College Library at Rome, contains whole shelves of this literature, yet the collection was very incomplete at the time of his departure from Rome in 1881, and it still more incomplete at the present date. The late Cardinal Galimberti had also a library of the same kind. He himself disclosed to the present writer his authorship of one of the best of the countless monographs. It was entitled, *La Situation du Pape*, etc. It is now, unfortunately, out of print.



it avails itself, as amounting to a cause, of which the corresponding effect should be the partial or total attainment of the aim so constantly held in view.

The most superficial survey of the vicissitudes of States shows that the conduct either of ordinary affairs or of extraordinary events does not move along straight but deviating courses ; that the solidly-founded internal and external prosperity of a country, when unsustained by principles which make for enduring vitality, lapses into decrepitude or is replaced by its opposite, or is lost in a dissolution, in a moral or material absorption, before the advance of stronger influences. The imperial power of Charles V. and Philip II., although in the secret consciousness of those monarchs suspicious and unsatisfactory, assuredly offered promises of resistance to decay, and consequently of permanence, not inferior to those offered by the Italian Monarchy of Victor Emmanuel II. or Humbert I. The power of Louis XIV. disappeared by reason of another and a different cause, which was nevertheless only the operation of an intrinsic principle of unhealthiness.

But the case of such States which secrete a mortal virus, or hold within them the canker of some hurtful elements, such as were the Empire of Spain and the Kingdom of the *Grand Monarque*, are perhaps exceptional, because exaggerated instances. Independently of such causes of decay (if it be not allowed that Italy possesses such a one in its feud with the Church), sovereignties and States decline for the simple reason that if they do not grow they must diminish, since all permanence, or even continuance, presupposes progress. Growth is the inevitable result of healthful life, and prosperity is the inevitable result of growth. There is no such thing as long existence with stagnation ; and existence implies progression, and progression is advancement towards ruin or success. Italy is retrenching her colony and her expenses, and her progression has not been one of advance towards prosperity.

Further, according to a metaphor of a familiar sort, States are periodically being swept by movements favorable and unfavorable. They must either breast these, and rise with them, or succumb before them. Each several movement may advance or recede irregularly, but there is always a movement in course ; generally there are more movements than one. These various movements are the test of vitality to States, crucial experiments of their fruitfulness, of their constitution, of their capability for existence. Italy is being visited by more than one such movement now. Some of these have entered from abroad, while others have sprung up in the country itself. These last are generally more energetic, more sudden and more irresistible, by reason of the contracted space in which they act, of the limitations against their venting



themselves by expansion, and also, and principally, by reason of their native character. Not a few of these, when in action, are like to whirlwinds. They envelop the strongholds of national power, and in the climax of their force close around them in a fatal embrace. Their power is either reformative or destructive, seldom reconstructive. If the sullen combined movement formed out of the social grievances and the religious reaction acquire such strength in Italy, the day of its spent fury will see a surviving power concentrated, strengthful, and healthy. That power will be the Vatican.

Half the hopes of success which belong to a fallen dynasty or a displaced form of government are contained in the working of such causes as these which have been variously enumerated. But they are chiefly extraneous, exist chiefly apart from the old ideals and the old dynasty. The other hopes—the lesser half, in so far, that is, as they are considered in relation to actuality—reside in the power of permanence, the solidity, the pliability and the general excellence of the cause and its representatives. Occasionally a restoration is made as the mere effect of a reaction; not so much as the result of choice as of avoidance, less from any act of acceptance than from one of declination. Even the Liberals would, in given circumstances, join in such a seeming revulsion.

All the best conditions for a restoration of the Roman Pontificate to the status which it formerly possessed are present both as inherent in the institution itself and as attaching to the methods of restoration which it has preferred to facilitate. This restoration would be bloodless and inexpensive, and just as it would not occasion bloodshed or expenditure, so it would have place, accompanied by a reasonable hope that both the evils of bloodshed and of extravagance would be definitively made impossible, or would at least be removed very far away in the future. The third great evil of a restoration, humiliation, would also be absent, for the Papacy has sedulously avoided everything which could make the Italian people feel that their acceptance of a compromise was shameful, or which could induce the Roman people to regard the new sovereignty imposed upon them as a disgrace. The fourth circumstance which would make a restoration not only penal but noxious would be also wanting, since the presence of the Pope—king and his favor, earnestly promised and strenuously exerted, would be the most efficient guarantee for the desired peace and prosperity at home and the somewhat less desirable protection and respect abroad.

Italy is being traversed by movements such as these: of repudiation, of disgust, of reaction, all of them tending in the direction

of peace with the Roman See. In so far, however, as this is affected, there still remains one great dike against which the re-flowing waters have lapped querulously—the ideality of Rome, the national capital. We will conclude this sketch of dim and rough outlines, enclosing great and clearly-evidenced truths, by quoting another article which appeared during its preparation :

“Raffaele Cadorna. He had passed into the domain of history so long ago that his name, arising in a formal fashion once a year because of its union with a date which was only eloquent in mournfulness, seemed like the name of a man associated with other times. He had passed into history, and he seemed to have nothing in common with the present life of Italy. Military experts have repeatedly, and will yet again, criticise from the soldier's standpoint the expedition of 1870. But not by reason of its imperfections was the result so pitiable; political criticism has demonstrated, and, during the last quarter of a century, has continually demonstrated, that the national error was far more serious than the military error. The governors of Rome were crushed beneath the weight of a great burden, against which was required far more life than they possessed to struggle successfully. So, before the African fiasco, came the great failure of the new Italy in Rome itself. This failure was recognized on the part of all the people, but those few who displayed sufficient intelligence to think, or sufficient will to act, were combated as criminals. They were vanquished. It seemed to be political heresy to wish even to unite in one expression the homage paid to the Liberator King, and the unity of which he had been the instrument. Italy remained encamped in a Rome where both intelligence and fortune suffered shipwreck, and seemed to seek in vain at home and abroad her *raison d'être*. In truth there was no properly directed force, or any pretensions to progress or to a fruitful activity. In the new economy of humanity it was simple pleonasm. Consequently Rome was not only useless, but hurtful. The Italians would have been so willingly contented in that leaden mediocrity which escapes the attention and cupidity of others, would so willingly have settled down to vegetate, had not the mere name of a grand historic figure indisposed them to do so. Hence irritation against Rome filled their souls, and more than once, in the Parliament which represented them so faithfully, Italy expressed it, amidst the wordy rhetoric with which it was desired to mask it, for such sufficed to people who had not then the courage of sincerity. That irritation grows and becomes venomous in the consciousness that the error is irremediable; that, once entered into Rome, Italy can only issue therefrom dead; worse—that it would have been dead had it not entered there. She remains there with a complacency like to that of him who invented the fatal bull and was imprisoned in it the first by Phalaris. But with this difference, that the torment is only tedium; the tedium of small men confronted with great things. But how to ostracise Rome? Like the love in the popular song, Rome is a chain, a chain which breaks not.”<sup>1</sup>

The least complete understanding of the situation in Italy supplies a clear light to the intelligence of this article. It is the key to the situation. Before its acquisition Rome was asseverated to be a moral, intellectual and national necessity. Therefore every reluctance was overcome, and Italy allowed herself to be dragged thither. Now that she has made experience of it, she has given us her verdict on a most solemn and most particular occasion,

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<sup>1</sup> This is a reproduction of an abbreviated translation which I drew up, and which appeared in *The Irish Catholic* of February 27, 1897.



using as her mouthpiece her greatest journalistic organ, the recognized instrument of an entire warfare waged in a contrary spirit. The avowal is a repudiation. It hardly anticipates history. It is, above all things, exact. Why? Because this is the land of veiled thoughts, covered words and evasive actions. Above all things, it is the country of a puny and servile press. When, therefore, this *magnum organum* of euphemism, which we playfully miscall the *Tribuna*, cancels all its creeds and cries halt, it seems as though the game is up. And so it is.

From this stage of the history of modern Italy the evolution will be more rapid than it has been heretofore. But the event of a solution may be very far off, for the proportion between conviction and action is more unequal to its causes, more thin and weak here than elsewhere, for here thought is often overripe and action still unprepared. No people is so quick to perceive, none so slow to act. But then the Roman Question is a repetend in every phase of the Italian life of the present and of the future. So the *bourgeois* revolution will be more and more undone, consumed in conviction, frittered away in fact, and the marvel of it all to those who stand far off will be how it was done so noiselessly and imperceptibly, and, to those who stand near, how it was done with such clamorous and tedious slowness. The Italian is seldom demonstrative of what is demonstrated to him; only boisterous over things less real.

His greatness not so much in genius lies  
As in adroitness, when occasions rise,  
Life-long convictions to extemporize.

Thus the very situation contains, conceals, suggests, expounds the solution. Rome is the incurable ill; the peril that passes not away. About it the Papacy is resolute;<sup>1</sup> about all else irresolute or positively amenable to diplomatic overtures. About it Italy is resolute; about all else irresolute or positively amenable. Thus the movements will carry on the germs of solution without giving them much concrete determination. On the eve of settlement the chances may seem but little less obscure than now. But there is a whole phantasmagoria of Guelphic glory luminous out of the past; the sweet effulgence of Silvio Pellico, Gioberti, Manzoni, Rosmini, Ventura; the mellowed splendor of Marcantonio Colonna and Giovan Andrea Doria; the inspiring grandeur of victories like that of Legnano, and of covenants like that of Gontida. The symbol of a perfect and immutable pact of peace and paternity is there; the Papacy, which is the new *Caroccio* to thousands who are convinced when hundreds waver;<sup>2</sup> to the or-

<sup>1</sup> I speak of the sphere of public opinion.

<sup>2</sup> The Pope received 1500 telegrams on the anniversary of the taking of Rome,



ganized skill of the Venetian and Lombard Catholics; to the fervid faith of those of the southern provinces and to the calculating populations of the old State who remember that the failings of the Church's Government were those of kindly ruling. Out of this will come the solution predetermined now by the situation itself. Even without the catastrophe which has followed the enterprise against the Papacy, even without the existence of the social and the endurance of the religious questions, even without the reflowing of thought, the desire of peace and the conciliatory dispositions of almost all, the question were itself soluble by the self-evident and cardinal fact that in Rome are mated in internecine feud the ruler of a newly-fashioned kingdom and the chief of a world-religion which is inured to assault and—divine evidences apart—permanent in vitality, persistent in development, victorious when vanquished, secularly renascent, intangible and indestructible for the very suppleness and spiritual nature of its contexture. To it trial comes as the tessera of excellence, for it has a solidarity which neither the spirit of the age nor the progress of humanity is disposed to end, and which in every other time and place has invariably enabled it to issue out of every duel shattered but impervious, unresisting but indomitable.

WILLIAM J. D. CROKE.

ROME, March 1, 1897.

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while the King of Italy received 1450; 750 were sent to the Syndic of Rome, and 500 to Crispi.—*The Tablet*, September 28, 1895.

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## HOW THE TURK CAME TO CONSTANTINOPLE.

THE international tangle now going on over the affairs of the Turkish Empire seems outside the rule of Right and of politics alike. The navies of six nominally Christian nations are gathered in the Ægean Sea in overwhelming force. They are gathered, avowedly, to save a Christian population of several millions from extermination at an irresponsible despot's will. Yet they act as if maintenance of the same despot's power was their chief object. The English Parliament and press ring with denunciations of the "unspeakable Turk," but the English navy bombards his Christian foes when they attempt to upset his sanguinary rule. Russia for centuries has claimed to be the natural defender of the Greek Christians against Mahomedan tyranny, yet Russia to-day menaces the Greek Kingdom with war if she dares to raise her hand against the Sultan. That potentate himself is addressed one day as an irresponsible savage who can only be kept from wholesale murder by the sight of European guns pointed against his palace; the next day he is treated as the head of a civilized nation, whose rights and power must be upheld as a common duty by all other civilized nations. The true position of the Turkish Empire among the nations can best be understood by a brief study of what men the Turks are and how they have come into European lands.

The nations of modern Europe and their descendants on this Continent, however different they may be in laws and language, all belong with one exception to a common stock, and all accept, at least in theory, the law of Christianity as the recognized rule of right human action. In the distant past, forty centuries ago or more, the Aryan race, even then a civilized one, began to move from its original abode in Central Asia to the south and west, and in successive migrations it occupied the whole of Europe, as well as Persia and Hindostan, more than three thousand years ago. Greeks and Latins, Celts, Teutons, Slavs and Scandinavians are all descended from one original race, and still use languages drawn from the primitive Aryan tongue in common with the old Sanscrit of the Indian Brahmins and the Zend of Cyrus and Darius. Even in the early days of Aryan existence as a nation another race different in language, in habits and disposition disputed with it the possession of Central Asia, and finally occupied it after the westward emigration of the Aryans. This was the race known in Persian history as the people of Turan, and in

modern times indiscriminately as Tartars, Turcomans, or Turks. The first name is misleading, as Tartary is the name given to the whole of Central Asia north of the Himalayas and Persia and west of China proper. Its population is nearly equally divided between the Turkish and Mongolian races, each subdivided into many separate tribes, but possessing a common language and race traditions. Both Turcomans and Mongols are despisers of city life and agriculture, and are shepherds and herdsmen by choice, but they are separated by race language and mutual hostility. From the earliest times recorded in history both those wild races have been accustomed to war on their civilized and wealthy neighbors either for conquest or for mere plunder. In cases of the first their custom has been wholly unlike the colonization practiced by the Aryan races. The Mongol or Turkish conqueror of a civilized country has always disdained to adopt its ways, and has remained a foreign ruler amid conquered subjects. When the vigor of the original invaders waned under the influence of luxury and self-indulgence, rule was wrested from them by either their subjects or some fresh body of their own race. The ever-recurring growth of short-lived empires of barbarian conquerors is, indeed, the history of Asia. The Aryans settled in that Continent have been equally subject to such vicissitudes as the other Asiatic races. At the present moment a Mantchu dynasty rules China, a Turcoman family governs Persia, and the name of the "Great Mogul" as titular sovereign of India only became extinct some forty years ago. Four centuries ago a Mongol Khan, with his seat near the Chinese frontier, was the lord paramount of Russia. As far back as the days of Julius Cæsar the Turcoman tribes raised up a rival to Roman power in the Parthian Monarchy which replaced the Greek conquerors of Persia. The ceaseless ebb and flow of power from the civilized to the uncivilized races of Asia is one of the strange facts in the history of the world.

More than two thousand years ago a ruler of the Aryan race, Darius, of Persia, himself a lawgiver and organizer of the then supreme monarchy of the Western world, engraved an imperial edict on the rocks of Behistun, in the upper valley of the Euphrates. It was given in three languages—the Aryan tongue of Persia, the Turanian of his Scythic subjects, and the Semetic of his vassals of Syria and Assyria. The dominion of Western Asia seemed then assured to the race which united military power to a higher civilization; yet the rule of the great Persian monarchs lasted only two centuries, and that of their Greek conquerors, themselves the intellectual leaders among European races, was still shorter. The Turcoman deserts sent forth their swarms again, and a Parthian shepherd took the place of Alexander the Great. The Persians of



Aryan race recovered their independence after three centuries' subjection to this barbarian rule, but only to fall successively under the Semitic Caliphs from the Arabian deserts and the Turkish Sultans from the Eastern steppes. To-day the rule is still with the race which has chosen barbarism rather than civilization for its heritage. Is it possible that history may repeat itself in the future?

As might be expected, the national character of the Turkish race is cast in a different mould from that of the Christian world. It would not be accurate to say it is the same as that of our own Indian tribes, but it certainly is different from what we regard as the ways of civilized men. In every European race the need of general public law to regulate the action of individuals is recognized. Among the Turcoman races the head of the family is practically the supreme law, only subordinate to the will of a stronger individual than himself, be that individual called chief or sultan. Settled abodes, definite daily work, and the combination of such work for a common end, are practically universal. The Tartar despises fixed dwellings and fixed labor alike. In his own land cities are little more than encampments of wandering herdsmen, and whatever energy may be displayed in moments of excitement or under pressure of necessity, steady work for any purpose is regarded as slavish and unworthy of free men. The late Edward O'Donovan, who visited what was practically the latest existing specimen of a Turcoman people in its national condition, gives a lively description of the ways of the "Merv Oasis" in Central Asia, which may illustrate the meaning of the remarks just made. A tribe of herdsmen, numbering probably a quarter of a million of souls, had occupied by force a tract of thirty or forty thousand square miles, and had made good its title by defeating the army of the Shah of Persia forty years before. The Turcoman victors used their victory only to live in barbarian freedom on the site of what had once been a magnificent city. To raid their neighbors, Persian or Turcoman, indifferently, was the regular occupation of the able-bodied men as much as guarding their own herds. Cultivation of the land was only carried on to the extent needed to furnish food to the tribe, and for it a regular force of the men was detailed to attend to the necessary irrigation works, which were the only public works of the community. Weaving and other household manufactures, handed down from the past, were performed by the women of the different families; but so little idea was there of other skilled labor that the artillery captured from the Persians years before, though highly prized as a national defence against outside invaders, was not even mounted or provided with ammunition. The Turcomans knew nothing of such matters as gun-making, though familiar with the actual use

of fire-arms. The nation was divided into a number of clans, each bearing a common name and wearing distinctive marks in their dress and turbans, and there were two hereditary chiefs recognized as the first men of their country; but their power was entirely dependent on their personal energy, and law of any kind was practically unknown. The heads of families met in council at uncertain times, when any matters of general interest had to be decided, and the council ordered at will and left the execution of its orders to the chiefs. During O'Donovan's stay in Merv he was present and took part in one of those national councils, and its action illustrates Turcoman ideas of law and government. Merv was threatened by a Russian invasion, and to avert such an event it was urged that the natives should abandon the habit of plundering their neighbors indiscriminately. An excited citizen arose and demanded how he was to get a living if such a course were adopted. The stranger, whose advice was asked on the matter, suggested that a police force should be established and protection given to caravans and herds for a regular tribute, which would afford better, or at least a more regular, support to the active men than indiscriminate robbery. This proposition was adopted by the assembly, and five hundred heads of families were summarily directed to move their abodes to a central point and hold themselves in readiness for active service at the chief's discretion. A few days later one of the natives lost a flock of sheep in the usual fashion, and the new police were called out and recovered the booty in short order. The chief expressed his satisfaction and proceeded to divide the recovered sheep between the police and himself, leaving the rightful owner in the same position as after the raid. O'Donovan had considerable difficulty in getting him to understand that restoration of the plunder, not its confiscation, was the object of the new organization. It was finally settled that a tax of about a fourth of the value of the sheep should be paid by the owner, and a few hours later the stranger was edified by seeing the robbers and their victim dining together in amity on a mess of sheeps' tails, while the victim boastfully recounted how many sheep he himself had captured in former days by similar proceedings.

The recklessness of human life or suffering among the Merv Turcomans was in strange contrast with the general feeling of humanity towards animals. A native would give himself considerable trouble to bring fresh fodder to his horse or to find a bed for a pet kitten, while the same man in a raid would cut down an unarmed shepherd in sheer brutal exuberance of spirits, or scald a prisoner in a fit of ill-temper or greed. That society should protect its individual members regardless of their personal strength



or influence was an idea which the Turcoman mind seemed never to conceive. If a powerful chief wished to enforce order according to his own ideas, such order would be respected so long as his power lasted; but the people at large, though meeting frequently to provide for the common interests, never conceived the idea of general laws strictly enforced. This frame of mind seems common to the race in every change of abode. The Sultan of Constantinople is familiarly known among his Turkish subjects as the Man-slayer (Hunkiar), because he possesses the privilege of taking human life at will. The administration of justice in the Turkish courts is scarcely different in practice from that of the Merv Khan when appropriating his subjects' stolen sheep. The Ottomans settled for centuries among Christian communities certainly possess more of the material products of civilized industry than their brethren of the Turkestan steppes, but their capacity for supplying such products by their own labor or skill is scarcely greater. Christian or renegade Christian architects and workmen have built the Ottoman mosques and public works, armed their soldiers, built their ships and managed their finances. Without such aid they would be as unable to provide for themselves as the Merv Turcomans were to mount the Persian cannon.

In the all-important matter of religious belief and moral conduct, the difference between the Turkish race and the European world is not less marked than in ideas of human law and society. The late Cardinal Newman, in his lecture on Turkey, styled the Turk the great foe of Christianity in history, and the expression is not too strong. The herdsmen of Tartary, whether Turkoman or Mongol, had originally little definite creed beyond the belief in a Supreme God, and their religious practices were confined to some superstitious incantations.

The Turkomans in the tenth and eleventh centuries learned Mahometanism from the subjects of the Saracen caliphs, and its loose morality and aggressive spirit commended it to their acceptance. The whole race gradually became Mahometan, and when the Saracen Empire was overthrown at Bagdad in the eleventh century the Turkish warriors took the place of the Arabs as the champions of the False Prophet in war against the Christians. The words of the Koran, "Fight on till there is no temptation left to idolatry," and "Heaven is found under the shadow of crossing swords," which gave a religious sanction to the hereditary aggressiveness of the Turcoman freebooters, were enthusiastically received as a divine message, and for centuries they were the rule of life for the Turkish race. The Koran classifies mankind between the House of Islam and the House of War, and war with those outside the first is a holy work in Moslem ideas. This history of



the Ottomans is almost one long war against the nations of the Christian world, and fanaticism has been added to the barbarian contempt for civilization and city dwellers which is almost innate to the Tartar wanderers.

The Turks, then, are foreign to the rest of Europe in a far wider sense than France is foreign to England, or Italy to Germany. Throughout the Christian world, whatever the practice of individuals, a common law of right is recognized by the public conscience. Wanton cruelty, unjust aggression and unbridled sensuality are held to be wrongful things in themselves, but no such feeling seems to exist among the Ottoman race. A Frenchman will condemn the atrocities of the Reign of Terror or the sensuality of Louis XV., or an Englishman will reprobate the butcheries of the Eighth Henry as crimes unworthy of human nature, but no such feeling seems to exist practically among the Turks. The massacre of a Christian population, like the Armenians or Greeks, may be regretted, as the slaughter of battle is, but it is not regarded as criminal before God or man. The Sultan's order to slay is sufficient justification for any slaughter; the Sultan's needs justify any robbery; the Sultan's will legitimatizes any personal vice, in the Turkish mind. Yet Turkey is a European land, its Government is recognized by diplomacy as a European power, and its maintenance is the object of European statesmen at the present moment.

How this barbarian race has come to install itself in the centre of European civilization is worthy of serious reflection. We are used to think that knowledge is power; that advancement in learning, in social life, in science and art gives civilized man an incontestable superiority over barbarian man; yet to-day we see a barbarian race, retaining its barbarism, installed as lord in what was once the very capital of European civilization. The position of the Turks in Constantinople is much the same as if a Sioux tribe should establish itself as master in New York or Chicago and compel the population of those cities to maintain its savage conquerors in the exercise of their native savagery. Strange as is such a supposition, it is no stranger than what has actually occurred. When Constantine founded his new Rome on the shores of the Hellespont the world of Western civilization was united in one mighty state, irresistible in arms abroad and superior in intellectual development and material progress within. The tribes outside the Roman frontier seemed as little formidable to the citizens as the savage tribes of our own continent are to the citizens of New York or Philadelphia. The first Christian emperor surveyed his wide dominion, stretching from the Atlantic to the Euphrates and from the Sahara to the Scotch Highlands, and chose a site for the capital of the civilized world in the most

avored spot of all those lands. It was not an outpost against foreign conquest, but the actual centre of the civilized world that rose on the eastern end of the Mediterranean. Antioch and Alexandria, Athens and Ephesus were then the chief centres of intellectual culture and wealth. Western Asia and Northern Africa were as much a part of the domain of civilization as France or Spain or Italy. The contrast between barbarian and civilized man is the same to-day as in the days of Constantine. The development of civilization, the invention of new arts, the diffusion of knowledge has grown enormously since that date, yet a Tartar Sultan rules to-day in the capital of the Roman Empire. How this has come to pass shall be briefly told.

The rise of Mahometanism in the seventh century built up a mighty power amongst the Semitic Arabs. The new nation conquered the larger part of the eastern provinces of the Roman Empire within a couple of generations, and even besieged its capital for a time. The Saracen Empire, however, had not the stability of the Roman, and after three centuries it crumbled. The hordes of Tartary, in the usual course of Asiatic history, poured into the weakened empire, and finally possessed themselves of much of its territory. These earlier Turks, known as Seljukian, enjoyed their conquests for a few generations, and then they followed the fate of other barbarian conquerors, and their empire broke into a number of petty principalities, scattered through the peninsula of Asia Minor. In the thirteenth century a band of shepherds of the Turkish race, numbering some four hundred and eighty families, moved onwards from the east in search of pasturage for their flocks, and booty, if it came in their way, under the leadership of a chief known as Ertoghrul. They got a grant of land, from the Turkish Sultan of Iconium, on the frontiers of the Greek dominions in Asia Minor, and Ertoghrul there built up a principality and warred with general success on Greek, Turkish and Mongol neighbors. At the death of Ertoghrul, in 1288, his young son, Osman, succeeded to the chieftainship of his clan, and a few years later the family of the Sultans of Iconium died out and Osman assumed the rank of an independent Prince, or Emir. About the year 1300 Asia Minor was then for the greatest part occupied by Turkish tribes who had poured into it and nearly exterminated its original inhabitants under the Seljukian Empire. The Greek Emperor, however, still ruled the coast provinces, and numerous wealthy cities, Smyrna, Brusa, Nicea and Nicomedia, among them, were defended by Greek garrisons. Osman was a bold soldier, and his standard attracted the roving bands of the peninsula to the warfare which he began against the Grecian Empire. The civilized armies of Constanti-



nople were defeated, as the Italians recently were by the Abyssinian warriors, and before his death the Turkish shepherds had made themselves masters of the important city of Brusa. The conqueror did not destroy his conquest; he utilized its resources and the industry of its inhabitants to advance further conquests, and at his death, in 1326, he left a largely increased dominion to his son Orchan. Osman was the first great leader of his tribe, and his name has been adopted by their descendants as their national one. Osmanli, not Turk, is the name by which the conquerors of Constantinople style themselves as a people. Investiture with the Sword of Osman is still the ceremony of installation for a legitimate Sultan, and by an almost unparalleled case in history the leadership of the Osmanlis has come down for thirty-one generations in direct male descendants from the first Emir.

Orchan continued his father's aggressions on the Greek dominions, but he gave them a far more formidable character. Hitherto the Turkish warriors had only assembled at the call of their Emirs for a single campaign, but Orchan established a standing force of infantry regularly paid and constantly trained to war. Standing armies were unknown in Europe for fully a century later, and this innovation gave enormous military advantages in warfare to the Turkish chieftain. The enrollment of these troops was speedily followed by another measure, which probably contributed more than any other cause to the success in war which so long attended the Ottoman armies. By the conquest of Brusa and other cities a large Christian population had fallen under the dominion of Orchan. In accordance with the law of the Koran, these Christians were forbidden to bear arms, but by the advice of his brother, Allæddin, the Emir devised a barbarous means of utilizing them for his plans of conquest. A tribute of a thousand boys of seven years of age was exacted from the conquered Christians every year, and those children were torn by force from their parents and placed in the charge of Mahometan officers to be reared as Moslems and soldiers. The Christian population thus furnished, involuntarily, the means for further conquests of their fellow-Christians, while their skill and industry supplied the Turkish warriors with the arms and material which themselves were unable to produce. The name of *Yeni Tscheri*, "new troops," was given by a Moslem dervish to Orchan's troop of Christian boys shortly after their enrollment. The dervish Hadji Beytarch was renowned among the Turks of Asia Minor, and the Emir brought the band of children to his abode for a blessing and a name. The dervish, according to the Turkish historians, who, it must be said, are more inclined to brevity than to truth, gave both in these words, "The troop thou hast formed shall be known as the New Troop. Their faces shall be



bold, their arms strong, their swords keen, their arrows sharp. They shall be strong in battle, and shall leave the field victors." The name "Yeni Tscheri" thus given to the hapless children doomed to be the instruments of ruin to their own race has been twisted into Janissaries, in the language of Western Europe. Its origin explains one of the most efficient among the causes by which barbarian brutality won the day against enfeebled civilization and degenerate Christians.

The young Turkish Emir did not let his organizing work interrupt the warlike measures which were the congenial work of a chief of Turcomans. With his regular troops he pressed hard on the feeble Greeks. Nicomedia was captured the year of his accession, and Nicaea, the greatest Christian city in Asia and the second in importance of the Greek Empire, in 1330. Orchan next employed himself in subjecting the local Turkish chiefs settled around him, and thus uniting under one head the whole Turkish population of Asia Minor. The material resources placed at his disposal by the acquisition of so many Christian cities aided in bringing the Turkish freebooters to acknowledge his dominion and join the Osmanli ranks. Orchan possessed remarkable talents for political organization, and he busied himself for many years in the work of consolidating his barbarian followers into a nation. The Greek Empire, in spite of its superior civilization, was ruled by an opposite spirit, and wasted its strength in political intrigues and civil wars. So low did the honor of its rulers fall that, in 1346, the Emperor Cantacuzene not only invited Orchan to send his barbarian warriors into Europe as a protection against his own subjects but he gave him his daughter in marriage. This baseness was unprofitable alike to the Emperor and his people. The next year several bands of Turkish plunderers crossed the Hellespont and repeated on the soil of Europe the depredations which the Christians of Asia had been so long familiar with. These pillagers were finally exterminated, but they had shown their fellows the road. Palæologus, the son-in-law of Cantacuzene, next raised a rebellion in the empire, and he, too, called in Turkish allies. Solyman Pasha, the eldest son of Orchan, crossed the Hellespont in a Genoese vessel and surprised the Castle of Tzympe, on its European side. The old Emperor, instead of driving off the invaders, asked the help of Orchan against his domestic enemies. Orchan granted the help, and by means of the Greek fleet ten thousand Turks were landed in Europe. They scattered the forces of Palæologus in battle, but in place of returning to Asia when peace was restored, two of the beys seized the important city of Gallipoli. Cantacuzene negotiated in vain for the restoration of Gallipoli, and thus the first Turkish occupation of European lands was made in 1356.

Orchan died two years after the seizure of Gallipoli, but his son Murad, or Amurath, as he is best known in English, lost little time in extending to Europe the warfare which had been hitherto confined to the other continent. He crossed the Hellespont in person in 1360, and for the next twenty-nine years the Balkan peninsula experienced the horrors of Turkish war. Adrianople, the second city of the Greek Empire, was taken in 1361, and Amurath made it the capital of his empire. The Turk was thus established in Europe, and he still remains there in his original barbarism.

Christian Europe in the fourteenth century had fallen far from the spirit which inspired the Crusades two centuries earlier. The old chivalry had become a matter of courtly parades and insolent class-feeling. The boundaries of the various modern nations were all recognized, but between the nations wars and revolutions were everywhere. The year in which the first Turks passed into Europe was the date of the battle of Poitiers, which made the King of France a prisoner of England, and for nearly a century later England and France were putting all their energies into warfare between themselves. Germany was divided by internal convulsions, in which the nobles sought to make themselves practically independent, as well as by contests for the imperial crown. Castile was in revolution against King Pedro the Cruel. In Italy the great maritime republics of Venice and Genoa were engaged in the War of Caffa, which nearly brought the former to ruin at one period, and Rome, which for sixty years had ceased to be the residence of the Popes, had been revolutionized by Rienzi just eight years before the Ottoman crossed the Hellespont. To crown all, the terrible pestilence, known as the Black Death, had broken out in 1350, and in the course of twenty years it reduced the population of Western Christendom by nearly one-half. In all the history of Europe there was scarcely a more troubled time than that in which the Turk established himself on its soil.

The Eastern Christian States were also divided among themselves. Russia had been conquered by the Mongols a century before, and its princes were vassals of the Khans of the Golden Horde. Hungary and Poland, the two most powerful nations of Eastern Europe, had both been ravaged by the same foes. The Balkan Peninsula, once united under the Emperors of Constantinople, was divided into numerous Slavonian principalities and kingdoms. Bosnia, Bulgaria, Albania, Wallachia and Servia were all independent kingdoms, often engaged in wars between themselves. Greece, Macedonia and Roumelia were all that remained of territory to the successor of the Cæsars at Constantinople in the middle of the fourteenth century. In culture and wealth the imperial capital was still the foremost city of the world, but as a



power in war her Government was weaker than the least of her neighbors.

The schism raised by the Patriarch Cellularius in the eleventh century, and continued by the statecraft of the Emperors, had raised a wall of separation between the East and West of Christian Europe. The smaller Slavonian States and Russia, which had originally received the Faith from Greek missionaries before the schism, followed the example of the capital and recognized the spiritual authority of the Patriarch of Constantinople while rejecting the rule of its Emperor. There does not, in truth, appear to have been much hostility to the Roman Church in those lands; but at Constantinople the hatred of the Latin Christians was intense, and the Western nations naturally felt but little sympathy with a hostile population, even though Christian. It was into a Europe so divided that the Turkish armies advanced to conquer.

Amurath found other objects than Constantinople for his attack when he established himself in Europe. The Greek Emperor was obsequious to the barbarian invaders, and by the payment of a large tribute he escaped for a time. The Catholic King of Hungary was of a different mold, and he gathered an army to expel the Mahometan invaders from European soil. The Pope, Urban V., did not allow his Christian sympathies to be suppressed by the schismatic hostility of the Greeks, and he proclaimed a crusade for the expulsion of the Turks. The Emperor of Constantinople timidly kept aloof and aided the Turkish invaders from his treasury, but Servia, Bosnia and Wallachia joined forces with the Hungarians against Amurath. An army of twenty thousand men marched on Adrianople under the King of Hungary in 1363, but it was surprised and routed on the banks of the Marizza. Amurath followed up his victory by a series of campaigns against the smaller Balkan States. In 1376 he captured Nissa, and forced the King of Servia to become tributary. The Bulgarian King, Sisvan, followed the example of Servia.

A crowd of Turkish settlers now poured into Roumelia to share the lands of the conquered Christians. The Greek Emperor Palæologus at length realized the danger, and applied for help to the Sovereign Pontiff whose authority his people had so long despised. The Emperor went himself to Rome and was well received there, but the great schism of the West which divided the Church for forty years had begun a few years before, and the powers of the Sovereign Pontiffs were almost paralyzed. Palæologus, on his return to Constantinople, was threatened fiercely by Amurath for his negotiations with Rome. It is noteworthy how the Turkish Moslems, from their first appearance in Europe, have supported the Eastern schism against Catholic unity. The expediency of such



a course for the barbarian infidels is evident, but it is hard to see how the Christians who were falling under their iron rule should have lent themselves to the designs of the common foe. The Greek Emperor sent his son to serve in the Turkish army as a pledge of his friendship, and Amurath was appeased; but it became all but impossible for Catholic Europe to save a Christian nation which was ready to join hands with its Mahometan assailants a few months after appealing for Christian aid.

The Slavonian States of the Balkan were braver than the degenerate Greeks, and in 1388 a league was formed between Serbia, Bosnia and Bulgaria for the expulsion of the Asiatic invaders. Serbia, now so small a State, had been the dominant power in the Balkan Peninsula a couple of generations earlier, and its king now assumed the headship of the Slavonic league. The countries which formed it mostly belonged to the Greek schism, but they were aided by numerous Catholic volunteers from Hungary, Poland and Albania. The struggle was decided in 1389 on the Field of Kossova, in Serbia, and resulted in the utter defeat of the Christians and the capture of their king, who was butchered on the field by order of the bloodthirsty Amurath. The latter had received a mortal wound in the action, and only lived a few moments after the execution of the Christian monarch. Bajazet, the son and successor of Amurath, gave a still more revolting example of Turkish ways. As soon as his father breathed his last he ordered the murder of his own brother, Yacoub, who had commanded the left wing of the Turks in the battle. Such were the ways of the men whose rule the Greeks preferred to union with the Sovereign Pontiffs and the Western Christian world.

Bajazet followed up the victory of Kossova with barbarous energy. He made Bulgaria a province of his empire, and made Serbia, Bosnia and Wallachia beyond the Danube recognize him as their Lord Paramount and pay yearly tribute. The power of the schismatic Christian nations was utterly broken by the battle of Kossova, and the successor and son of the murdered King of Serbia became the obedient vassal of Bajazet, and for over twelve years led his Christian warriors to war for the extension of Turkish dominion. Henceforth the Catholic nations were the only foe of the Turk worth notice, and the resources of the Eastern Christians were at the command of the Moslem.

Bajazet, after his victory, passed into Asia and reduced all the hitherto independent Turkish princes of Asia Minor under the Ottoman rule. The title of Sultan was first assumed by him, as the former Ottoman rulers had contented themselves with the title of Emir, or Prince. A further distinction of Bajazet is that he was the first drunkard of the race of Osman; and, indeed, his moral

character was so infamous in other respects that even his own subjects regarded it with horror. The murder of his brother is excused by the Turkish historians on the grounds of expediency, so it may be imagined, rather than described, what the crimes were which merited the reproach of such complaisant moralists. But if a true barbarian in cruelty and lust, the first Ottoman Sultan was also a fearless and skilful warrior, and he went on conquering and ravaging for twelve years after Kossova with scarcely a check. The Christians of the Peninsula had been crushed, but Sigismund of Hungary took up the cause of Christendom, and in 1394 Pope Boniface proclaimed another crusade against the Ottoman invaders. Volunteers from France and Germany to the number of twelve thousand flocked to Hungary in 1396 under the command of the Count de Nevers and the Count of Hohenzollern. Western Europe was now, for the first time, to meet the Ottoman warriors in battle, and Sigismund gathered the whole force of Hungary for the expulsion of the barbarian Turk. Bajazet and the combined Christian forces met at Nicopolis in Bulgaria on the 24th of September, and the result was disastrous to the Christians. The young French knights, though individually brave, had no notion of the need of strict discipline. A battle, in their ideas, was merely an opportunity for each knight to display his personal daring, and when Sigismund drew out his army for battle the French constable and others insisted on charging the Turks with the French cavalry without waiting for the general advance. Their reckless charge broke the Turkish Janissaries and the cavalry which tried to cover their retreat, and victory was within the grasp of the Christians if the Frenchmen had waited for the infantry to overtake them; but in their presumptuous folly the knights disdained to stop, and pushed on until they were surrounded by the whole Turkish force and almost exterminated. Bajazet restored his battle order and moved steadily on the Hungarians, who fought bravely, but were finally broken by a charge of the Servian Christian allies of Bajazet. Ten thousand Christians were made prisoners, who were massacred by the Sultan's order on the field. The French commander was spared for ransom, and was allowed to select twenty-four of his companions for quarter. Knights and soldiers alike, the other prisoners were butchered without mercy.

The victory of Nicopolis raised the pride of Bajazet beyond all bounds. He announced his purpose of conquering Italy and feeding his horse on the high altar of St. Peter's. In the meantime he marched southwards, and conquered the whole of Greece almost without a blow. Submission did not save the unfortunate Greeks from Bajazet's savagery. Thirty thousand of them were carried off into Asia, and Turcoman shepherds were brought to



take their place in the old classic land. Athens had been for a century independent under a French dynasty, and it fell before the Turks in 1397. The Sultan next ordered the Greek Emperor to surrender his remaining dominions, or else to expect the extermination of his people and himself. With one of the few flashes of spirit which light up the last days of the Byzantine State, the emperor refused. "We know our weakness," he added, "but we trust in the God of Justice, who protects the lowly and puts down the high." These words soon received a striking illustration in the hitherto victorious Sultan.

Another and a mightier barbarian than Bajazet had come from the Tartary steppes. This was the terrible Timour, better known to Europeans as Tamerlane, a Mongol, and not a Turk, though a fanatic Mahometan. Bajazet, after Nicopolis, had pushed his Asiatic dominions to the frontiers of Armenia, and there he came in contact with the Mongol hordes. The two Mahometan conquerors clashed, and in 1402 Timour led half a million of warriors into Asia Minor. Bajazet met him near the city of Angora, and his army was utterly destroyed. The Sultan himself and one of his sons became prisoners, and within eight months his haughty spirit broke, and he died a captive. Timour only survived him two years, and they were marked by the destruction of Smyrna, where the conquerors built up a pyramid with the skulls of its slaughtered Christian population.

The Ottoman power survived the fall of Bajazet. After ten years of civil wars, Mahomet I., the last surviving son of the captured Sultan, reunited his father's dominions. He did not war on the Christian nations around him, and Constantinople had a brief respite. With the accession of his son, Amurath II., in 1421, this came to an end, and the young Sultan (he was only eighteen when he took his father's place) laid siege to Constantinople with a formidable army. The Sultan promised his soldiers all the wealth of the richest capital then existing as their reward, and one body of dervishes, led by a fanatic named Seid Bokhari, stipulated for all the nuns within the devoted city as their own special prize. The city was assaulted on the 25th of August, but the Greeks fought with desperation and repulsed the foe. Amurath finally accepted an annual tribute as the price of peace, and Constantinople was spared yet awhile.

War was the natural occupation of a Turkish Sultan, and, after his treaty with the Greek Emperor, Amurath turned his armies against Hungary. He found harder work in this direction. He was driven from Belgrade, and the famed John Hunyades appeared as leader of the Christian forces in 1442. His first exploit was the destruction of a Turkish army which was besieging Herman-



stadt. His next, the defeat of eighty thousand Moslems at Vasag with much smaller forces. The next year the Hungarian leader invaded the Sultan's own dominions with an army swelled by numerous volunteers from other Christian lands. His campaign was brilliantly successful. He routed the Turkish main army on the Morava, in Servia, then took Sophia, in Bulgaria, and forced the passage of the Balkan Mountains in the depth of winter. On the south of that range the Turks again attacked him, and again their forces were scattered. But instead of pushing on to Adrianople, and so ending the war, the Hungarian army returned to its own country after these exploits. Valor and right might be with the Christians, but in the statesmanship which knows how to use victories superiority was with the Osmanli Sultans.

The campaign, however, resulted in a treaty of peace by which the Sultan gave up his claims to Wallachia and acknowledged the independence of Servia. The Greek Emperor and the Papal Legate in Hungary, Cardinal Julian, protested against the folly of leaving the Turkish barbarians in possession of European soil, and King Lladislas renewed hostilities in 1444. With a small army he laid siege to Varna, in Bulgaria, and under its walls he was attacked by Amurath with a far superior force. The battle was fierce, and Amurath at one time was flying from the field; but the death of the Hungarian King, who fought with the chivalry of a knight but not the prudence of a general, and was cut down in the front of battle, changed the fortunes of the day. The Hungarian army was utterly defeated, and all the fruits of Hunyades's former campaigns lost. The Turks reconquered Servia and Bosnia, and in the latter country many of the nobles did not scruple to declare themselves Mahometans for the security of their lands and power. The remaining six years of Amurath's life were employed in thoroughly establishing Turkish rule in the newly conquered lands, and in fruitless invasions of Albania, where Castnot, with a handful of men, successfully defied his power. He died in 1451, leaving the Ottoman Empire restored to even more than its extent and power before the field of Angora.

Amurath and his father, though Turks, had been of milder and more generous character than others of the race of Osman. Mahomet II., who now succeeded to supreme power at the age of twenty, was a brutal savage, but, like his great-grandfather, Bajazet, he united the skill of a general and the craft of a consummate politician to brutal passions. His first act as Sultan was to cause his sole brother, an infant at the breast, to be drowned at the very moment when his mother was offering himself her congratulations on his accession. Almost his last instructions were these: "The majority of my jurists have pronounced that it is

right for such of my descendants as ascend the throne to slay their brothers, lest the world be disturbed. It will be their duty so to act." Throughout his life the Sultan showed himself alike cruel and faithless. When the Venetian garrison of Eubœa surrendered under a pledge of safety, he had them all tortured to death in the fashion of an Indian savage. After the conquest of Constantinople he had his table decorated with the still-bleeding heads of a family of Greek nobles. Such was the man who was to establish Turkish rule in the capital of Eastern Christendom, and whose descendants reign there still.

The first year of Mahomet's reign was devoted to preparations for the siege of Constantinople. He specially applied himself to providing new and formidable artillery, for which end he used the skill of a renegade Christian. Within the devoted city the Emperor Constantine Palæologus left nothing undone for the safety of his people, but his efforts were baffled by the schismatic bigotry of the majority of his subjects. A few years before, at the Council of Florence, in 1440, the representatives of the Greek Church had formally returned to catholic union; but even in the deadly peril now approaching, the largest part of the population and clergy of Constantinople rejected the measure. Constantine was denounced as a heretic when he called the people to arms, and only six thousand Greek soldiers could be raised in the great city in its critical hour. The Grand Duke Notaras, the commander of this force, did not hesitate to declare he would rather see the Sultan's turban than the Pope's tiara in his native city. Some Spanish and Italian volunteers, and a small detachment of veterans sent by the Sovereign Pontiff, were the chief force to dispute with the Turk the fate of Constantinople.

The siege was begun in April by an army reckoned at from seventy to two hundred thousand Turks. The Christian forces were only nine thousand, but they did their duty like men, drove back one general assault, and kept the Sultan at bay for nearly two months. On the 24th of May Mahomet sent a final summons to surrender, and Constantine replied that he would die before he yielded his native city. A final assault was made five days later. The Grand Duke, even then, refused to supply artillery to the Genoese auxiliaries, and the brunt of the defence was borne by the Latin soldiers. After a heroic struggle, force prevailed. The Emperor was cut down in the breach and the barbarian hordes poured into the city. A general massacre followed, until the greed of the Turkish warriors began to prevail over their cruelty, and the Greek population was gathered for slavery or ransom. Mahomet rode in after a few hours' carnage and entered the Cathedral of Saint Sophia, where he mounted the high altar and

ordered a muezzin to call the Moslems to the noon prayer from the top of Saint Sophia. The Cathedral of Justinian, the first church of the Christians of the East, was handed over to Mahometan worship. The Sultan ordered his soldiers to be recalled to their ranks. Constantinople was now his own, and he did not wish its wealth to fall to other robbers. He spoke words of protection towards the conquered, and he showed their meaning by acts. Notaras, the highest in rank of the Grecian nobles and the commander of the city troops, had not fallen like the Emperor and the Latin soldiers. He had retired to his house, and he was now to learn what his choice of the Mahometan turban rather than the Papal tiara meant. The Sultan sent for him, and after some words of encouragement and fair promises asked the names of the leading Grecian nobles. The Grand Duke gave them, and with a savage laugh the Sultan repeated them to his soldiery, with the announcement that he would pay a thousand sequins for each of their heads. Notaras was dismissed for the time, and Mahomet entered the deserted palace of the Cæsars, where he gave himself up to brutal orgy. At night, when drunk with wine, he ordered the child of the Grand Duke to be brought in as an object for his brutal lust. Notaras at last recovered some sense of duty and boldly refused to obey. He and his family were immediately beheaded, and the gory heads set on the Sultan's table as a fitting ornament of victory and Moslem clemency. The Turk was lord in Constantinople.

BRYAN J. CLINCH.

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## CHRISTIAN FAITH AND MODERN SCIENCE.

IT has been the lot of Divine Truth, ever since it came into the world, to find itself in opposition, at one time or another, with all the world's greatest forces—political power, public opinion, human passion in all its forms; knowledge, finally, human knowledge, the most formidable power of all.

It is with this last that Religion has had mainly to contend during the present century, and under peculiarly unfavorable conditions; for while, on the one hand, the great Christian schools of the Old World were broken up by a series of political revolutions, secular science developed with amazing rapidity, adding year after year to its conquests, and winning to itself the admiration and trust of the whole civilized world. As a consequence, the supreme and universal homage which former ages were wont to pay to Religion has been succeeded in our time by a divided allegiance. Many, indeed, are as true to the faith now as at any other period. But many more are shaken in their loyalty; not a few have completely renounced it and turned to Science as to a new revelation that has opened to man unknown worlds, extended his empire in almost every direction, and added indefinitely to the comforts and enjoyments of his daily life. Truly, Science is the idol of the day. Its name is the greatest of all to conjure with. What Science smiles on obtains a ready acceptance; what she ignores can with difficulty get a hearing; what she decidedly objects to cannot, humanly speaking, expect to prevail. Hence the eagerness with which the defenders of Religion strive to win her sympathies, or at the least to remove all appearance of antagonism, while the chief concern of her adversaries is to prove that between Science and Faith no genuine agreement is possible.

Of course all Christians know that between true science and religion, properly understood, there can be no real conflict. Both proceed from God; both are the expression of His mind, and His words can never be in opposition with His works. But between *what is taught* in the name of Science and *what is held* in the name of Religion, the conflict is not only possible but real and frequent. Nor are the responsibilities all on one side, for the feeling of distrust is mutual, theologians often watching too suspiciously the efforts of scientific investigation, while many scientists are much too ready to disregard all religious teaching and resent any questioning of their conclusions on religious grounds.

It is among the latter that are found the most dangerous assail-

ants of religion in our day. Some combat it only when it crosses their path and interferes with the special courses of thought which they pursue. In others we find a deep and general antipathy which leads them to take up whatever line of argument is most likely to prove effective and to fling at religion anything that can hurt. Such was Voltaire in the last century; such is Ingersoll in ours. Such Dr. Draper, of New York, who, more than twenty years ago, forsook the natural sciences, in which he had acquired a name, to write a so-called "History of the Conflict between Religion and Science" for which he was neither prepared nor fitted. Violent and vulgar in tone, incorrect in language, transparently ignorant in many of the questions he undertakes to deal with, he offers a striking contrast with another opponent, Huxley, whose brilliant qualities of thought and style, coupled with the keenest wit, have made one of the most dangerous contemporary adversaries of all kinds of religion. The Christian apologist can well afford to neglect Dr. Draper; he cannot overlook Huxley. But if he wishes to find, summed up in an ingenious and striking shape, the objections that have been urged with most success against supernatural belief during the present century, he need go no farther than the work of Dr. Andrew D. White, late President of Cornell University, entitled "A History of the Warfare of Science with Theology in Christendom."

## I.

Though quite recently published (1896), Dr. White's book can scarcely be called new. The chapters of which it is composed have steadily succeeded each other for several years in the pages of the *Popular Science Monthly*, and in the present work they are simply put together with a short introduction and some slight additions and alterations.

As a picture of the progress of the human mind in many directions, the book is full of interest. Nothing is more curious than to observe the workings of men's thoughts in presence of the problems of Nature with which they were confronted from the beginning. The principle of causality, once awakened, extends gradually to everything that shows a beginning or a change. The mind of the race, especially in its early stages, is, like the mind of a child, full of questionings, but easy to satisfy. It is with a continual smile that one reads at the present day of the notions that prevailed for long ages regarding the structure of the earth, the nature of the heavenly bodies, and of the manner in which the more striking phenomena of the visible world were accounted for. Theories, speculations, guesses, often of the crudest kind, empty formulas supplied the place of modern observation and induction;



and minds, sagacious and powerful in other spheres, acquiesced in them in the most childlike fashion. They were satisfied, for instance, to be told that if we see the flash of lightning before we hear the accompanying roll of thunder, it is because the sense of sight is nobler than that of hearing. Bede's conception of the Universe, representing the firmament as spherical in form and of a subtle and fiery nature, the upper heavens, where the angels reside, being tempered with ice, lest they should inflame the lower elements, while lower down a supply of water, referred to in Genesis i. 7, serves to allay the fire of the stars,—this conception, with its innumerable developments and complications borrowed from the ancients, satisfied men's minds for hundreds of years.

Dr. White's book abounds in particulars of this kind drawn from the most varied sources and spreading over the whole field of human knowledge—geology, astronomy, medicine, geography, philology, social science, etc. Taken as a whole, it forms a striking picture of the weakness of man's first attempts to solve the enigmas of nature, and shows how hard it has been for the most enlightened and gifted to pierce the crust of prejudice under which their contemporaries continued to entertain the most arbitrary and often the silliest notions. In this light the work might well be called "A History of Human Obtuseness and Credulity." But it was not as a psychological study nor as a description of human discovery, like Whewell's "History of the Inductive Sciences," that the book was meant by its author. Under a historical form it is avowedly a polemical work, having for its purpose to show how much Science has had to suffer, not from human ignorance or human folly, but from Religion and its representatives; and at the same time, how badly both have fared for having attempted to impede her irresistible progress. This is the conclusion to which each chapter leads in succession, and hence the title of the book: "Warfare of Science with Theology," than which none could be more appropriate, unless it had been "The Total Discomfiture and Defeat of Religion by Modern Science." To such a title Dr. White would, of course, object. He claims, in fact, to write in the interest of religion no less than of science, and no doubt a book very interesting and equally welcome to both sides could be written on the same general lines—but not by Dr. White. He is a believer in science, and in little more. He tells us, indeed, in his preface that he was bred a churchman, that many of his friends, as well as his dearest relatives, were deeply religious, and that he himself is a great lover of the externals of religion—ecclesiastical architecture, church music, and the like. But he claims no more, and no more can be expected in one who dismisses as legendary some of the most important facts of the Old and New Testament,



and who takes no pains to conceal his decided dislike for all the supernatural aspects of religion.

That a book written in so hostile a spirit, by so able (?) a man, and on a variety of delicate subjects of which few are able to judge for themselves, should be a serious danger to the faith of ordinary readers is something so self-evident that it need not be dwelt upon. The truth is, one can scarcely conceive how any intelligent person, not specially prepared for such a test, could, short of a special grace from God, withstand the accumulated pressure of so many insidious difficulties and lay down the book unshaken in the faith. To many priests, even, it would be far from harmless. Yet it may be a part of their professional duty to become acquainted with it. The "Warfare" has had a wide circulation and many readers in its earlier and in its latest form, and there is every likelihood of its remaining for years as an arsenal from which freethinkers will continue to draw forth some of their most dangerous weapons. To resist them effectively each chapter would require a separate and some an elaborate treatment; but this being out of the question here, we may be permitted at least to point out briefly the equivocal methods of the writer and the fallacies that underlie his principal arguments.

## II.

First of all, we miss in Dr. White that judicial fairness which wins the trust of the thoughtful reader. Indeed, he hardly leaves room for expecting it, his work being professedly written to carry the fight into the very lines of those who, in the name of religion, had opposed the establishment of a university (Cornell) dissevered from all positive beliefs. He holds, and his whole work meant to prove, that such separation is a necessity, because religion, except of the vaguest kind, interferes and has always interfered with the growth of human knowledge. His sympathies instinctively go forth towards unbelievers, even to the half-crazed and wholly disreputable Giordano Bruno. In his zeal to find believers in the wrong he goes the length of putting a literal construction on the metaphors of the early Fathers and on the allegorical devices of mediæval artists. He steadily keeps out of sight the grave motives which inspired the action of those he condemns. Indeed, he seems incapable of realizing the fact that their religious beliefs were to them the dearest of treasures, and that what seemed to endanger them they were bound to resist with all their might.

Dr. White undertakes to show Science in constant opposition with what he calls Theology, but he succeeds only by giving the word theology a breadth of meaning never before heard of. He actually comprises under it every variety of religious opinion,

every individual fancy, every superstition born of ignorance, even the silliest, every notion, in a word, connected by anybody with God or the unseen world! Thus the attempts of early ecclesiastical writers to interpret the work of creation as described in Genesis; the conception of Nature, its phenomena and its laws handed down from classical antiquity and held during the Middle Ages, often mingling, as was natural, with the religious ideas of the period; the views commonly held about the more striking cosmic phenomena, such as thunder, lightning, earthquakes, storms, etc.; or, again, as to the nature, the causes and the remedies of certain forms of disease; all this, and much more of a similar kind, Dr. White sets down to the account of Theology! With such a store to draw from, it is no difficult matter for him to win victories for Science all along the line. But we know, and Dr. White should know, that Theology is in no degree responsible for the views and speculations of individual theologians, still less for the numberless vagaries of weak or disordered minds, or for the superstitious beliefs and practices current in periods of general ignorance, and which Theology as much as Science has helped to dispel.

By a similar abuse of terms Dr. White raises a prejudice in the minds of his readers against what is most dear to all believers: *dogmatic truth* and *orthodoxy*. "Dogma" means fixed doctrine; "orthodoxy" means faithfulness to it. There is nothing dogmatic in personal views or free opinions on any religious subject; so long as they are free they cannot be unorthodox, neither may they be called orthodox except in a negative sense, that is, as sinning against no canon of belief. Yet if Dr. White happens to meet an opinion proven false, which at any time was connected in men's minds with religion, he at once entitles it the "dogmatic view," the "orthodox doctrine." It is in this way that he writes at considerable length about the belief in former ages that Hebrew was the language taught by God himself to our first parents, an opinion to which nobody felt bound, as soon as reasons were seen for doubting it.

That some of these opinions have been warmly defended as belonging to the faith, and have even received in some measure the sanction of authority, cannot be denied. But to argue therefrom, as Dr. White constantly does, against the infallibility claimed by the Catholic Church, is a position into which a man of his enlightenment should not have so persistently committed himself.

### III.

To make this fully intelligible to our lay readers, let it suffice to observe that the Church has never assumed, nor has she ever



been looked upon by enlightened Catholics as possessing, the privilege of infallibility on any subject beyond the principles of religion and duty. Outside these, and what is necessarily involved in the function of guarding and teaching them, mistakes, though unlikely, remain possible. Furthermore, even within the very limited sphere of infallibility thus claimed, comparatively few of the Church's acts or statements bear the seal of inerrancy. This supreme sanction is set only upon what popes, or councils, or the collective voice of pastors and faithful solemnly proclaim as belonging to revealed truth.

Beyond these narrow limits guaranteed by the divine promises the Catholic has to be satisfied with a lower degree of certitude, such as is supplied to him by the natural sources of knowledge. In his religious beliefs all is worthy of respect, but all is not equally certain. Theology, which is only religion thrown into scientific shape, besides defined dogmas, comprises an incomparably larger number of commonly accepted doctrines from which a Catholic rarely feels at liberty to depart, and, on a lower plane, a still richer harvest of deductions, opinions, speculations, conjectures, which come and go freely, and are taken up or dropped by schools or by individuals according to their personal judgment or the prevailing influences of the hour. These distinctions, familiar to theologians, are unknown, it is true, to the great majority of the faithful. The same as children, they look upon all that has been told them in their religious instruction as part of the Christian Doctrine. They grow up in that belief, and thousands live and die holding on to religious notions which rest on the slenderest foundations, simply because these notions have originally come to them with the rest, and were delivered to them as an explanation or as a development of essential doctrines.

Such then is Theology; at the centre a solid nucleus of divine truth, next, a stratum of doctrines clinging so closely as to seem part of the original formation; finally, a vast aggregate of elements floating more or less freely around the centre, and subject to all manner of changes. These distinctions all theologians admit, though they may, and often do, disagree, when it is a question of determining to which sphere such or such elements belong. Dr. White can hardly be ignorant of them. But if so, what value can he attach himself to most of his arguments against Catholic theology, Church authority and papal infallibility? What if, in ages of ignorance, people connected superstitious notions with the facts of Nature? What if individual theologians shared their error? That may have been their fault, or the fault of the age, but surely not the fault of the Church or of Theology. What if Bede and the Fathers spoke of the work of creation as they saw



it, and interpreted the Bible narratives according to the notions of their time? They claimed no special authority for their interpretations, and if later ages surrounded their views with especial reverence, it was only until other views more accurate should have established their right to supersede them. Theologians may have clung with unnecessary tenacity to the literal sense of Scripture and exhibited undue warmth in defending it; but, once more, nobody ever believed them to be infallible. Even if we admit, in the words of Dr. White, that "Conceptions held in the Church during many centuries, 'always, everywhere, and by all' (the celebrated criterion of Vincent of Lerins) were, on the whole, steadily hostile to truth," our belief in the Church's infallibility shall be in nowise lessened, so long as these conceptions were held as mere human interpretations of the divine word, not as articles of faith.

Such interpretations, it is true, have been occasionally endorsed and enforced by the Church, as in the celebrated case of Galileo. Here, according to Dr. White, the doctrine of infallibility completely breaks down. But the merest tyro of Catholic theology could have told him that the infallibility of the Church or of the Pope was not engaged in the question at any time. The case was in the hands of theologians, of cardinals, of congregations, all liable to be mistaken. The Pope, indeed, favored and sanctioned their action; but a solemn decree *ex cathedra*, in which alone a Pope is infallible, was never thought of in connection with Galileo.

The same remarks apply to the question of lucrative money-lending, on which Dr. White descants at length. Even if we admit that the aim of the Church right through the Middle Ages was to prevent making money on loans, and that Popes and theologians shared the notion of Aristotle that money, being "barren of its nature," could not lawfully be made productive, yet amid all that was held and taught on the subject, no solemn, final definition can be brought forward. In this, as in some other instances, Dr. White may point to the exercise of a certain disciplinary power, or even to minor acts of doctrinal authority, the wisdom of which may be justly questioned; but such cases, so long as they remain outside the sphere of action for which inerrancy is claimed, prove nothing, and are only so many instances of the sophism which logicians call *ignorantia elenchi*, that is, proving something different from what has to be proved.

#### IV.

Another sophism which pervades the whole course of Dr. White's argument is based on the ambiguous meaning of his second term, Science.

The word Science had been long employed and understood va-

riously as signifying knowledge in general, or knowledge fully ascertained, or knowledge systematized. But for some time the representatives of the natural sciences have appropriated the term to themselves and to their special department, as if it could be claimed by no other, besides implying that whatever is scientific is certain and cannot be questioned. But it takes only a little attention to see how much there is in all this of gratuitous assumption. Everybody knows that there are social, moral and metaphysical, as well as physical sciences, and that, in the latter as well as in the former there are elements of very unequal value. In the realm of Nature, endless observations and experiments have given, it is true, to a vast number of facts and laws an authority never again to be questioned; but how many others still await a more thorough verification, while, high above them all, the general theories which so powerfully captivate the popular mind are only plausible guesses? Men talk fluently of ether, electricity, chemical attraction, gravitation, molecules, and atoms, as if they could spread them all out before our eyes; yet what are they all but hypotheses, guesses—likely enough so long as they account for the facts, but liable to disappear any day in presence of some broader synthesis, or simpler explanation, or of new facts they are insufficient to account for.

All this Dr. White contrives to forget. Everything connected with scientific observation he lays down as unquestionable, and his preferences almost invariably turn to what is remotest from the lines followed by Christian writers.

Thus, for example, the question of the antiquity and early history of the human race, considered in the light of modern discovery, is assuredly much more difficult to handle to-day than a hundred years ago; but that is no reason to take for granted, as Dr. White does, the countless ages assigned to man by certain scientists, or his universal evolution from a condition much nearer that of a brute than of a rational being. Both are strongly contested by no less distinguished scientists of another school.

“Theology” and “Science” are not the only terms which need distinction and elucidation. “Evolution” is another, having many meanings, which Dr. White is never concerned to keep asunder, being always ready to endorse whatever bears the magic name. As a theory, evolution admits of all manner of forms, degrees and spheres of action. It may be confined to inanimate nature and account for the facts of astronomy and geology, without being extended any farther. Or it may be carried into the kingdom of plants and animals, and stop short at man. Or it may, in its course, be made to include man himself. There is a theistic theory of evolution which claims only to show on what lines the work



of creation was carried out by its divine Author, and there is an atheistic evolution which sets aside the notion of God altogether. There is a limited conception of evolution, with breaks which imply the introduction, from time to time, of a new form of action, as in the passage from inorganic to organized beings; from plant to animal life; from the instincts of the animal to the mind and conscience of man; and there is a radical conception of the theory which assigns to the same blind forces the formation of everything, from the primary elements of matter to the human being in his highest development. In some of its forms the theory can scarcely be questioned; in others it is utterly inadmissible; in its intermediate stages it may be a legitimate subject of controversy among scientists or among believers. But with Dr. White such distinctions do not exist. For him evolution, in all its Darwinian fullness, is a demonstrated truth by which all else is to be judged.

These are some of the methods by which Dr. White pursues his "warfare" and tries to raise a prejudice against religion as being at all times the great obstacle to the onward march of Science. It is this position that we have now to consider in itself.

## V.

That mistaken religious views held by Catholics or by Protestants may have occasionally, in the course of ages, interfered—unnecessarily and unduly interfered—with scientific development, we have no reason to question on abstract grounds, no wish to deny as a fact; but that there is anything in that fact, reduced to its true proportions, to justify the animosity of Dr. White and others against Religion we utterly fail to perceive. In fact, we hold that the opposition so bitterly complained of was most natural in the circumstances; that it was even serviceable; that it was far from being the only or the principal obstacle science had to contend with; finally that, of the numerous instances of religious opposition to science brought forward by Dr. White, there are extremely few in which any appreciable delay was caused, as a fact, in the onward course of Science itself.

We say, first of all, that it was most natural that when modern science dawned on the world men should be found holding, side by side with the true faith, many mistaken notions about Nature which had become part of their religious beliefs. As we have already remarked, one of the primary exigencies of the human mind is to seek a cause for whatever is seen to begin or to change. Long after the earlier stages of man's development he remained still in primitive ignorance of the true forces of Nature; but at the same time he had an intense belief in the powers of the invisible world, and to them he naturally attributed the facts of the visible



world, especially the exceptional, striking facts he could not otherwise account for. Thus earthquakes were looked upon as special marks of God's wrath; comets were believed to be missiles hurled at a wicked world, or, at the least, signs foreboding some great calamity. Storms and lightning came from the heavens and were visibly the work of the Creator or of "the powers of the air." The strange features of nervous diseases caused them to be referred by pagans and Christians alike to similar agencies. In a word, everything unusual and striking in Nature impressed men with a mysterious dread, as the work of supernatural beings.

This religious philosophy of the visible world was very attractive. It sated that craving for the marvellous which is natural to man; it gave scope to his imagination; it fostered the religious spirit, making daily life full of heavenly signs and special providences, turning men's thought to God, and steeping their whole existence in an atmosphere of faith. Can we wonder if they eagerly clung to it and turned a deaf ear to Science so long as she could speak, as was always the case in the beginning, only with hesitating manner and uncertain voice? The older conceptions had so become a part of their mental structure, they were so wedded to their holiest impressions and dearest memories, that to exchange them for others seemed like parting with their faith and piety, or, to say the least, with what had helped to sustain one and the other. Natural explanations of what had been so long considered a direct action of God were looked upon as irreligious. As early as the fourth century we find Cæsarius, brother of St. Basil, declaring impious the opinion of those who in earthquakes saw nothing but natural phenomena, and as late as the beginning of the last century we find Newton's theory combated by the consideration that by it "he took from God that direct action on His works so constantly ascribed to Him in Scripture, and transferred it to mechanical laws," and that "he substituted gravitation for Providence." But such resistance was not generally of long duration. It had to yield to the evidence of facts or to a series of irresistible inductions, and gradually men's beliefs and devotions came to be built on different lines.

The same observations apply to the numerous mistaken notions which had been gathered from too literal an interpretation of Scripture. Our ideas of the natural world are so exclusively derived in this age from direct observation that we can scarcely conceive of their being sought for elsewhere. But in past times it was just the opposite. In their inability to sound the mysteries by which they were surrounded, men instinctively turned for information to a higher source, and they seemed to have found it in the Bible. Here was a book coming from God himself and touch-

ing on all manner of subjects, describing in particular the formation of the heavens and the earth, containing the early history of mankind, and accounting for many things, besides, of which no other explanation could be had. What more natural than to accept all this as it stood? Of course it was seen plainly enough that some things were spoken of in Scripture not as they are but as they strike the senses and affect the imagination; but partly through ignorance, partly through a mistaken reverence, much was taken literally which in the mind of the sacred writer was only metaphorical or poetic, and the rule obtained that the literal sense was to prevail when no sufficient reason appeared to depart from it. Now, during the lengthened period to which we refer, most of the reasons subsequently discovered were unknown. Thus nobody, for example, saw any reason why the visible Universe should not have begun to exist only six thousand years ago; why the earth should not have been made just as it is in six ordinary days; why the deluge should not have covered the whole surface of the earth, or why Noah might not have accommodated in the ark couples of all the animals which the flood would have destroyed. Nobody saw any special difficulty in the earth being immovably fixed on its foundations, with the sun, moon and stars revolving around it. As a consequence, the passages of the Bible bearing on these and scores of similar facts were understood literally by all, and the information which they seemed to convey was welcomed by all as introducing to a region of knowledge inaccessible at the time to any other mode of investigation, besides giving an assurance which God's word could alone impart, according to the saying of St. Augustine in this same connection: *Major est Scripturæ auctoritas quam omnis humani ingenii capacitas.*

Above all, the divine source from which this knowledge was supposed to flow gave it a special sacredness in the eyes of all true believers. They lovingly and reverently dwelt upon it; they made it a basis of speculation, and built upon it by the deductive methods of the times. It became truly a part of their philosophy and of their religion. What, then, could be expected, when all these notions came to be assailed in the name of new theories and discoveries, but a hearty denunciation of the latter "as false in philosophy (the terms employed in the case of Galileo) and heretical in religion"?

Not being himself a believer, Dr. White cannot, perhaps, understand the extreme importance which doctrines have for those who look upon them as coming from God. Yet, that belief once admitted, what more natural than the anxious solicitude with which believers watch over every particle of what, rightly or wrongly, they consider part of the sacred treasure, and the energy



with which, when it is assailed, they defend it. Far from begetting in the scientist a feeling of irritation, as is too often the case, it should rather awaken his sympathy and lead him to touch with a gentle hand what he must recognize as some of the worthiest as well as the deepest and tenderest feelings of the human heart.

And as regards himself, he, too, should remember that he is not infallible; that his great victories have been won at the cost of numberless defeats, and that the imperishable monuments which he has ultimately succeeded in erecting are built on the ruins of long-forgotten speculations, repudiated theories and spurious facts. All the sciences began humbly. For many centuries Astronomy was immersed in astrology, Chemistry in alchemy, Physics in metaphysics, History in fable. What was wanting in knowledge was supplied by the fancy—imaginary continents and seas, imaginary animals of the dry land and of the deep. Our theologians believed in them, like everybody else, and occasionally employed them as illustrations and arguments after the fashion of the day. Our commentators embodied them in their interpretations of the Bible, from which it was not easy to disentangle them when it had to be done later on. What is all this but knowledge in its infancy, of which believers have no more reason to be ashamed than scientists, nor one and the other any more than the individual man in his maturity feels embarrassed at the recollection of the childish impressions of his early conscious life.

It is, then, through all these preconceived, mistaken notions that Science had to fight its way. They were not the outcome of religion alone, but of general habit, prejudice and excessive conservatism. Even to-day among the representatives of every science there is a conservative as well as a progressive section. Inventors, discoverers, thinkers have always had to contend with them; and one of their sorest trials has been to find among their opponents the very men who should have been the first to welcome and to help them. The facts of animal magnetism, or hypnotism, as it is now called, were, up to a recent date, steadily denied or contemptuously ignored by the leading representatives of science. The possibilities of steam as a motor power, the most important appliances of electricity, were questioned even by specialists until repeated experiments had demonstrated them. Many lives have been lost by the slowness of medical men to adopt new methods of treatment.

Scientists may have to suffer from opposition of this and similar kinds, but Science fares none the worse for it. The more impetuous its rush forward, the more it needs to be kept within proper bounds, and this is the natural function of the other



forms of human knowledge. Scientists unchecked easily wander into speculations of all kinds, philosophical, historical, religious, where they are much exposed to lose themselves. It is the business of the specialists who by right occupy these grounds to awaken them from their dreams and lead them back to their own field of knowledge. This theologians have done successfully again and again, as well as historians, philosophers and their own brother scientists. Where their opposition was mistaken it was seldom effective, and never permanently hurtful to science. While theologians denounced and anathematized, investigators silently pursued their observations and developed their inductions until a full demonstration was reached, and then the battle was won. In a few cases, we are free to confess, the struggle was unnecessarily and unduly lengthened, but that was only the natural outcome of individual obstinacy or deep and widespread prejudice; nor was it by any means confined to Catholics. In fact Dr. White's narrative shows that from the beginning Protestants were generally more extreme and more unyielding than Catholics in their opposition to discoveries which disturbed their old Scriptural notions. Nor must we wonder at this, for whatever touches the Bible threatens them much more than Catholics, whose faith rests not on Scripture but on the living voice of the Church.

## VI.

To sum up, Dr. White's history of the relations between Science and Religion is entirely misleading. It is unfriendly and unfair to Religion from beginning to end. This terrible war of which he has undertaken to relate the vicissitudes turns out to be little more than a lively and protracted skirmishing kept up between scientists and theologians of every calibre, and making more noise, as often happens, than doing harm to either side. It is remarkable how seldom the Church interfered, and when she did, how gently, using mostly her disciplinary power only, and never putting forth her full doctrinal authority. And as for waging war on Science, she never as much as thought of it, for Science she recognizes as coming, like herself, from God. True, she has much reason to complain of many scientists, who are constantly going outside their sphere and making unjustifiable inroads into hers. But she says little about it, remembering that among the foremost scientists of the day she reckons some of her most devoted children, and that it would be unfair, anyhow, to make Science responsible for what she neither inspires nor can prevent.

Those who undertake to speak in the name of Science would consult much better for her honor and for their own if they consented to be guided by the same spirit. Religion is not a thing

to be trifled with. Its purposes are too high, its influences too far reaching and too deep, its achievements too great, not to entitle it to respect. And then the world cannot do without it. Not only it fills an abiding need of the soul, and answers questions to which it alone can give a satisfactory reply, but it keeps together the very framework of society. Every experienced and thoughtful man must see that. Dr. White must see it. He does see it, and this is doubtless why he attempts to draw a distinction between Religion and Theology. "Science," he says, "has conquered Dogmatic Theology." (She has done nothing of the kind; just ridded us of mistaken conceptions which had long attached themselves to Theology and unduly assumed its name, that's all.) But he adds, "she (Science) will henceforth go hand in hand with Religion," as if religion without Dogmatic Theology, that is, without a body of doctrines accepted by faith, can be anything but a shadow. This, too, Dr. White's experience of life should have shown him, not perhaps in a few individuals particularly situated and particularly cultivated, but in the bulk of his fellow-men. When they lose their hold on positive belief the rest is sure to follow. In the "*Revue des Deux Mondes*," the leading European review, its gifted editor, Fr. Brunetière—to-day the honored guest of Johns Hopkins and Harvard—recently published an article which attracted much attention and gave rise to much comment. It was entitled "The Bankruptcy of Science," and its purpose was to show that Science had "failed," not in its proper sphere, not in accomplishing wonderful things, but in fulfilling the promises made, in its name, of sufficing henceforth to give guidance and strength to mankind. The responsive echo which came back to the writer almost from everywhere proved that he had struck the right chord.

If, then, neither Science nor Religion can be dispensed with, if neither can be sacrificed to the other, surely it is not a state of "warfare" that should be proclaimed, but a state of harmony and mutual good-will. This should not be difficult, if we consider how far these two great powers stand apart, or, rather, how distinct they are from each other in their objects and in their methods. "Why," to use the words of Balfour ("Foundations of Belief"), "may we not set up side by side with the creed of natural science another and supplementary set of beliefs which may minister to needs and aspirations which Science cannot meet, and may speak amid silences which Science is powerless to break? The natural world and the spiritual world, the world which is immediately subject to causation and the world which is immediately subject to God, are each of them real, and each of them the objects of real knowledge. But the laws of the natural world



are revealed to us by the discoveries of Science, while the laws of the spiritual world are revealed to us through the authority of spiritual intuitions, inspired witnesses or divinely guided institutions. And the two regions of knowledge lie side by side, contiguous but not connected, like empires of different race and language, without intercourse with each other, except along a disputed and wavering frontier."

Conciliation, therefore, should be the object of all who have at heart the integral satisfaction of man's needs and his full individual and social development. Sixty years ago a man of whom Dr. White speaks in terms of admiration, Cardinal Wiseman, gave the signal of the noble work in his lectures on the "Connection Between Science and Revealed Religion." Would that in this instance admiration had led to imitation!

## VII.

Since we venture to admonish others, may we not, at the same time, administer with profit some admonition to ourselves? In all these quarrels are we entirely faultless? If often provoked, have we not been occasionally provoking, clinging tenaciously to antiquated notions which should have long since been given up, or withdrawing from them under a cloud of ambiguous words to hide defeat? We ask scientists to set aside prejudice and give us a fair hearing; are we always ready to listen patiently to them?

It must be confessed that many of the conclusions solidly established by historians, biblical scholars and the like, interfere most unpleasantly with some of our settled notions, and we are sorely tempted to resent the interference. Natural science, too, with its laws and forces, looks sometimes as if its chief purpose were to supersede the divine action and keep God out of sight. Yet it is thus that He would have us henceforth recognize and worship Him. Under the laws of Nature and its active forces He is ever present and ever accessible to those who seek Him. Much depends on the bent of the individual mind. There is the religious mind and there is the secular mind. The religious mind, even in the midst of modern science, still turns instinctively to God, and sees created things in their relations with God. The secular mind sees them in themselves and looks no further. The mediæval mind was religious; the modern mind is mainly secular, and it is Science that has made it so. Hence the necessity of reaction, not against Science, but against the evil to which it gives birth.

In nothing are its effects more noticeable than in the relative extension of religious beliefs. In the intellectual conditions of early and mediæval times they grew indefinitely, as we have seen. Sci-



ence has singularly narrowed their sphere. While loyal to the same creed we all believe incomparably fewer things than were believed in former days, and of much that we continue to believe our conceptions are considerably altered. To realize this we have only to take up books written a few hundred years ago, or even fifty years ago. We are, perhaps, none the happier nor the better for the change; but it was inevitable. Nor has it entirely ceased. Slowly but steadily, around the immovable centre of dogma, the religious elements of our minds are disposing themselves differently. Some are clinging more closely, others more loosely, while others still have silently dropped off. This, too, is inevitable. It is, in one shape or another, the law of all intellectual growth, the very law of life. The apologist of the faith has to bear it in mind. In his zeal for the integrity of the sacred treasure he must not add on what, though often connected with, never belonged to it. He must not extend immeasurably his line of defence at the imminent risk of weakening it.

He must not commit himself, still less the Church, to positions which ultimately may have to be abandoned, as happened in the case of Galileo. It is neither dignified nor creditable to be constantly driven back from positions which were held as if they had been vital. On the other hand, he cannot shut himself up in his citadel and fight only for what is essential in the faith. Traditional positions, views commonly held, have to be sustained; but only as a matter of prudence. He should not allow them to be questioned without reason, but there may be a reason for questioning them, and if such be alleged, it should be listened to and its full value allowed. Fairness is the supreme law of a defender of truth, human or divine. It is what most commends truth to inquirer or opponent, and it never can be ultimately harmful to a sacred cause. In times of transition the duty of apologist and theologian is one of extreme delicacy. There are concessions which at first sight seem allowable, but which logically would prove fatal; others considered most dangerous a hundred years ago have since turned out to be harmless. Perhaps the best course to follow, when all is not clear, is to watch and to wait. It is not in keeping with the dignity of religion or its representatives to get excited over every discovery that is claimed to have been made, and every view that may have been ventured upon. Most of them are worthless and soon disappear of themselves; others more plausible are tested by experts and thrown aside. Some prevail, but in a modified form, and generally not unacceptable to orthodoxy. But it takes them time to reach their definitive shape, and in the meantime why should we be concerned religiously with their transient phases? To wait, then, is best. It is the attitude that Catholics generally assumed

during the growth of geological science. While all over Europe and America Protestants were violently denouncing itself and its promoters, Catholics quietly awaited its final evolution, fully prepared to modify their old notions as to the meaning of Genesis and set them in harmony with the new facts, when fully ascertained, and with their logical consequences.

We are told in the Acts that while the Apostles were in prison the Sanhedrim assembled to decide as to how they were to be dealt with, and that Gamaliel, arising in the midst of the Council, gave it as his opinion that they should not be interfered with. He quoted several instances of recent movements which all proved abortive and he added: "Now, therefore, I say to you, refrain from these men and let them alone, for if this counsel or this work be of men, it will come to nought. But if it be of God, ye cannot overthrow it."

With a slight alteration of terms we may apply the lesson to ourselves. Be patient and wait. If there is no truth in the facts and views of those scientists, they will come to nought. But if they be true in any measure, in that measure they will ultimately prevail, and ye cannot overthrow them. For, as St. Paul (II Cor. xiii.) says: *We can do nothing against the truth but for the truth.*

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FRANCE'S AID TO AMERICA IN THE WAR OF  
INDEPENDENCE.

ONE of the most remarkable facts throwing light upon the American struggle for independence is that the first thought of separation from England, the first conception of a scheme of independence, the first anticipation of a final struggle between England and the colonies, the first utterance of the very word "Independence," and, so to speak, the first declaration, though not a public one, of independence, occurred in France. The struggle began twelve years before the American Declaration of Independence. The struggle during those twelve years cannot be regarded as a revolution. A political revolution is correctly defined to be a great or entire change in the constitution of government, whereas in our struggle the Americans only maintained the ancient and incontestable principles of the British Constitution and their rights thereunder as British subjects. It was the Stamp Act, whereby a British Parliament attempted to impose an unconstitutional tax upon the colonies, that was revolutionary; and, if successfully imposed and submitted to by the Americans, it would have resulted in a radical change or overthrow of the constitution. In going into the struggle, the Americans claimed only their constitutional rights. Independence or separation from Great Britain was far from their thoughts, wishes or intentions. The first blood was shed for their rights under the British Constitution, and not for independence; and the first efforts at negotiation which were made with England were aimed at this end alone. The Americans were loyal citizens of the British Empire, not revolutionists; and it was long after the struggle commenced in 1763 by the peaceful protest of New York—it was fully twelve years thereafter—before Americans thought or spoke of independence. Then the Revolution commenced.

The loyalty of Americans was proclaimed by Otis in the Boston town-meeting of March, 1763, in these energetic words: "We in America have abundant reason to rejoice. The heathen are driven out, and the Canadians conquered. The British dominion now extends from sea to sea, and from the great river to the ends of the earth. Liberty and knowledge, civil and religious, will be co-extended, improved, and preserved to the latest posterity. No constitution in the world has appeared so admirably adapted to these great purposes as that of Great Britain. Every British subject in America is, of common right, by Acts of Parliament, and



by the laws of God and Nature, entitled to all the essential privileges of Britons. By particular charters, particular privileges are justly granted, in consideration of undertaking to begin so glorious an empire as British America. Some weak and wicked minds have endeavored to infuse jealousies with regard to the colonies. The true interests of Great Britain and her plantations are mutual; what God in his providence has united let no man attempt to pull asunder."

Great Britain and her colonies unitedly triumphed over France in America in the Seven Years' War, expelled the French rule from America, and transferred the exclusive sceptre to Great Britain throughout the continent. Conquerors together in a great war, the colonies were proud of their position as an integral part of the British Empire. But British ministers and statesmen did not appreciate the merits of the colonists as supports of the British Empire, although it had been demonstrated in the war just triumphantly ended, nor their loyalty to the Empire, nor their attachment to their constitutional rights, nor their courage and determination to defend them. Hence the insane measures of Parliament, whose leading statesmen and the ministers were intoxicated by the acquisition of so vast an empire in America, in taxing the colonists without representation, and in goading them on to the war of independence.

While the colonists were profoundly loyal, France, on the other hand, was filled with hatred to Great Britain. Humiliated in the Seven Years' War and stripped of her vast possessions in America, her hostility not lessened by the Treaty of Paris, which was a mere formal peace. But France's hostility was nursed only against the mother country. She had no hostility to the colonies, though they had aided Great Britain to drive France out of America. Thus America was loyal, while France was concealing her purpose under diplomatic courtesies, and her first thoughts were how best she could handle the colonies as diplomatic agencies, perhaps military cards, which she could play against Great Britain. Hence the Duke de Choiseul, Minister of the Marine and the Colonies to Louis XV., "predicted to his sovereign," as Mr. George Bancroft says, "the nearness of the final struggle between England and its dependencies, and urged that France should prepare for the impending crisis by increasing its naval force." Such were the French minister's thoughts in 1765; and he was not slow in the following year in taking note of the bold and defiant answer made by the Massachusetts Assembly to its Governor: "The free exercise of our undoubted privileges can never, with any color of reason, be adjudged an abuse of our liberty." In France, at that time, where all popular and constitutional rights were merged in

the royal prerogative, the increasing resistance of the colonies to the British Empire seemed more warlike, more threatening and more revolutionary than it seemed to the colonists themselves.

As early as 1764 Choiseul, having always before his eyes the probability of a new war, or a renewal of the hereditary warfare by England against France and Spain, and looking upon the discontented colonies as the possible allies of France in such an event, sent an agent to America to make a thorough tour of observation through the colonies. This agent, on his return to France, made an elaborate report of the abundant products of the colonies in corn, cattle, flax and iron; in trees fit for masts, in pine timber and other products suitable for peace or war; on their numbers, which were doubled in every twenty years; on their opulence, their warlike character, their consciousness of strength; on the fisheries of the North, on their large construction of ships and their impatience at the restraints imposed upon their navigation; on their cities, the character of their various populations; on the absence of citadels, the condition of the military establishments, accessibility of the cities by water, and, in fact, upon every detail that might interest an enemy of Great Britain. The agent of France reported to the minister that "England must foresee a revolution, and has hastened its epoch by relieving the colonies from the fear of France in Canada."

The watch which the French Ministry constantly kept, not only on the debates and proceedings in the British Parliament, but more especially on the progress of events in the colonies, was such as to portend even in those early years what happened twelve years afterwards—an alliance between the colonies at war with England and France engaged with the same enemy in a general war. In 1767 Choiseul sent over to the colonies as his agent John Kalb, who afterwards became Baron De Kalb and a comrade of Lafayette in our war for liberty, on a similar tour of observation, and he also sought the most accurate information as to the progress of opinion in America and of events, using also for this purpose the writings and speeches of Franklin, the opinions of American merchants, the significant sermons of the New England ministers, and from every source within his reach. While English statesmen were lulled into delusive expectations of submission on the part of the Americans, the French minister read in the signs of the time more accurate information and formed a more correct judgment as to the inevitable struggle. The archives of the State department in France preserve to this day a rare and abundant collection of the most curious American reports, newspaper-cuttings, and extracts of every kind relating to the Revolution. Choiseul conceived the plan and ambition of a great mis-



sion of emancipation, and he dreamed that England's vast colonies were to be erected by the aid of France into mighty independent nations. It must not be supposed that France's only motive in this was self-interest in crippling her enemy. All France even then admired and sympathized with a brave people struggling for liberty.

The contrast, however, between the loyalty of the colonists in seeking redress for their grievances at the hands of the mother country and uninterrupted union with her on the one hand and the diplomacy of France in seeking to widen the breach between them is interesting and suggestive. In 1767, while Franklin, the peaceful agent of the colonies at the Court of England, and Durand, the French ambassador, often met at the Court of St. James. Frequent interviews occurred between them. Not only did Durand make many inquiries of Franklin in regard to the progress of events and the intentions of the Americans; not only did he ask for all of Franklin's political writings, but the Ambassador's conversations with the representative of the colonies must have been very suggestive. Choiseul writing to Durand at London said: "May the anarchy in the British Government last for ages." Durand replied, "Your prayer will be heard;" and Franklin, no doubt pressed by the accomplished diplomatist of the French nation, said: "That intriguing nation would like very well to blow up the coals between Britain and her colonies, *but I hope we shall give them no opportunity.*"

While Franklin was saying this, Durand wrote to the minister at Versailles: "In England there is no one that does not own that its American colonies will one day form a separate State. The Americans are jealous of their liberty, and will always wish to extend it. The taste for independence must prevail among them; yet the fears of England will retard its coming, for she will shun whatever can unite them." Choiseul answered his ambassador: "Let her but attempt to establish taxes in them, and those countries, greater than England in extent, and perhaps becoming more populous, having fisheries, forests, shipping, corn, iron and the like, will easily and fearlessly separate themselves from the mother country." Durand rejoined: "Do not calculate on a near revolution in the American colonies. They aspire not to independence, but to equality of rights with the mother country. A plan of union will always be a means in reserve by which England will shun the greater evil. The loss of the colonies of France and Spain will be the consequence of the revolution of the colonies of England." It is evident that France was at that early date intent on the separation of the colonies from England, for Mr. George Bancroft exclaims, "*The idea of emancipating the whole colonial world was alluring to Choiseul.*" Restive under the diplomatic



restraint and caution of Durand, he recalled him, and sent to the Court of St. James his own most confidential friend, the Count de Châtelet, with the purpose of securing greater freedom for himself in his correspondence in relation to the controversy between the colonies and England, the importance of which he clearly discerned. In the meantime Kalb in the colonies was an agent after his own heart, for while he then apprehended an ultimate reconciliation, he did not disguise his views that if the colonies could assemble by deputies and discuss their wrongs and their rights, this would inevitably lead to the formation of an independent state. Upon the merits of the controversy he and those he represented in France sympathized with the colonists; and Kalb said, "Sooner or later, the Government must recognize its being in the wrong."

So steadily did the diplomatic plans of the French Cabinet develop that as early as 1768, ten years before the event took place, we see the earliest traces, and very decided ones they were, of those sentiments and purposes in France which, in 1778, culminated in the solemn treaty of alliance between France and the the United Colonies. In July, 1768, Choiseul held at Paris a conversation of six hours with one who was thoroughly and specially conversant with everything connected with the colonies, and then wrote to Du Châtelet, "My idea, which perhaps is but a reverie, *is to examine the possibility of a treaty of commerce, both of importation and exportation*, of which the obvious advantages might attract the Americans. According to the prognostications of sensible men, who have had opportunity to study their character and measure their progress from day to day, in the event of independence, *the separation of the American colonies from the metropolis, sooner or later, must come. The plan I propose hastens its epoch.* It is the true interest of the colonies to secure forever their entire liberty and establish their direct commerce with France and the world. We have every reason to hope that the Government on this side will conduct itself in a manner to increase the breach, not to close it up. Such is its way. True, some sagacious observers think it not only possible, but easy, to reconcile the interests of the colonies and the mother country; but the course pursued thus far by the British Government seems to me completely opposite to what it ought to be to effect this conciliation."

Among the instructions sent from Paris to Du Châtelet was the direction to seek information concerning America in London among the merchants who were constantly corresponding with their agents in America, rather than at St. James among officials, and it was evident that he sought the company of Franklin in the city, while the ministers and statesmen of England avoided him. "Franklin," wrote Du Châtelet, "has for years been predicting to

the ministers the necessary consequences of their American measures, but, *fortunately*, is very little consulted." In the meantime, Choiseul continued his consultation with such as knew all about American affairs, and to increase his already huge mass of American newspapers, documents, town resolutions and sermons. There was no public man in England as well acquainted with the state of affairs in and with the resources of the colonies as was the French minister. He wrote, in 1768: "The forces of the English in America are scarcely ten thousand men, and they have no cavalry; but the militia of the colonies numbers four hundred thousand men, and among them several regiments of cavalry. The people are enthusiastic for liberty, and have inherited a republican spirit which the consciousness of strength and circumstances may push to extremities. They will not be intimidated by the presence of troops too insignificant to cause alarm."

When the Americans resolved to purchase no more supplies from England, and the English Cabinet sent out instructions to intercept American vessels, Choiseul wrote to Du Châtelet: "Can the ministry reduce the colonies? Of what avail is an army in so vast a country? The Americans have made these reflections, and they will not give way. To the menace of rigor they will never give way, except in appearance and for a time. The fire will be but imperfectly extinguished." To which Du Châtelet replied: "What a pity that neither Spain nor France is in a condition to take advantage of so critical a conjuncture! Precipitate measures on our part *might reconcile* the colonies to the metropolis; but if the quarrel goes on, a thousand opportunities cannot fail to offer, of which decisive advantage may be taken." While France was thus alert and vigilant, Spain was sluggish and timid; but it is evident throughout that France was better posted in all that concerned America in her relations with England than even England herself. A judicial blindness settled upon England, which all the public proceedings in America and all the enlightened efforts of Franklin at court could not dispel. Contrast the course of French sentiment and cabinet diplomacy on American affairs with the blind folly of the mother country at this very time, 1768, when Parliament rejected the petitions of the Americans and would be satisfied with nothing short of having the colonies at her feet. Choiseul and Du Châtelet could have assured England that this was impossible; but they kept their counsels to themselves, and bided their opportunity. "Without exaggerating the prospects of the union of the colonies"—for now South Carolina had sided with Massachusetts, and the colonists were becoming united—as Châtelet now wrote to Choiseul, "the time of their independence is very near. *Their prudent men believe the time is not yet come, . . . but,*" etc. . . .



"if the metropolis should persevere, can the union, which is now their strength, be maintained *without succor from abroad*? Even if the rupture should be premature, can France and Spain neglect the opportunity which they may never find again? . . . This new order of things, which will necessarily have the greatest influence on the political affairs of Europe, *will probably be brought about within a very few years.*" Choiseul replied: "Your views are as acute as they are comprehensive and well considered. The king is perfectly aware of their sagacity and solidity, and I will communicate them to the court of Madrid."

Side by side with these "comprehensive and well-considered" views, Englishmen, countrymen of the Americans, reared in the same school of liberty, and speaking the same language, and with the same blood coursing through their veins, were talking loudly of "treason," of "a special commission" to try the leaders under the statute of Henry VIII., and of "condign punishment." While England was thus oppressing her own countrymen she got up a public subscription in aid of the revolting Corsicans, and France threatened to open a subscription for the people of New York. What contrasts does history present! Great, indeed, are the inconsistencies of statesmanship! Free trade between France and America was now urged by Du Châtelet in France and Spain. While Spain hated England, she foresaw that the independence of the English colonies would inevitably lead to that of her own American possessions, and so it did.

During the year 1769 the rivalry of England and France obtruded itself at every turn of European affairs. The French cabinet saw with joy the progress of separation between England and her colonies. "Here is the happy opportunity of dividing the British Empire," were words constantly spoken and written in the diplomatic correspondence. It seemed that the French were only restrained from declaring openly for the colonies by the fear that this might lead to a reconciliation. It became the policy and effort of France to widen the breach, to wait until reconciliation became impossible, and then at last to interfere to prevent England from conquering the colonies by arms. Such was the actual result. In the meantime, however, France and England smothered their mutual hatred under diplomatic intrigues and courtesies, and while the latter continued in America her blind policy of repression, France suffered a reaction in favor of peace, of inactivity in regard to America, if not of alienation; and Choiseul, the friend and admirer of the struggling colonists, was dismissed from office and sent into retirement, in December, 1770, because, as Bancroft says, he was "the friend of colonial independence." The same historian here also exclaims: "Had America then risen,



she would have found no friends to cheer her on." But in all this France was biding her time.

On the other side of the English Channel public policy postponed any open breaking out of hostilities with France while the American colonies were in revolt. George III. said to his minister, Lord North, "We must get the colonies in order before we engage with our neighbors." Thus it was that our struggle for independence entered largely into the affairs of Europe. But the colonies never got "in order." The Declaration of Independence followed the stirring events of the great and momentous struggle which occurred between 1770 and 1776, prominent and critical among which events was the first battle of the war of independence, the battle of Lexington, which occurred on April 19, 1775. During these long and discouraging years the Courts of St. James, Versailles and Madrid carried on a system of dilatory diplomatic tactics, interchanging courtesies, assurances of friendship and contortions of duplicity so transparent to the initiated in diplomacy that one of the actors in this Macchiavellian game thought he could deceive the rest of the world, and especially the American colonists, by stating most graciously that never before had the Courts of St. James, Versailles and Madrid been upon better and more friendly terms.

In the meantime the brave and patriotic colonists embarked single-handed and alone in a struggle for the liberties and rights of mankind that, for purity of motive, singleness of purpose, moderation and justice, enlightened statesmanship, valor in the field, wisdom in the council, and true manhood, has no parallel in the history of the world. Fortunately for the cause of American freedom at that time, the same narrow policy in England, which had driven the colonies to the extremity of war and separation when they sued the mother country for justice and peace, a short-sighted economy had reduced the armaments of England to the most neglected and inefficient condition. England was without allies, as much so as the colonies themselves, and her armies were kept busy in keeping down rebellion at her door in Ireland; and in India Hyder Ali was at war with England, represented by the celebrated Warren Hastings. France and Spain were plotting the overthrow of her whole colonial possessions. In population she was far inferior to her enemies; her navy was not then equal to that of France, and from a military stand-point she virtually admitted her inability to conquer the American colonies by her armies, as was shown by her unworthy efforts to enlist in her military service and in her mercenary pay the soldiers of other countries.

Then George III. gave his final answer to the colonists, refusing peremptorily the redress of their grievances, saying with mock

patriotism, on resorting to arms; "I know what my duty to my country makes me undertake, and threats cannot prevent me from doing that to the utmost extent." Efforts were made to purchase foreign hirelings, low-bred soldiers of fortune, in the markets of the world. Russia, under Catherine II., was the first country that England applied to for hired troops to subdue her own English countrymen in America, and twenty thousand men, disciplined and completely armed and equipped, were asked for; and there England received for answer a most scathing rebuke, which ended with these sarcastic words, which greatly wounded the pride of England: "Moreover," said the Russian Empress, "I should not be able to prevent myself from reflecting on the consequences which would result to our dignity, or that of the two monarchies and the two nations, from this junction of our forces, *simply to calm a rebellion which is not supported by any foreign power.*" France's sympathy for America was shown in the language which, during this unworthy negotiation for Russian troops for the subjection of America, was addressed by Vergennes to the French envoy at Moscow: "I cannot reconcile Catherine's elevation of soul with the dishonorable idea of trafficking in the blood of her subjects." In the next place, King George III. asked a brigade from Holland, and here again his application failed. - He next attempted to enlist mercenary foreign troops for conquering America in Germany, and by means of large bounties, high wages and the prospect of booty in the land to be conquered, "crowds of adventurers" and "vagabond veterans" from all parts of Europe flocked to the British standard. There was a law in Germany against enlisting German soldiers for foreign service, but the law was evaded. Recruiting in Germany was afterwards stopped by the protests of the Catholic provinces. England also sought to engage subsidiary troops in Saxony, but the Elector refused to permit it. Brunswick was the next country invaded by the British recruiting agents, and by means alike discreditable to the English king and the Duke of Brunswick, mercenaries for the war in America were procured in Brunswick to the number of five thousand seven hundred and twenty-five during the war. By terms even more disgraceful a contract was made with the Landgrave of Hesse Cassel for twelve thousand Hessian hirelings, and the price was so exorbitant and tempting that the landgrave added four hundred Hessians yagers armed with rifled guns, three hundred dismounted dragoons and three corps of artillery, for all of whom a double subsidy was paid. These soldiers of fortune were further led to believe "that in America they would have free license to plunder and to indulge their passions. These transactions occurred in the latter part of 1775 and the early part of 1776, as, so eager were the



English ministry to obtain these foreign troops by February of the latter year, that they willingly yielded to the most extortionate terms of the Hessian landgrave. The very vastness of these foreign mercenary armies brought over to subdue the colonists proves beyond question, and such is the voice of history, that the American colonists were fully able to conduct the contest against England alone; that, but for these foreign troops, America would have triumphed single-handed in the war of independence without the aid of France. It was the employment of these foreign soldiers which compelled the patriots to seek the aid of France and of the French people. It is to the glory of France that they did not seek in vain. France was America's friend.

Louis XV. died on May 10, 1774, and his grandson, Louis XVI., succeeded him. It is well known that Louis XVI. sympathized from the beginning with the Americans, but from motives of State policy he restrained himself from openly taking their side for some time after he ascended the throne. The queen, Marie Antoinette, was an ardent espouser of the cause of the American patriots, and she warmly advocated the recall to office of Choiseul, "the prophet and favorer of American independence." The differences which Choiseul had had with the king's grandfather, Louis XV., prevented his recall to the ministry, but there were then called to the cabinet Vergennes, Minister of Foreign Affairs, and Turgot, Minister of Marine, and these enlightened ministers gave practical effect to the deep friendship and sympathy of the French nation for the Americans. But, for the present, the policy of the new governors of France was the policy of peace with England.

Not only the queen but the brothers of Louis XVI. warmly sympathized with America, the nobility generally, and the people. Especially were the people of Paris led on by the wits, philosophers and the influential body of coffee-house politicians, who were men of education, wit and progress, all ardent Americans, regarding the colonists as a brave and noble people contending for the right, maintaining the true principles of the British Constitution and resisting the violence of oppression and subjugation.

In contrast with the sympathies of the French people of every grade we will again cite the diplomatic manner in which the cabinet ministers of Louis XVI. uniformly treated the subject of America in revolt. A prudent reserve marked their treatment of the subject. Even Louis XVI., in October, 1775, said to Lord Stormont, the British ambassador, after George III. and Parliament had finally refused the petition of the colonists and resolved on war, "*Happily*, the opposition party is very weak," alluding to the friends of America in England; and Vergennes, his minister, while using his efforts secretly to widen the breach between England and



America, said to the British ambassador, "Far from wishing to increase your embarrassments, we see them with uneasiness." Wishing to warn the French against the consequences of American independence in its effects on the colonial possessions of other European powers, Lord Stormont said to Vergennes, "The consequences cannot escape a man of your penetration and extensive views." Vergennes then made a prophetic speech in reply as remarkable as it was portentous, and casts in the shade the aspirations of those often-quoted lines in regard to America's future destiny:

"No pent-up Utica contracts our powers;  
The whole boundless continent is ours."

"Indeed," said Vergennes to Stormont, "the consequences of America's independence are very obvious; they are as obvious as the consequences of the cession of Canada. I was at Constantinople when the last peace was made—the treaty which ended the Seven Years' War between England and France. When I heard its conditions, I told several of my friends there that England would ere long have reason to repent of having removed the only check that could keep the colonies in awe. My prediction has been but too well verified. I equally see the consequences that must follow the independence of North America if your colonies should carry that point at which they now so visibly aim. They might, when they pleased, conquer both your islands and ours. I am persuaded that they would not stop there, but would, in process of time, advance to the southern continent of America, and either subdue its inhabitants or carry them along with them, and in the end not leave a foot of that hemisphere in the possession of any European power. All these consequences will not, indeed, be immediate; neither you nor I will live to see them; but for being remote they are not less sure." This prophecy of the French minister far exceeded in 1775 the Monroe doctrine which an American President uttered in 1823.

Though France and Spain apprehended from the beginning of the struggle that America's independence would ultimately lead to the loss of their own American possessions, they both encouraged and aided the American struggle to success with a view only to its present consequences on England in the inevitable war whose embers were only smouldering. The American subject was never absent from the counsels of the French court and cabinet. As early as July, 1774, nearly a year before the battle of Lexington, Louis XVI. said to his ministers, "Give the leaders of the insurgent party in the British colonies the means of obtaining supplies of war, whilst maintaining the strictest neutrality; develop actively

the navy, and finally, at the first rupture, assemble troops upon the shores of Normandy and Brittany for an invasion of England, so as to force her to concentrate her forces, and thus restrict her means of resistance at the extremities of her possessions."

In the summer of 1775 there arose a party in England who advocated a declaration of war against France as a means of reconciling the American colonies with the mother country, feeling confident such a war would rally the sympathies of the colonists to the mother country. Beaumarchais, the secret and confidential agent of Louis XVI., went to London, had interviews with the American commissioner there, Arthur Lee, and studied the situation of affairs with keen penetration. He hastened back to Versailles and urged the king by a secret memorial, presented by Sartine, to take part in favor of the Americans. "The Americans," he said, "are full of the enthusiasm of liberty, and resolved to suffer everything rather than yield; such a people must be invincible; all men of sense are convinced that the English colonies are lost for the mother country, and I share their opinion." The fear that England would reconcile her colonies by declaring war on France, the appearance of American commissioners in France to solicit French co-operation in the struggle and the urgent appeals of Beaumarchais, brought Louis XVI. and his minister, Maurepas, who was always wavering, to a decision to secretly and indirectly aid the Americans. Beaumarchais, besides his numerous adventures and business enterprises, was now the principal though secret partner in the firm of Rodrigue, Nortalez & Co., and this house became the secret agents of the king and his cabinet for forwarding supplies of every kind to America. The French cabinet advanced to the said firm 1,000,000 livres, about \$200,000, and Spain, at the urgent request of Louis XVI., furnished the same sum, for the purpose of sending over to the Americans financial and military aid; and arms and ammunition from the public arsenals of France were also delivered over to them upon condition that they would be paid for by the firm. Beaumarchais' firm thenceforth had extensive business dealings with the secret agents of the American Congress, and though these important supplies were to be paid for by Congress, they were of inestimable service to the patriotic cause of the colonies. The forwarding of supplies through Beaumarchais continued vigorously during the succeeding years, and we shall have occasion to refer again to this precious aid prompted alike by motives of sympathy and commercial profit.

But during these same years there poured forth from France to America a stream of generous, heroic and self-sacrificing sympathy and personal aid, services and labors, which were prompted solely by the love of true liberty as represented by the brave and noble



struggles of our fathers. It was no other than a brother of George III. who was the proximate, though unpremeditated, cause of gaining America some of her best and noblest compatriots. The Duke of Gloucester, a younger brother of King George, in July, 1775, journeyed to France, with the sanction of Louis XVI., and visited the military works at Metz, among other French strongholds, on the eastern boundary of France, and was there received by the commandant, the Count de Broglie, as the guest of Louis. At the dinner given in the fort in honor of King George's brother, there was a guest, a young French nobleman, whose father was killed in his twenty-fifth year in the battle of Minden, leaving this only son an orphan at the age of two years. This young nobleman had been well educated, possessed a generous fortune, had married a gentle, noble and sympathetic young wife at the age of sixteen, and now, at the age of eighteen, he met the Duke of Gloucester at the table of the Count de Broglie, where American affairs were discussed and where he heard of the American struggle for liberty, the retreat of the British from Concord, the surprise at Ticonderoga and of the glorious battles of Lexington and Concord. He there learned that the Americans had declared their independence and were fighting for it. From that moment he became an ally of America and a compatriot of Washington. This was the noble, the generous, the chivalrous, the brave and the heroic Gilbert Motier de Lafayette. He immediately went to Paris, commenced his preparations for going to America, communicated his purpose to Franklin, Deane and Lee, the American Commissioners, and, although the news of the occupation of New York by the British and of Washington's disastrous retreat through the Jerseys after the loss of Fort Washington had just reached Paris, and though his friends urged him to abandon so Quixotic a purpose, as it was regarded, and the American Commissioners honorably declined to encourage his departure at so dark a period of the struggle, he persisted in his generous purpose. When Franklin told him the Commissioners could not even give him a passage to America, he replied that he would purchase a vessel himself to carry him and his companions to America, and that the disastrous condition of the cause of liberty rendered it only the more necessary that a friend of liberty should then go. In the midst of countless oppositions his young and heroic wife encouraged him to go and draw his sword for America and liberty. He eluded all the efforts made by the Courts of St. James and Versailles to prevent his departure; and on learning that the Government, at the instance of England, had given orders for his arrest, he hastened his departure from a port of Spain, though his vessel was not quite ready. Escaping the officers sent to arrest him, and weathering a tempestuous voyage,



he reached America, and was received at Charleston, South Carolina, on April 23d, 1777, with an enthusiasm that baffles description. He was accompanied by eleven French officers, amongst whom was the Baron de Kalb whom I have already mentioned as serving as the French agent of observation in the colonies, for now Lafayette, De Kalb and their companions held military commissions in the French army.

The sensation created in England and France by Lafayette's departure for America was only surpassed by the enthusiasm with which he was received in America. His request to Congress for leave to enter the American army as a volunteer without pay was answered by Congress with a commission as Major-General and by resolutions of exalted eulogy and gratitude. Meeting Washington for the first time at a dinner-party in Philadelphia, he won the General's heart and accepted his invitation to become a member of his staff. The friendship which existed between Washington and Lafayette forms one of the most beautiful evidences that man has God for his Creator. Lafayette served at the battle of Brandywine, where he plunged into the hottest of the fight, was wounded, but refused to see a surgeon until he had rallied the disordered troops, and at the request of Congress was appointed by Washington to command a division of the Continental army. He accepted the command of an expedition to conquer Canada, he shared the sufferings of Washington and his army at Valley Forge, he served the army at the Schuylkill in 1778, and covered himself with glory at the battle of Monmouth. When war broke out in 1778 between England and France he made it a point of honor to return to France and offer his sword to his country, while soliciting permission to return to America, and Congress, in granting him leave of absence, presented him with complimentary resolutions and a sword.

On his return to France he was the object of continuous ovations such as few men have ever received, and in the midst of his triumphal progresses he always had the cause of America first in his mind. It was due to his personal efforts mainly that the army of Rochambeau, which had so potent an effect in securing our independence, was sent to America. Maurepas, the French Prime Minister, said, "It is fortunate for the king that Lafayette did not take it into his head to strip Versailles of its furniture to send to his dear America, as his majesty would have been unable to refuse it." After procuring the aid of men and money in France for America, Lafayette was again with Washington in May, 1780, bringing with him commissions from Louis XVI. appointing Washington a Lieutenant-General in the French army and Vice-Admiral in the French navy. These commissions were an admirable manifestation of the characteristic tact of the French, inas-

much as they conveyed a compliment from the noble French nation to the illustrious Washington, and also, as was intended and afterwards operated, prevented difficulties of official etiquette between the French and American commanders. Washington received Lafayette, who venerated him as a father, to his heart, and Lafayette was the first to communicate to Washington the all-important information of the generous supplies for the war which were soon to follow. Lafayette stood between the covert treason of General Charles Lee at the battle of Monmouth and the cause of the patriots, and between the open treason of Arnold and the colonies in the former's invasion of Virginia. In this latter service the very presence of Lafayette doubled the numbers of the Continental militia flocking to the patriot ranks, and when he arrived at Annapolis with 1200 New England and New Jersey militia, and found his army in great destitution, and without shoes, hats and tents, and the Congress without money or credit to supply them, he purchased for them a full supply with his own money. In many important critical crises during the war Lafayette's prowess was as chivalrous as his military genius was able and skilful, and in times of threatened disaster to the Continental troops in the field he was known to spring from his horse, enter the ranks and rally the retreating battalions by his voice, his example and his daring feats of personal bravery. In Virginia, in 1781, he was so hotly pursued by Cornwallis with greatly superior forces and advantage of position and equipment, that the English general said, "The boy cannot escape me!" but Lafayette, by skill and energy, made good his escape until relieved by Washington, and he soon had Cornwallis in retreat before his own pursuit. The English, who had struggled so hard to prevent his departure from France, now in America made several bold and desperate efforts to surprise and capture him, but he was too alert and bold in his tactics and daring movements ever to be caught. The English generals in America had a special desire to send as a prisoner to England the gallant and heroic young nobleman who had volunteered to fight in the democratic ranks of the struggling young republic. It was Lafayette who drove Cornwallis in turn from his advance on Richmond, and then from the Rappahannock, after the junction with Washington; he forced him towards Williamsburg, after having, by his bold and timely interposition, saved a large quantity of supplies belonging to the Continentals from seizure by the British. He drove Cornwallis across the Jamestown ford, worsting him in a sharp action fought there, and forced him to take shelter and entrench himself at Yorktown, while Lafayette so stationed his army as to cut off his retreat into the Carolinas. Lafayette held Cornwallis pent up in Yorktown until reinforcements arrived from the



North under Washington and Rochambeau, and was thus a leading genius of war in bringing about that military crisis in the war of independence which triumphantly culminated in the surrender of Cornwallis at Yorktown and the crowning of the patriot struggle in the enduring victory. At the siege of Yorktown Lafayette, in conjunction with General Alexander Hamilton, that grand typical American, both in the field and in the cabinet and in the forum, led one of the gallant and victorious assailing parties that did so much to carry the day, and for his conduct at Yorktown he was publicly thanked by Washington after the surrender of Cornwallis. At the close of this victorious and decisive campaign he returned to France to arouse his country to send further aid to the gallant colonists. Congress, in giving him leave of absence, acknowledged by resolutions his pre-eminent services to the American cause, and directed all American ministers in Europe to confer and correspond with him. Washington had the highest admiration for his personal courage, his skill as a general, and for his great integrity and prudence. At Monmouth, when Charles Lee was stealthily betraying the American cause on the battle-field, and Lafayette was thwarting his covert and wicked designs, he said to him, "Sir, you do not know British soldiers; we cannot stand against them." Lafayette answered, "It may be so, General; but British soldiers have been beaten and they may be again; at any rate I am disposed to make the trial." He indignantly resented and thwarted every effort which came to his knowledge that was hostile to Washington, showing on all occasions an ideal and chivalrous loyalty to his chief. He effectively interposed to prevent or remove all misunderstanding between Count D'Estaing and his army and the American army.

On his return to France, after the surrender of Cornwallis, France became ablaze with enthusiasm for the American cause, and the flame crossed the Pyrenees and set the Spanish heart on fire. Lafayette marched with 8000 French soldiers from Brest to Cadiz, and an expedition of sixty vessels and 24,000 troops was organized to sail from Cadiz for America under the command of Lafayette. Shortly after his arrival at Cadiz he received tidings of the conclusion of peace at Paris. He immediately sent a letter from Cadiz, February 5, 1783, to Congress, and he was the first to communicate to America the glad tidings of peace, as he had been the first of Frenchmen to draw the sword in war for the cause of liberty in America.

It is not known how much of his revenues or his fortune he expended in the cause of America, but it was great. His hereditary fortune was confiscated in his own country during the Reign of Terror, and he who, in 1783, passed through France a conqueror



and a hero, whose request brought fleets and armies under his command as the champion of American freedom, was reduced to poverty by the frantic action of his own countrymen. In 1784 Washington invited Lafayette to visit America. He accepted joyfully so grateful an invitation, and almost immediately on his arrival in New York, on August 4th, he proceeded to Mount Vernon, where Washington and Lafayette communed in the highest and purest offices of personal friendship and exalted mutual admiration. Lafayette subsequently visited Annapolis, Baltimore, Philadelphia, New York, Albany and Boston, and he received everywhere the highest and most ardent testimonials of gratitude, affection and admiration. In December, when he departed for his home, Congress appointed a solemn deputation of one member of Congress from each State in the Union to salute and take leave of him in the name of a grateful nation. In 1824 Congress again, by an unanimous resolution, requested President Monroe to invite Lafayette to visit America, and a ship of the line was placed at his disposal for the voyage. In accepting the invitation he courteously declined the use of the ship, and with his son and secretary he took passage on a packet-ship and arrived at New York on August 15, 1824. His progress through the country was one uninterrupted triumphal procession. As the guest of the nation he visited each of the twenty-four States and the chief cities. Congress voted him a grant of \$200,000 and a township, 24,000 acres, of the public lands, "in consideration of his important services and expenditures during the American Revolution." On September 7, 1825, he sailed from Washington in a Government frigate, which, in compliment to him, was named the *Brandywine*, for his native country, where a demonstration in his honor was dispersed by the French police.

The gratitude of America to Lafayette has been, is, and ever will be, unbounded, worthy at once of a great benefactor and of a great nation. Unbounded gratitude is the debt which America owes to Lafayette; he has nobly deserved it, and America has honorably paid the debt of gratitude. His name is coupled with that of Washington; his portrait or statue is in almost every capitol, State-house and public or private gallery; cities and counties in every State are named in his honor. His public and private virtues and his public services have also deserved well of his native country. Lafayette is not held in higher, if as high, veneration and gratitude in France as he is in America. It was a touching incident when lately a member of the Society of the Sons of the American Revolution sought out the modest tomb of Lafayette in France, and reverently placed over the sacred remains of America's friend an American flag. The same Society, at its recent annual

banquet and symposium, made the services of Lafayette and his compatriots, the French alliance and the aid France rendered to our cause, the special and sole objects and subjects of their celebration, and the banquet was held on the anniversary of the French-American Alliance of 1778.

It would be a pleasing tribute and a labor of love if we could give space in this impromptu paper to each and every one of the compatriots of Lafayette who aided our fathers in the great and noble struggle for independence, and recount also in each case the special services they rendered to the American cause. Our space does not permit us to render this grateful office. But we can and will at least mention their names, and may have opportunity of making particular reference to some of them before concluding this feeble tribute to our French allies. We would, therefore mention such honored names among these ever-gallant friends, most of whom served in America and only a few rendered services in France, as those of Admiral Count Louis de Barros, Pierre Auguste de Beaumarchais, the Abbé Bandoles, Chaplain de la Barrher, M. de Beville, General Claude Blanchard, M. Blaskowitz, Chevalier du Boucher, Chevalier de Castellux, General M. de Choisy, Count de Caustive, M. D'Abonville, General Jean de Barth, the Prince de Broglie, Colonel Louis E. de Corny, Admiral Count D'Estaing, Admiral Count de Grasse, Baron John de Kalb, Major De Prez, Admiral Detouches, Admiral Count de Ternay, Count Christian Deux-Ponts, Colonel Count Arthur de Dillon, Lieutenant Pierre Donville, Chevalier de Fayolle Dudonpeare, Count de Dumas, Peter Stephen Duponceau, Chevalier de Dupontail, M. Falcourt, a banker; Marquis de Fleury, Colonel Genet, Professor Jean E. Guilbert, M. de Journencourt, Duke de Lauzun, Marquis de Malmedy, the Minister Maurepas, Charles Vincent, Viscount de Maurri, Baronde Montesquieu, Marquis de Loval Montmorenci, Marquis de Noailles, ambassador; Viscount de Noailles, Maxime Outray, M. de Piroude, M. Bisançon, Count Casimer Pulaski, a Pole, but who came to us from France, and gave his life to our cause from wounds received in the attack on Savannah; M. Robelleau, Charles Surgen, Abbé Robin, General Count Rochambeau, General Armand Rouerie, Count de Segur, Lieutenant Chevalier de Silly, Chevalier de Sonnevile, Baron Frederick William Augustus Steuben, a German, but coming to us from France at the instance, Count St. Germain; M. Joseph Tarlé, commissary; M. de Tilley, M. de Touche, Colonel Tousard, M. de Vandreuil, Count de Vergennes, cabinet minister of Louis XVI.; Baron de Viomeiul, M. Dugan, M. Arendal, Chevalier de St. Aulaire, Antoine Felix Viebert, Louis Dubois, Chevalier de Kermoroan, Jacque de Franchessen, Saint Martin, Jean



Arthur de Vermont, Fidele Doré, Christophe Pellissiere, Jacque Paul Govert, Chevalier du Plessis Manduit, Jean Louis Imbert, Chevalier de Colernes, Jean Louis de Virnejoux, Pierre Francis de Boys, Mat. Al de la Rochefermoy, Count de Montfort, M. de la Neuville, M. de Faneuil, Charles Armond Tupin, Mattin de la Balme, Coppin de la Garde, M. de Vallenays, Chevalier Duportail, M. de la Radiere, M. de Gouvion, M. Dupont, M. M. Dupont, Baron de Holzendorf, M. Prudhomme de Borre, Ironson de Cordrai, Chevalier de Failly, M. Des Espinieres, M. Nicolas Roger, M. de Bedaux, M. de Vrigny, Chevalier de Brisson, Chevalier de La Colombe, Chevalier Dorset, M. de Laumoi, Chevalier Villefranche, M. Denis de Bouchet, M. Ferdinand de Brahm, M. de Ponthiere, M. de Ponceaux, M. Du Chambray, Marquis de Vienne, M. Bechet de Rochefontaine, M. de l'Eglise, M. Touzar, M. Brice, M. de Neville, M. de Pongibeaup, Chevalier de Cremis. The following were raised to the rank and command as major-general: Rouerie, Fleury, Du Portail, Pulaski, De Kalb, Manduit, De Gernet, Bouchet and Touzar, the last of whom lost an arm in battle. Several of the distinguished French noblemen who fought for liberty in America under Washington afterwards lost their lives in France in defense of the person and rights of King Louis XVI., as the King of France under the constitution of the French monarchy.

Diplomatic correspondence between Versailles and London continued. While in England many urged a war with France, in order to bring back the colonies to the mother country, Vergennes wrote: "The English cabinet is greatly mistaken if it thinks we regret Canada; they may themselves regret having made its acquisition." Louis XVI. now found a most trusty agent to send to America in Bonvouloir, a French gentleman who had just passed through the colonies, and with ample instructions he was sent to America. Vergennes wrote to De Guines at London: "The King very much approves the mission of Bonvouloir. His instructions should be verbal and confined to the two most essential objects: the one to make you a faithful report of events and of the prevailing disposition of the public mind; the other to secure the Americans against jealousy of us. Canada is for them the object of distrust. They must be made to understand that we do not think of it at all, and that, far from envying the liberty and independence which they labor to secure, we admire the nobleness and the grandeur of their efforts, have no interest to injure them, and shall with pleasure see happy circumstances place them at liberty to frequent our ports; the facilities which they will find there for their commerce will soon prove to them our esteem." Already the principles of the French Revolution had begun to shake the throne of France, and



Turgot was the first to sacrifice himself to them when he was dismissed from the cabinet.

Vergennes and Sartine in the cabinet continued to favor the Americans. "If the navy of France," said Sartine to the king, "were at this moment able to act, France never had a fairer opportunity to avenge the insults of the English. I beseech your majesty to consider that England, by its most cherished interests, its national character, its form of government and its position, is and always will be the true, the only and the eternal enemy of France. . . . Your minister would be chargeable with guilt if he did not represent to your majesty the necessity of adopting the most efficacious measures to parry the bad faith of your natural enemies." All this ministerial pressure was for war with England and aid to America. When Beaumarchais complained of the delay in France in aiding the Americans, Vergennes replied, "Do not think advice rejected because it is not eagerly adopted; all slumber is not lethargy." This was followed by an announcement of the French Court, through its agent Beaumarchais to Arthur Lee, the American Commissioner, in the early summer of 1776, that the subsidy to America would be increased, and that they promised the Americans two hundred thousand louis d'ors, which was nearly one million dollars. Before the end of the year the American Declaration of Independence led to the first official intercourse between the American Commissioners at Paris and the French Government, and the former were assured of the unanimous good wishes of the government and people of France, and that it was not the interest of France to see them reduced by force. At the request of the American Commissioner two hundred light brass field-pieces and arms and clothing for twenty-five thousand men were promised, and Beaumarchais offered merchandise on credit to the value of three millions of livres. Vergennes made a powerful appeal to Louis XVI. towards the last of August, 1776, in cabinet, in the presence of Maurepas, Sartine, St. Germain and Clugny, in favor of war with England and an alliance with America. But the Kings of France and Spain were opposed to open hostilities, and yet the vessels of the Americans and their privateers were received and harbored in French and Spanish ports in spite of England's constant protests. In the meantime the Declaration of Independence united the English at home and almost silenced the opposition to the policy of the conquest of America. But the struggle so far had been favorable to the colonists, who had expelled the British from New England and repulsed them from South Carolina. In January, 1776, Franklin joined the American Commissioners at Paris. While the request of Franklin for eight ships of the line, ammunition, brass field-pieces and twenty or thirty thousand mus-

kets was declined, warm promises of aid were given; half a million of livres was to be paid to the American Commissioners quarterly, three vessels laden with warlike stores were allowed to go to sea, and a million of livres additional were advanced on a contract with the farmers-general for fifty-six hogsheads of American tobacco. With professions of peace France was waging war in disguise on England. Pulaski followed Lafayette and De Kalb to America; ships were continually leaving French ports for America. British remonstrances were evaded by the cunning of Vergennes, who in return protested against the seizure of American property in mid-ocean. The American Commissioners tried in vain to commit Spain to openly siding with the Americans, and while she opposed American independence she secretly aided America, making France her almoner.

In the meantime the Americans were actually winning their independence under Washington with the Continental armies; the campaigns of 1776 and 1777 resulted in signal successes for their cause, and the surrender of Burgoyne at Saratoga seemed almost decisive. But this again was followed by Washington's retreat through the Jerseys and his famous winter of suffering at Valley Forge. The diplomacy of years seemed now about to bear its fruit. Franklin, Deane and Lee, at Paris, were indefatigable, and now we see them deliberately discussing a Franco-American Treaty with Vergennes; and on February 6, 1778, the Solemn Treaty of Alliance between France and the United States was signed by Gerard in behalf of France and by Benjamin Franklin, Silas Deane and Arthur Lee for the United States. Three solemn treaties were in fact signed between France and America on that day. The first was a general treaty of friendship and commerce; the second was the great and important treaty of alliance, offensive and defensive, by which France and America made common cause in the war against England; and the third was a secret treaty by which the right was reserved to the King of Spain to become a party to the two foregoing treaties. These treaties were followed by a declaration of war by France against England, and the sending of a French Ambassador to the Republican Government, then sitting at Philadelphia, by a French fleet.

After the news of Burgoyne's surrender reached Europe, Frederick the Great, of Prussia, said, "The chances are one hundred to one that the colonies will sustain their independence," and he openly expressed his sympathy for them. His minister wrote to the American Commissioners at Paris, "The King desires that your generous efforts may be crowned with complete success. He will not hesitate to recognize your independence when France, which is more directly interested in the event of this contest, shall



have given the example." Louis XVI., who had been nervous over the popularity of Franklin at court, now joined in the general joy, and in January, 1778, a month before the treaty was signed, he promised three millions of livres. By the treaty of commerce, each party was to be placed on the footing of the most favored nations. The King of France promised his good offices with the princes and powers of Barbary. Liberal provisions were made in regard to the fisheries, and the American contention that free ships give freedom to goods and to persons, except to soldiers in actual service of an enemy, was adopted. The absolute and unlimited independence of the United States was announced as the essential object of the defensive alliance, and both parties agreed not to lay down their arms until assured of peace by treaties terminating the war. In 1843, when the Prince Joinville visited America, he went to see Eleazer Williams, the reputed son of Louis XVI. and of Marie Antoinette, Dauphin of France, Louis XVII., who was said to have been abstracted from his revolutionary prison in Paris and brought to America by an agent of the royal family. At this time he was a missionary of the Episcopal Church among our Northern Indians, amongst whom he had been reared. It is said that Joinville offered him a large sum of money if he would renounce his claim to the French throne, and that he refused. In this interesting person the French prince, reversing the received historical version of the relations of Louis XVI. and Vergennes to the American struggle, said, "The King encountered an opposition from the Count de Vergennes and the Court when he took the suffering cause of the Americans in hand. He was moved by the representations of the American Commissioners, and the Queen was no less urgent to save the sinking cause of the American people. My grandfather and my father were present when the last struggle took place between the King and the ministry upon the articles of the alliance with the United Colonies of America. That day—it was a happy day for the Americans, but for the King, it was the day of his death. Yes; that day, when the King put his name to the instrument he sealed his death-warrant." Again he said, "But for those powerful aids no monuments are raised to perpetuate his memory. Louis XVI. ought to be placed next to George Washington as a liberator of the American people." When urged by the English Cabinet to reconsider his acts, Louis XVI. said, "No consideration in life shall make me stoop to opposition. I will rather risk my crown than do what I think personally disgraceful. If the nation will not stand by me they shall have another king, for I will never put my hand to what will make me miserable to the last day of my life." The alliance was followed on March 20, 1778, by the presentation of the American



Commissioners at Court, and the King said to them, "I wish Congress to be assured of my friendship." After the ceremony the Commissioners visited the wife of Lafayette, and dined with the Secretary of Foreign Affairs, and two days later they were presented to Marie Antoinette, who, yielding to the most generous impulses in behalf of the Americans, made their cause the ruling passion of the French Court, as it had been of Paris and of the French nation. George Bancroft expresses the same sentiment with the Prince de Joinville, when he says, "Louis XVI. and Marie Antoinette, when they embarked for the liberation of America, pleasure on the prow and the uncertain hand of youth at the helm, might have cried out to the new Republic which they fostered, 'Morituri te salutant,' 'The doomed to die salute thee.'" On May 4th Congress unanimously ratified the treaties, expressing the "wish that the friendship so happily commenced between France and the United States might be perpetual," and the King of France was proclaimed "the protector of the rights of mankind." At Valley Forge, Washington and Lafayette and the Continental army celebrated this great event on May 6th by a salute of thirteen guns, a running fire of all the musketry, and the army, drawn up in two lines, shouted, "Long live the King of France!" "Long live the friendly European powers!" and, as our historian records, "the ceremonies were closed by a huzza for the American States."

In the meantime Beaumarchais, the agent of Louis XVI. and of his cabinet, was actively prosecuting the work of forwarding aid to America. In 1777 he forwarded three of his own ships, carrying 200 pieces of ordnance, 25,000 muskets, 200,000 pounds of gunpowder and other ammunition. He engaged the services of fifty accomplished officers, amongst whom were La Rouerie, Pulaski and Steuben. Several other ships were sent out during this year, and the disbursements of Beaumarchais reached by September 5,000,000 francs. Congress was under the impression that these supplies were gifts from the French Government, and never thought of making remittances to Beaumarchais, who consequently became embarrassed, but was reimbursed by the advance of another million of francs by the French Government. Beaumarchais continued his advances to America, and in 1779 as many as ten vessels sailed at one time for the colonies, though few of them reached their destination. At that time Congress was in his debt as much as 4,000,000 francs. America readily acknowledged her obligations; she was without the means of paying them then; but she redeemed her honor, for although the payment of the claim met with obstacles, the claim was finally and fully paid, and the final settlement was made with Beaumarchais' heirs, in 1835, by the payment of the final balance of 800,000 francs.

France made good her alliance, offensive and defensive, with the United States. She was now engaged as the ally of America in an offensive and defensive war against England. It is no part of our writing to follow in detail the history of that war, nor to repeat what all our histories contain, the operations of the naval and military forces of France against the English armies and navies in America. On the eighth of July, 1778, a French fleet, under Count D'Estaing, arrived in American waters. It was at D'Estaing's persuasion that Marie Antoinette proposed and secured the preparation and despatch of this powerful fleet to America, which consisted of twelve ships of the line and three frigates. In August Congress received with every honor Conrad Alexander Gerard, the French ambassador, and expressed the nation's acknowledgement of "the hand of a gracious Providence in raising them up so powerful a friend." When Lafayette arrived at Versailles, in February, 1779, Marie Antoinette eagerly asked him, "Tell me good news of our dear republicans, of our beloved Americans?" Gerard wrote from America to Vergennes, "I have had many conversations with General Washington. . . . I have formed as high an opinion of the powers of his mind, his moderation, his patriotism and his virtues, as I had before from common report conceived of his military talents and of the incalculable services he had rendered to his country." Congress solicited portraits of the King and Queen of France. The naval operations of the French fleets under D'Estaing and De Grasse, the military operations of Rochambeau's army of six thousand French soldiers, the eagerness of the French soldiers to serve under Washington, the brilliant achievements of the French armies, the victories of De Grasse, the united operations of the French and Colonial armies, the glorious campaigns they fought together, their victories over the British armies, the culmination of the struggle at Yorktown, the co-operation of the French fleet at Yorktown, the victory of Yorktown the result of American and French valor, prowess and skill; the surrender of Cornwallis to Washington at Yorktown, the end of the war, and, above all, Peace, with independence, are all subjects for the general historian. It would be difficult, if not impossible, to detail all the services rendered by France to the cause of American independence. The Prince de Joinville has stated in general terms that France, in the American Revolution, lost thirty-five thousand men and twenty-five ships of the line. And Mr. Stone, in his book on "Our French Allies," mentions that the expenditure of the Government of Louis XVI. in aid of the Americans had been estimated at 400,000,000 livres. An accomplished American naval officer, an author and leading authority on naval historical subjects, in his scholarly and exhaustive book "Influence of Sea Power Upon

History," says: "Will it be too much for American pride to admit that, had France refused to contest the control of the sea with England, the latter would have been able to reduce the Atlantic seaboard? Let us not kick down the ladder by which we mounted, nor refuse to acknowledge what our fathers felt in their hour of trial. The successful ending of the struggle for independence was due to the control of the sea—to sea-power in the hands of the French, and its improper distribution by the English authorities."

Would it not be more correct historically to say that it was by combination, union and co-operation of the French naval forces with the land forces under the able, brilliant and untiring military prowess of Washington, with the aid of the French officers and soldiers, that, under Providence, achieved the Independence of America?

RICHARD H. CLARK, LL.D.

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## Scientific Chronicle.

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### REFINEMENTS OF MODERN MEASUREMENTS.

THE word "measure" in ordinary language is mostly restricted to the evaluation of space and time; as when, for example, we say that a stick measures 4 feet in length, a floor measures 500 square feet, a block of stone measures 2 cubic yards, a cask 40 gallons, that a day is 24 hours *long*, though we know that for many people it measures but little in breadth, and still less in depth.

Among scientists the word has a far more comprehensive meaning. With them "to measure" is to ascertain the amount, or quantity, of anything whatsoever, provided that quantity can be expressed in figures. Thus, we measure force (under which is included weight), energy, heat, light, magnetism, electricity, vibrations of all kinds, etc. But though we recognize differences of degree, we do not, according to the scientific acceptance of the word, measure thoughts, or affections, or emotions.

Few people are aware how much the progress of practical science depends on the possibility of exact measurements, and to what a degree of refinement these measurements have been pushed in modern times.

Though we use the term "exact measurement," yet no scientist will claim that any measurement ever made can be proved to be *absolutely* exact. For example, let us take the simplest kind of a case, say the linear measurement of a rod of brass.

Now, one man, using the best instruments that are to be had, will measure it a dozen, or a score, of times, with all possible precautions as to changes of temperature and of atmospheric pressure, etc., and will get a different result every time. They may not differ much, but they will differ at least by some small amount. The experimenter will then take the average of all these determinations, and will find a length say of 11.2386 inches. Though he knows he is very near, he will not say that is the true length, but will express his doubt by writing  $11.2386 + .0001$ , which means that the value of the last decimal must be somewhere between the limits of 5 and 7. It may, indeed, be just 6, but is not necessarily so. A true scientist never says a thing is so unless he be perfectly sure of it.

Another man equally skilled, with the same instruments, and using all the same precautions, and going over his work at least an equal number of times, might get  $11.23857 + .00002$ , so that the last figure of the result might be anywhere between 5 and 9. The results obtained by these two men might or might not, according to circumstances, be deemed very close, but it is evident that they could not be called absolutely exact. In the strict sense of the word, no measurement of anything can ever be called absolutely exact.

With this we pass to the real object of this note, which is to mention briefly some few of the refinements of modern measurements.

(1) *Mechanical Measurements.*—As an example of precision in purely mechanical measurements we may instance the Dividing Engine, which has been brought to its latest degree of perfection by Professor Rowland, of Baltimore. The purpose of this machine is to rule, on glass or metal, fine parallel lines, very close together, and this it does automatically. The plates so ruled are called "diffraction gratings," and are used in optical work for obtaining the "spectrum." This they do more perfectly than the prisms of glass or other material formerly employed for that purpose. The ruling is done by a diamond pen, which must be adjusted as perfectly as is possible to human skill and patience. It is stated that it once took the persistent efforts of eighteen months to get a pen finally set, so as to buckle down to its work reliably. Well, that machine will do pretty fine work. Its latest, and we believe its best, job has been the ruling of a grating having the number of 114,000 lines to the inch.

To get an idea of what that means let us change the scale a little, so that we may get a grip on it. Take a length of 100 feet; that is something tangible. If that distance were divided into 114,000 equal parts there would be just 95 divisions to each inch, and the  $\frac{1}{95}$  of an inch is barely visible to the naked eye. But the spacings on that grating are 1200 times as small. We talk about a hair's breadth as the type of things small, but a hair laid on that grating, parallel with the lines, would cover hundreds of them. Moreover, those lines are known to be accurately spaced, since the least irregularity would immediately manifest itself by a blur on the spectrum. It is evident that such accuracy as this can be had only by the utmost refinements of measurements in the working parts of the machine, and so delicate is it that when it is in use a very slight change in the temperature of the room will completely ruin the result. For this reason it is kept in an underground apartment, and when started up the room is locked and the machine left to take care of itself, for even the heat radiated from the human body would distract its attention from its work and cause it to run irregularly.

Can human accuracy go further in this line? We know not, but we do know that there is still left some room for improvement. If we take the most probable size calculated for a molecule of a gas, we find that it would require at least 50 of them to build a bridge across from one of the lines of the grating to the next. So we are not down to the molecule yet, and we do not intend to stop trying till we get there, or mayhap a little beyond.

(2) *Angles.*—As a sample of the measurement of angles, let us take a disk 1 inch in diameter. In a good light it would be barely visible to the unaided eye at a distance of 500 feet, while at a distance of 1000 feet it would be for us as one of the things that are not. At this latter distance the visual angle subtended by the disk would be about the  $\frac{1}{240}$  of a degree, or  $\frac{1}{4}$  of a minute, of angular measurement. At 1000 miles



distance the visual angle would be only about  $\frac{1}{300}$  of a degree, or  $\frac{1}{300}$  of a second, in angle measurement, and that is just about the angle that the Darwin pendulum will measure with certainty and precision. This satisfies most of our yearnings in this direction.

(3) *Expansion and Stretching*.—The "Mirror Testing-Apparatus," lately invented in New York, is designed to measure the expansion or stretching of metals under the influence of heat or strain. It consists essentially of two little mirrors attached to two knife-edges in such a way that any change in the position of the knife-edges causes the mirrors to turn more or less. This device is clamped at points between which the elongation is to be measured. The deflections of the mirrors are observed through a small telescope from a distance of several feet, and are referred to a scale ruled by a dividing engine to the  $\frac{1}{100,000}$  of an inch. The instrument is capable of detecting changes of length due to exceedingly minute variations of temperature, and of accurately measuring the strain caused by the foot-fall of a pedestrian in crossing the Brooklyn Suspension Bridge.

(4) *The Bolometer*.—This instrument, invented by Professor Langley, of the Smithsonian Institute, is an excessively delicate electrical thermometer. A description would be quite unintelligible without figures, and we shall have to content ourselves by stating that it will measure the heat supplied us by the moon, and even that due to the stars and comets. In a word, it will reveal a difference of the  $\frac{1}{4000}$  of a degree Fahrenheit.

(5) *The Galvanometer*.—The unit of measurement for electrical currents is called an "ampere." The ordinary incandescent lamp of 16-candle power is run by about  $\frac{1}{2}$  an ampere. Our best galvanometers will detect and measure a current which has only the  $\frac{1}{27,000,000.000}$  part of that strength. Two different substances that are at different temperatures always present some difference in their electrical conditions, but the difference is extremely small. If the substances are as near alike as two peas from the same pod, the difference of their electrical condition must therefore be an almost vanishing quantity, and yet it may be measured. Any two contiguous fingers of the human hand are surely very nearly alike, as far as their substance goes, and their temperature, under any ordinary circumstances, must be almost the same; but the galvanometer spoken of above will reveal that there is a difference and will register its exact amount.

(6) *Lenses*.—In certain microscopes the curvature of the lenses is so slight that no human eye could detect it. And no wonder for that, since the surface differs from a perfect plane by less than  $\frac{1}{150,000}$  of an inch, and that curvature, little as it is, must be truly spherical, otherwise the images would be distorted, and distortion of an image in a microscope is like a lie in man, something sinful and essentially bad in itself, and moreover sure to be discovered sooner or later.

(7) *Pressure*.—The atmosphere which surrounds us, and in which we live and move and have our being, exerts a pressure of about 15 pounds per square inch on all surfaces exposed to it. We are not aware of this pressure through our senses, partly because it is even, inside and out,



and partly because we are built precisely in a way so as not to feel it. Any change, however, in that pressure is soon perceived. Now Professor Crookes, in the prosecution of certain experiments in electricity, succeeded in reducing that pressure down to the  $\frac{1}{20,000,000}$  of its original value, while, quite lately, Professor Dewar has pushed the exhaustion yet a little further, even down to the  $\frac{1}{25,000,000}$  of an atmosphere. Nor are these figures mere guess-work; they are accurately registered by the gauge, and the gauge itself is proved to be perfectly reliable.

(8) *Weighings*.—Take two lumps of wood or metal, the one weighing a pound, the other fifteen ounces. Now, you could not, by “hefting” them (as our New England cousins say), tell them apart, and probably you have not a friend in the world who could. The difference between them is  $437\frac{1}{2}$  grains. What chance would you then have of deciding between two weights that differ by only a single grain? Yet a good chemical balance is expected to weigh down to the  $\frac{1}{7000}$  of a grain, and if decently handled it will do so.

(9) *Attraction*.—The weight of a body is due to the combined attractions of all the particles of matter in the earth for the particles of the body, and is the measure of that attraction. How infinitesimal then must be the attraction of one single grain of matter! And, still, Professor Boys claims to be able with a very simple arrangement, consisting of a thread of glass, or, better, quartz, and a tiny bit of mirror, to detect and measure the attractive force of the  $\frac{1}{20,000,000,000}$  of a grain.

The above list might be considerably extended, but we think we have said enough to show that the refinements of measurements of modern times are really something marvellous. The question now occurs: “What is the use of it all?” To answer this question in detail would be to write the history of all the applied sciences over again, and add thereto a large dose of prophecy, the latter occupying probably more place than the former. We have no intention to embark on any such an undertaking. Suffice it to say that we owe the success of our steam-engines, and dynamos, and electric motors, and telegraphs, and telephones, and typewriters, and telescopes, and a thousand other things, without which life in these days would seem impossible, to just such refinements in measurements as we have enumerated, and to them we shall owe whatever progress is to be made in the future along these and other lines perhaps as yet undreamed of. To be thankful for what has already been given us is a good way to make sure of getting more.

#### THAT UNLUCKY NUMBER, THIRTEEN.

We still occasionally meet with persons who believe that ill-luck ever dogs the footsteps of the number thirteen. If it finds its way unbidden, or even unnoticed, into any of our affairs, it is disastrous; if introduced knowingly, it betokens a catastrophe. Although the superstition has time and time again been transfixed with the arrows of ridicule, and riddled with the bullets of argument, and pounded into a shapeless mass with the hammers of experiment, it manages somehow or other,

every now and then, to scramble itself together again, to mend up its breaches, and to sally forth anew to the great terror of women and—and female men. A consideration of the following points may be of some use to those who are suffering from this sort of neuralgic hallucination :

That the number of the "Original States" was thirteen was, of course, a piece of pure chance ; but even at that, the event should have proved disastrous. It really does not seem to have had such an issue. Starting from that original thirteen, and founded on it, we find a frequent use made of the number, in an emblematic way, especially by the Federal Government.

The national flag was originally of thirteen stars and thirteen stripes. The stars have grown to forty-five, but the stripes remain the same. The adoption of the thirteen stars and stripes was intentional ; it should, therefore, have proved a catastrophe. We find no evidence of any such thing.

But, worse than all this, we have lying before us a quarter dollar. It is the only one we have, and even it is a borrowed one. It bears the date of 1893. On it the number thirteen has been repeated, and multiplied, and concentrated, and condensed. Thus, there are thirteen stars on the obverse and thirteen on the reverse of the piece—thirteen feathers in each distinct section of the eagle's wings—thirteen feathers in his tail—thirteen vertical and thirteen horizontal lines on his pinafore, or shield—he grasps a bundle of thirteen arrows in one claw, and in the other a branch of some undetermined plant, but, anyhow, bearing thirteen leaves. Stranger yet, the scroll, "*E pluribus unum*," is of thirteen letters ; and the very name of the piece, "Quarter Dollar," is also made up of thirteen letters.

On the obverse we read the motto : "IN GOD WE TRUST." Here we have only twelve letters ; but we once, long ago, saw with our own eyes, and handled with our own hands, and showed to our acquaintances, a coin bearing the inscription "IN GOLD WE TRUST," thus rounding out the full number, thirteen. It was a new piece, received without any doubt as to its genuineness, and, either supposing that it was of the first batch from a new set of dies, and that it would soon be common, or else, laboring under a stress of poverty, or of a fresh burst of honesty, we parted with it, *unluckily*, for we never fell in with another one of the kind since.

The dying man grasps at a straw, and this dying superstition will probably find a straw to grasp at in the troubles, financial and political, of the past few years, and will attribute them all to the unlucky thirteen of our coinage. However, in spite of all the ill-luck hovering over the number thirteen, and in spite of its manifold repetition on our silver quarters, in order to prove that we have the courage of our convictions, we stand ready to brave the consequences of receiving all such quarters as any or all of our readers may wish to throw away. If that is not true courage, please tell us what is.

AMBERGRIS.

There are still a good many mysteries in the world, but it seems that

the number has lately been reduced by at least one, that one being the "Origin of Ambergris."

In the "Scientific Chronicle" of this REVIEW for January, 1895, we remarked, in a casual way, that "Ambergris is formed in the intestines of the sperm whale, *and is believed to be a diseased product.*" If we may credit an account given a short time ago, in a Boston newspaper, and which has even found its way into the scientific journals, the doubt timidly hinted at in the above quotation is at last fairly set at rest.

According to this account, a whaling vessel, hailing from Cape Cod, during a cruise in Southern waters on a beautiful, sunny afternoon, fell in with three whales that appeared to be out on a holiday. Two of them were fine specimens of whale-flesh, fat and plump, and, rejoicing in their strength, with a good conscience, and a better appetite, they played and gamboled in the warm waters, and enjoyed themselves hugely, as only whales can do, unobservant of the danger lurking so near. The third one seemed to take no interest in the amusements of his companions, nor even in the beauties of the scenery around and above him, but rolled listlessly with the gentle swellings of the sea. He was lank and scrawny, and apparently half starved to death.

This seemed strange to the sailors, who knew that first-class whale-food, in the shape of the delightful cuttle-fish, was especially abundant at that time and place. However, their business was not so much to theorize as to lay in a plentiful supply of oil. They knew, moreover, that a good sperm whale would yield from fifty to one hundred barrels, while from this lean specimen they could hardly hope to get enough to keep the ship's lamps burning during the home voyage. Having put out the boat, they therefore bore down on the two sleek monsters, and with good luck, backed up by unerring aim, they slew and captured both. The scraggy specimen made no attempt to get away, and was left still lazily rocking in the sea.

The next day, to the amazement of the sailors, he was seen in nearly the same spot. Thereupon a council was held in the forecastle. Some of the sailors maintained that, since the whale did not make his escape when free to do so, it meant that he had been crossed in love, and therefore did not consider life worth living any longer, and so wanted to be gathered to his fathers and be at rest. Others just as stoutly maintained that, having witnessed the slaughter of his companions, if left alive

"He would tell the sad tales  
To the rest of the whales,"

and so the season's hunting would be at an end.

Both sides, therefore, agreed that he must die; but while the motive of one party was a motive of pure kindness, that of the other was selfishness unmitigated. The captain, having learned the result of the deliberations, and willing to humor his men, gave his orders, in an indirect way indeed, but still very effectively: "Well, if you want to die, you poor, lazy lubber, you shall." This was enough, and the sailors pronounced it the easiest capture they had ever made. They realized



only about two barrels of oil, but to their astonishment and delight they found a large amount of first-quality ambergris, in fact the largest amount that had ever been sold in a single lot in this country. It weighed over 150 pounds, and was paid for by a firm in Boston with a check of nearly \$60,000. The price of ambergris varies from \$5 to \$30 an ounce, according to the quality, and, as we have said, this lot was of the best.

In times past a great many desperate guesses have been made as to the origin of ambergris. Among others, in the story of the sixth voyage of "Sinbad the Sailor," in the description of the place where the voyagers were shipwrecked, we read: "Here is also a fountain of pitch and bitumen that runs into the sea which the fishes swallow and then vomit up again turned into ambergris." (We presume the author means that the fishes swallowed the bitumen, not the sea.)

Others will have it that ambergris is the gum of a submarine plant accidentally broken off in the battles of the fishes, or set free by the death and decay of the parent plant. Another view quite similar to the preceding is that of the celebrated Irish scientist of the seventeenth century, Sir Robert Boyle, who supposed it to be a vegetable product, but fossilized, like amber, whence the name, *amber-gris*, that is, gray amber. The only tinge of a probability there is in this guess is to be found in the color.

Other guesses of this stamp are hardly worth recording now, for, during the palmy days of the whaling industry, the substance was found from time to time in the intestines of the sperm whale, now dry and crumbling, now soft as putty, and again in the liquid state. This can hardly be reconciled with the vegetable theory, except perhaps on the ground that the sperm whale had become acquainted with the supposed ambergris plant, and had acquired the habit of using the gummy exudation for chewing-gum, which, in moments of distraction, he would incautiously swallow. We are not sufficiently experienced in such matters to render a positive decision on the merits of the chewing-gum theory, but we think that the case related above renders it highly probable that ambergris is indeed a diseased product of the whale himself.

The individual whose history has been detailed sickened in the midst of plenty of food, and the malady was undoubtedly caused by the unnatural growth within him. Nothing else abnormal was noticed, and yet he was indeed very sick, and would soon have died of the disease even if his life had been spared by the whalers.

The question now arises: "What is the nature of this disease which had baffled the skill of the best cold-water physicians, and proved such a golden egg for the perfumist, but such a misfortune to the poor whale?" It has been supposed by some to be caused by a biliary irritation; but that an animal of such exemplary habits, accustomed to a simple diet and regular hours, and not addicted to the use of alcohol or tobacco, could get his bile-machinery so shockingly out of order is so very improbable that we cannot really accept it as a serious explanation. To our mind a much more probable, if not entirely certain, solution is this:

It is well known that the sperm whale, the only one that has ever been known to furnish ambergris, feeds almost exclusively on the cuttle-fish. Now, for private reasons of its own, the cuttle-fish goes armed with a sharp-pointed, curved, double, black horn, much like the beak of a parrot, only reversed; that is, the lower mandible is the longer. It has likewise been observed that the whale does not "bone his turkey," but takes it in as a unit, and this tough, indigestible horn is frequently found in specimens of ambergris. Putting this and that together, it is natural to conclude that the sharp horn sometimes gets lodged in the intestines of the whale, where it would inevitably bring on an inflammation, which is in all probability the ambergris disease. That the horn is not found in all specimens of ambergris is easily accounted for by the fact that when the fell disease had done its work, and the victim has passed over to the vast, silent majority, and has been eaten by the sharks, or has suffered natural decay and gone to pieces, the floating mass of ambergris, tossed about by the waves, would necessarily get broken up into many smaller fragments, only one of which would contain a horn.

In many cases, however, it may be possible that, by the aid of a strong constitution, the animal is enabled betimes to throw off the morbid substance and be ready for more cuttle-fish, and perhaps even for another horn. In either case, as the substance is lighter than sea-water, it would float and be carried by the currents of the ocean to those places where it does mostly love to congregate, as, for example, around the Bahama Islands, along the coasts of Brazil and of Africa, and on certain parts of the shores of the East Indies.

The disease, then, seems to be akin to the modern human disease, appendicitis—modern in the sense that its true nature has been recognized only in comparatively recent times, but old enough, and well known to our ancestors under the name of "Inflammation of the Bowels."

Only one difficulty requiring a solution remains to be considered here. If ambergris is a diseased product, why do not all the cases in which it has been found in the newly-captured whale show signs of the disease? Several answers may be given to this, any one of which should be satisfactory to an unprejudiced mind.

Firstly, if the disease has not already gone too far the patient will still be strong enough to show fight, or at least to make vigorous efforts to escape. In that case the sailors, who are seldom regular practising physicians, would hardly think of making a regular diagnosis, but would be contented with getting the oil, and more than content, even canty, at their good luck in securing the precious ambergris. They would therefore bother themselves little about the disease part of the business, but would wait quietly till the end of the voyage for their share in the booty.

Secondly, if the disease has already progressed so far as to make the animal look poor and lean, then the whalers would pass him by, just as they came near doing in the case mentioned above, and no one would be any the wiser concerning the reason of his ill-conditioned appearance.

Thirdly, what adds force to what has just been said is that the amount of ambergris usually found, when indeed any is found, in a whale is

always very much less than what was reported in the story related above. This indicates that the whale of our story was indeed much nearer the fatal ending; and this, again, accounts for the miserable appearance of the specimen in question.

Be all this as it may, the positive proof is of itself enough. Ambergris is found but rarely by the whalers—so much so that when that cry, “Ambergris!” goes up, it is much like the cry of “Land!” to the longing sailors of Columbus. It is the event of a lifetime, even to those who have been whalers from youth up, and who have taken part in the capture of perhaps hundreds of whales. Its occurrence is therefore abnormal, and is the product of an abnormal or diseased condition.

Such is the story, and such are the conclusions fairly to be drawn from it. We confess, however, to something like a feeling of disappointment. We should have been told the name of the town from which that vessel hailed, the date of the departure and of the return of that whaling expedition, the name of the vessel itself, the name of the captain and his age, for ornamental purposes at least; the latitude and longitude of the place of capture; and lastly, above all the rest, the name of the firm that gave the check—“not necessarily for publication, but as an evidence of good faith.” Had these minor details been added we should have been perfectly satisfied, even without any mention of the “age or sex of the whale, or of previous condition of servitude.”

But even supposing that this whole cruise were merely a cruise on paper, we are convinced, from the internal evidence given above, that ambergris is indeed a product of sperm-whale appendicitis.

T. J. A. FREEMAN, S. J.

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## Book Notices.

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ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENT OF THE NICENE THEOLOGY. By *Hugh M. Scott, D.D.*,  
Professor of Eccl. Hist. in Chicago Theol. Seminary. Chicago: Theol. Sem.  
Press, 1896. Pp. ix., 390.

It is a wearisome and well-nigh hopeless task to follow the vagaries of German rationalistic speculation in theology during the present and the preceding generation. Though not entirely parallel with the fortune, or rather misfortune, of the transcendental philosophy, the life of recent theology has taken on much of the coloring of the ancillary science, and has lost itself no less deeply in the clouds of arbitrary theories. This is especially true of the school of Ritschl (1822-1889), which counts amongst its more or less close adherents such noted names as Harnack, Loofs, Herrmann, Häring, Kaftan, Wendt, Schürer, Schultz, all professors of high rank in the leading German universities. The Ritschlian theology, we might say philosophy, starts from a principle of cognition that blends the *apriorism* of the Kantian "forms" or categories with the Lotzean element of subjective faith. From this it follows that we have no knowledge of things in themselves, but simply as they are for us; or, as Ritschl himself puts it, "all religious judgments are judgments of value." Personal experience is thus regarded as the ultimate fact in religion. The doctrines of original sin, the Trinity and the Incarnation are rejected as metaphysical rather than religious. The divinity of Christ being denied, our Lord is declared to have been specially called to reveal God to men, a revelation which He accomplished "by a faultless life of devotion to His work of establishing the kingdom of God, *i.e.*, a community of men led by the principle of mutual love. As being the first to exemplify a perfect devotion to God's will, Christ became a mediator or priest to bring men to God. He made God known as being essentially love, the love being manifested especially in the free forgiveness of men's sins, no propitiation being needed as a condition. All pardonable sins are to be reckoned as sins of ignorance." Such doctrine would seem to imply a certain mysticism or pietism, which, however, Ritschl explicitly condemns, declaring, as he does, that "the notion of direct individual relations between men and God or Christ is essentially fanatical and mischievous." He insists on the historical character of Christianity, and maintains "that men are pardoned and saved only as they are members of the Christian community." Though holding to the Scriptures as the most authentic description of primitive Christianity, he maintains very loose opinions as to their inspiration and the scope of biblical criticism.

The special merit of Dr. Scott's lectures on the Nicene theology lies in his having, in the first place, established irrefragably from the New Testament and the doctrine of the primitive Church the divinity of our Lord, and secondly, his having exhibited and ably refuted the misstatements, contradictions and fallacies of the Ritschlian teaching on this the fundamental dogma of Christianity. He rightly conceives the question framed by our Lord Himself—"What think ye of Christ?" as "the testing inquiry to be put to all doctrines, as well as to all men."

From this standpoint the author has written his lectures. "They

treat the Nicene theology, in genius and growth, as it sets forth or shadows the person and the work of the divine Christ. It is just jealousy for this cardinal doctrine which leads him not only to give it everywhere, as did the early Church, the first place, but which leads him so often to notice the parallel treatment of it by the school of Ritschl, which puts the Logos Christology at the heart of doctrinal development, though not as the spirit of life and truth, but as the leaven of the Pharisees, the principle of secularization and error."

The value of Dr. Scott's work for a Catholic student of theology will of course not lie in its constructive elements. In this respect these lectures give no information, no point of view, that has not been set forth times beyond count in the almost limitless literature dedicated to the theme by centuries of Catholic theology. The critical elements, however, of the work commend it to the student, whose profession may call for an understanding of the trend of non-Catholic theories in these times, and who may not be able or desirous of studying the subject in the original sources; for, as the author justly claims, his is "the first attempt in English to outline the growth of the Nicene theology with any real reference to the work of the school of Ritschl."

There is a paragraph in the author's preface which, while it emphasizes the bearing of his book on the religious environment into which it is set, is at the same time a sad, though but a logical, commentary on the fate of dogmatic Christianity outside of the Catholic Church. "Various influences," he says, "at work in American religious circles make the approach of this 'dogmatic Christianity' especially dangerous just now. We are a practical people, and are apt to be caught by a theology which presents primitive Christianity as an 'impression' and not a doctrine. We are a people in a hurry, and too many of our pastors and even teachers are inclined to run after a 'simple gospel' or 'evangelical theology' rather than take the trouble to study a whole body of doctrine. We are a restive, democratic people, and the word 'dogma' has a harsh priestly (!) sound, an autocratic claim (!) to authority, all of which may turn some minds towards the 'practical' views of the new theology. The appeal 'Back to Christ,' the claim to represent the 'historic Christ,' the play upon 'the consciousness of Christ'—though there is little new in all these to English-speaking Christians—are often an 'open sesame' for these foreign teachings. Then, the new science of 'Christian Sociology' which makes the Church institutional and emphasizes 'environment' as well as 'heredity' by its teachings about the kingdom of God—though it be from quite another point of view—prepares the way for Ritschl's theology of Christ and the Church. When to these we add the fact that historic theology is probably the weakest department in the ordinary pastor's outfit—Ritschl claimed it was the strongest of his possessions—we may appreciate the better the danger for us of this new school and its corrosive treatment of the doctrines of early Christianity. 'If the foundations be destroyed, what can the righteous do?'"

Since Dr. Scott sounded this note of warning the dean of the Divinity School in the University of Chicago, Rev. Dr. Eri B. Hulbert, has told with marked approbation the story of the advance of the "new theology" amongst the Baptist divines. Writing in "The Baptist Outlook" of February 27th, he says: "The marvellous progress in the domain of natural and physical science, the recently promulgated theories of evolution, the *philosophical and theological speculations imported from Germany, the reconstructed apologetical literature adapted to present day exigencies,*" and a number of other new phases of the new learning



signalized by the writer, have "profoundly moved some of our Baptist Brothers. It has not merely changed their point of view, given them a new centre of observation, it has well nigh revolutionized the very substance of their thinking. They have a new conception of God, a new conception of Christ and of Christ's work, a new conception of man, a new conception of the Bible."

We have expressed our opinion as to the purposes the present work is likely to subserve. If to this be added a word of praise for the reverential, and even at times devotional, spirit manifested throughout, as well as for the terse, vigorous style in which the thought is expressed, we have said what good-will and justice alike demand.

Where there is so much that is commendable, it seems ungracious to criticize. We must not, however, pass over some inconsistencies and errors which we take it are rather the shortcomings of the author's religious position than of his scholarly convictions. Take, for instance, the opening sentences: Christianity is the religion of the Divine Christ Incarnate *and of His body the Church*. [Italics ours, throughout.] They are not co-ordinate, as Ritschl teaches, thereby making the Gospel move, not about one centre, God or Christ, but about two foci, Christ and His Kingdom, or Church; they are, however, *vitality one, as the Head and the members, the vine and the branches*." "The Incarnate Son of God, revealing the fulness of the Godhead bodily through the Church by the Holy Spirit, that is the broad path of light along which all *Christian thought and life have passed from Pentecost to the present day*." Now, if this is the true conception of the Kingdom of God, as it certainly is, how reconcile therewith the "first great mistake" with which the early Church itself is charged in her departure from the "Pauline doctrine of justification by faith?" (p. 198). "It was just here that the early Church made her *first great mistake*. She saw clearly enough that the end and aim of Christianity was blessed oneness with God through Jesus Christ; but *she failed to see adequately that the true way to this Divine Communion was through personal justifying faith in Christ*; that faith which works by love and purifies the heart. Not that faith was lost sight of; it was only *more and more obscured by its own symbols*, by other virtues, especially hope and love, and by the good works, which were its fruits. *This obscuring and limiting of justification by faith* appear at once when we observe the *baptism and admission of converts into the post-Apostolic Church*. Barnabas says: 'Baptism bears remission of sins.' Her- mas says of converts: 'They go down into the water dead, and come up alive.' Others speak in the same way, *teaching essentially baptismal regeneration*."

How the early Church came to adopt this view, our author clearly informs us. "Baptismal regeneration could find support in the words of Jesus to Nicodemus (John, iii., 3), and in His great commission (Matt., xxviii., 19, 20), which made baptism the *turning-point from paganism to keeping the commandment of Christ*. The gift of the Holy Spirit was also associated with baptism (Acts, x., 47; I. Cor., vi., 2, xii., 13). It was a sign of union with Christ (Gall., iii., 27). *Especially noticeable is the connection with the death of Jesus, which all felt was the key to salvation*. The Lord had called his own death a baptism, and Paul declared that Christians were baptized into the death of Christ. *This last statement sank deep into the heart of the Church, and was widespread early*." Soon, "confused ideas" sprang up as to the connection between the water of baptism and regeneration. Tertullian and other early Fathers held that the Holy Spirit sanctified it. "Cyprian introduced the priest as the agent in sanctifying the water of baptism."



*This confusion of mind and matter, this mystical wasting of the soul, was possible because, as Hatch has pointed out, "they are an outflow of the earlier conceptions of matter and spirit as varying forms of a single substance."*

The magnitude of this "great mistake" of the early Church as regards an essential to salvation our author is at pains to indicate. It "involved what Paul calls a fall from salvation by grace into salvation by works. Man's life was cleft in twain and the work of Christ divided. Before baptism man received all through faith and sovereign grace; but after baptism received all through merit, good deeds and the general mercy of God. The part of man's life before baptism was covered by the atonement of Christ; his life after baptism must be defended by his own virtue, the sacraments and the example of Christ. In other words, *Christ was only a partial Redeemer*. Part of man's experience was redeemed by Christ; the rest of it the Christian must redeem for himself. Christ was the author, but not the finisher of our faith. Such dualism left the domain of human sanctification only indirectly related to the redemption of Christ, and *this was the field in which grew up naturally defective conceptions of sin, legalism, sacramentarianism, priestcraft, and all the excesses of monkish devotion*." The whole of the author's fourth lecture—devoted to "*the imperfect apprehension of the Divine Christ in His work of salvation and connected therewith, an inadequate view of sin, a defective theory of free-will, and the consequent growth of legalism, sacerdotalism and asceticism in the early Catholic Church*"—is replete with "theology" of this quality. When one realizes that such contradictory teaching as to the very essence of Christ's kingdom emanates from a great western theological seminary, and that it was officially delivered before the faculty and students of a yet more influential eastern institution—the Princeton Theological Seminary—one cannot but feel that indeed the approach of "undogmatic Christianity" in American religious circles is especially dangerous now, since it receives from the very work that is intended to retard the inroad one of its strongest encouragements.

After coming across the above specimen of "theological" theory, one is hardly surprised at finding passages like the following: Speaking of the view of the Ritschlians that the Jesus of history is, to our knowledge, a mere man, but to our faith God, the author remarks: "Such a view leads us back to the scepticism and acception theories of Duus Scotus, *which killed scholastic theology*, and must kill all theology. because they bid us believe what is historically and philosophically false may yet be religiously and subjectively true!" (p. 34).

Elsewhere we are told how in the early centuries "sacraments were multiplied," how they got between the soul and the Saviour, till, by a strange combination of superstition and a longing for the Divine Redeemer, the *doctrine of the Mass arose in the Middle Ages—the one dogma developed in that eclipse of faith—and brought the penitent kneeling before the bread and wine, to bow also to Christ crucified*. But above all and crowning all was the thought that good works earned the pardon of post-baptismal sins. Cyprian says, "We wash away by alms" such defects. He summed up religion in "prayer and good works." These, he said, satisfied God. The Lord's Supper, which Irenæus calls "a gift," Cyprian calls "a sacrifice" offered by "a priest," and only in the Church. It was the great aid of good works. Here we find the clear outlines of early Catholicism, with its "utter materializing of religion" by legalism and priestcraft. The result was a twofold morality of "secular" Christians, who did as well as possible in the world, and "regular" Christians, who assumed the virgin, the ascetic life (p. 220).

No comment need be appended to these extracts. They evidence but too clearly the animus of the writer towards the Catholic Church. And yet Dr. Scott is not utterly intolerant, as the following concession manifests: "Ignorance, error, superstition, corruption may spot and wrinkle the churches that hold this faith [in our Lord's Divinity], as appears in Greek and Roman Catholicism; *but still they live to show an abiding power of revival and reform*"! (p. 11).

F. P. SIEGFRIED.

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THE PHILOSOPHY OF LITERATURE. By *Condé B. Pallen, Ph.D., LL.D.* St. Louis, Mo.: Herder. 1897. Pp. xvii. 184.

Those of our readers who have not heard Mr. Pallen's lectures on the Philosophy of Literature find awaiting them in the present work a veritable treat. Those who have had the advantage of being present at their oral delivery will be especially gratified to possess them in their present enduring form. Much, of course, more indeed at times than from the printed page, may be gained by listening to a course of lectures, but where the subject is treated with the depth that marks the present essays nothing short of thorough and repeated study will afford the looked-for satisfaction. Not that the author has failed to throw around his exposition and discussion the winsomeness of form that gives his matter easier access to the reader's mind. On the contrary, we are unable to point to any other book of its class in our language in which the deepest concepts of ontology have been exhibited with such felicity of illustration and attractiveness of figure, with just that coloring of diction which stimulates the imagination to the aptest "phantasmata" as aids to the intellect in its processes of higher abstraction. The whole trend of thought, however, is, as it was meant to be, deeply philosophical. Aptly indeed has the author entitled his work *the* philosophy and not *a* philosophy of literature, for he has studied *his* theme in the light of concepts and principles that are radical, essential, and, therefore, unchangeable in man's nature.

The subject falls logically into five essays, or rather lectures, for the less didactic form of the spoken discourse has been wisely retained. The first embodies the fundamental thesis on the Catholicity of Literature. Since "literature is the written expression of man's various relations to God and to his fellow-men," and since those relations are rooted in the essence of humanity, the prime characteristic of literature must be equally deep and universal.

From this germinal conception the thought develops naturally to the position that the basis of all true literary art is theology. "When we understand the theology of a people, that is, their knowledge and their conception of their relation to the Divine Being, we are on the way to a proper appreciation of their literary art, and not until we have arrived at an appreciative understanding of this vital connection between religion and art has the philosophy of literature any meaning for us" (p. 51). To the development of this thought the second lecture is devoted.

Theology, however, though the expression of the sum of man's knowledge of the truth, is not his artistic expression of that truth. "Truth finds its expression amongst men not only in the abstract formulæ of the intellect in the pure white light of speculation in which the eye of the simple intellect contemplates it, but descends from those arid heights into the concrete atmosphere of the imagination, which, like a prism, breaks the pure ray into many colors over the varied vistas of sensible existence" (p. 85).



The principles involved in literary art as the "sensible expression of unity by variety" are unfolded in the third lecture. The thoughtful reader will not fail to linger over the admirable description of the interrelations of imagination and intellect found in the opening of this lecture. The author's exposition of the ontology and psychology of art shows his mastery of Catholic philosophy. The artistic expression of his own conceptions are here the best object-lesson of his theory.

The fourth lecture offers a synthetic view of the literatures of antiquity—Oriental, Grecian, Roman. In the East the intellect is seen "swallowed up in the contemplation of an absolute unity." It knew no variety, hence it had no art. Human science was the animating spirit of Greece. Greece knew no absolute unity. "Greece was human movement incessant—a movement that began and ended in humanity. Greek art is, therefore, human art; Greek literature is human literature; both are conterminous, but neither escapes the confining bonds of the finite. It knew not sublimity, which is the breath of the infinite stirring in man's soul. It was forever seeking a change, resting nowhere, moving everywhere. Variety was the law of its restless life, and in variety it exhausts itself. Its dissolution comes through excessive movement. It divided and subdivided itself, faction against faction, sophist against sophist, school against school. It had lost all conception of the higher life of the Divine Unity, and, therefore, perished. When its own life became simply the activity of the parasite in the cadaver, it was prepared for Rome, and the Roman wolf devoured it" (p. 135).

"In time, the spirit of science becomes the formula; its life congeals into the hard and fast lines of the rule, the formulated law in which the sap of life is dried out. Rome is this formula, and she devours Greece—the spirit of science—as she had devoured Carthage, the spirit of cunning" (p. 125). "Rome neither understood variety nor unity, but it did understand the mechanism of both." Its art, therefore, and "literature were constructed on the principle of mechanics. It saw the Greek models and imitated the Greek formulæ" (p. 139). These contrasts of the pagan literatures are here brought out most vividly. The verification of the supreme law of all order, and the essence of all art, must be sought for in Christian literature. "In Christian art and in Christian literature alone do we find the fulness of the utterance of the law of unity manifested by variety. For it is only in Jesus Christ that we find the life, the truth and the way; the Life, which is Infinite and One; the Truth, which variously manifests in the world of space and time the infinite fecundity of that absolute and Eternal Life; the Living Law, which, while it conserves and unites, at the same time distinguishes and keeps distinct the essences of all things in the order of their various being by the power of that Divine Word by which they are" (p. 152).

The closing lecture deals with the principles of style. As is the preceding, so here the subject is viewed in the light of unchanging ontological concepts.

Let us say, in conclusion, that Mr. Pallen has given Catholic students of literature a work of which they may justly feel proud. In it the central truths of Christian philosophy are set forth in the power of their essential unity, and in the beauty of the variety they take on when applied to all true literary expression, nor least strikingly in the expression in which the author himself has reflected them.

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KRAUS, FRANZ XAVER, *GESCHICHTE DER CHRISTLICHEN KUNST*. Vol. I., pts. 1 and 2.

The Catholic literature of Germany owes a debt of gratitude to the



great publishing firm of Herder, in Freiburg. Besides Hergenröther's "History of the Church," the new edition of Wetzer and Wetze, Jansen's "History of the German People," and Pastor's "History of the Popes," they have published valuable works on almost every branch of theology and philosophy. More recently they have added to their list a series of admirable works on Christian art and archæology. We need only mention the highly-prized treatises of Liell and Wilpert on various themes discussing old Christian art in the catacombs and its relation to the teachings of the Church to show how great are the services they have rendered to the history of infant Christianity. Kraus's "History of Christian Art" is another valuable addition to Herder's catalogue. Prof. Kraus, of Freiburg, is a disciple of G. R. de Rossi, and one of the foremost German scholars in the field of Christian archæology and art. In the present work Kraus traces back to their sources not only the material elements of Christian art, its artistic forms and its methods, but also many of its representative types. Like almost all other authorities, he holds that the early Christians borrowed their forms and methods from the classical art of Greece and Rome, which they applied to the expression of Christian thought and ideals. On the very threshold of his inquiries he takes up the question, much discussed of late, whether the artistic monuments which the early Christians have left to us in the catacombs are to be regarded merely as historical documents and expressions of sepulchral symbolism, or whether they have also didactic, *i.e.*, dogmatic, significance. Of course, the very idea of sepulchral symbolism implies the setting forth of Christian doctrines on the future life and of our Lord's relation thereto. But Kraus, dissenting from the Protestant school of archæology in Germany and from some Catholic writers, like Le Blant, teaches that from the beginning Christian art was didactic in its character. On the art of the catacombs, above all, Kraus speaks as a master, tracing it through its phases and pointing out its bearings on early Church history. We may note, by the way, that, in Kraus's opinion, the catacombs, in view of the narrow limits of the confined rooms found in them, cannot have been the usual places of worship of the Roman Christians, even in times of persecution. When we reach the age of Constantine the Great and the triumph of the Cross, new problems present themselves to the art historian. What was the origin of the Christian basilica, *i.e.*, of the modern Christian Church? The old view, held from the time of Leone Battista Alberti (+ 1472) till 1869, derived its essential form, as well as its name, from the old Roman market basilica (*b. forensis*). This is now falling more and more into disrepute. Kraus discusses in succession the various theories that have been invented to account for the origin of the basilica. Dehio's hypothesis (of which Schultze also claims to be the author, and which has been adopted by Crostarosa and numerous others) regards the basilica as an adaptation and development of the plan of a Roman or Greek house for the purpose of Christian worship. Its supporters uphold their views by pointing out, on the one hand, that the three essential parts of the basilica find their prototypes in the *ostium*, the *atrium* and the *tablinum* of the private Roman residence; on the other hand, that the early Christians from the day of Pentecost met in private houses. Kraus, however, does not favor Dehio's views. The early Christians, he calls attention, met in the upper rooms (*ὀρερῶα*), not on the ground-floor of private houses. He still holds with de Rossi that we must look for the origin of the basilica in the *basilica cimiterialis*, an overground, trefoil-shaped structure found near burial-places and sometimes near the entrance of catacombs. The open side of this

building was lengthened, he thinks, and gave rise to the basilica type. However, the recent discovery of temples for the celebration of pagan mysteries (orphic, etc.), and the uncovering of very old Christian churches in Africa and Syria have supplied new elements that must be considered in the solution of the problem. The basilica of Maxentius, in Rome itself, built before Constantine's triumph, must likewise be taken into consideration.

In his chapters on early Christian painting, also, Kraus discusses many interesting questions. The earliest images of our Saviour, he shows, represents Him without beard. The first picture of the Madonna and Child is found in the catacomb of St. Priscilla, and dates back to the third century. The traditional representations of Sts. Peter and Paul, Kraus thinks, may probably be derived from portraits, which, in his opinion, is hardly the case with the images of Christ. Christ crucified, except in the celebrated caricature found on the Palatine Hill, is not represented until the middle of the fourth century. But we cannot enter into further details. Suffice it to say that the volume furnishes interesting, important disquisitions on all the lesser branches of ancient Christian art, artistic glasses, mosaics, the miniatures of the earliest illustrated Christian books, terra-cottas, goldsmiths' work, intaglios, rings, wood and ivory carving, even on the liturgical vessels and vestments. On all these subjects our author brings us the results of the latest finds and investigations. In the latter part of the volume he discusses the Byzantine question, which has lately become the subject of lively controversy. It is important in determining the sources of later Christian art, and most interesting in itself. The volume is furnished with about five hundred illustrations, many of them repeated from Martigny, it is true, but many of them entirely new, and all exceedingly instructive. In short, Kraus's "History of Christian Art" should be wanting in the library of no Catholic scholar. Why should not an English translation be published? It is certainly desirable. C. G. H.

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SCHOEPFER, DR. AEMILIAN. Bibel und Wissenschaft, Brixen. 1896.

A year or two ago Dr. Schoepfer, professor in the diocesan seminary of Brixen, published a History of the Old Testament. In this work parts of the sacred narrative were interpreted in a manner differing materially from the interpretation of most of the Fathers, and we may say of most of the elder Catholic theologians. The six days of creation, for instance, Dr. Schoepfer held not to be six periods of twenty-four hours each, the geographical universality of the deluge was abandoned, etc. The book calls forth much comment, and, we may add, much hostile criticism. The chief of these critics was Dr. F. Kaulen, the editor of the new edition of Wetzer and Wetze's "Ecclesiastical Encyclopædia." Dr. Schoepfer has considered it his duty to himself and to his seminary to reply to Dr. Kaulen, to set forth the evangelical principles by which he is guided, and to show that they are in entire harmony with the teachings of the Church, and especially with the Encyclical *Providentissimus* published by the Holy Father in 1894. The present work on the Bible and Science has the approbation of the Prince-Bishop of Brixen. Dr. Schoepfer tells us in his preface that in principle he agrees substantially with the learned Jesuit, F. Brucker, who has recently written a work entitled "Questions actuelles d'Écriture Sainte" (Paris, 1895.) Schoepfer's views may be summarized as follows: The *truth* of science cannot contradict the dicta of Holy Writ. The Bible, if correctly interpreted, is always true. Should there appear to be a conflict between the Scripture and Science, this conflict is only apparent.



The seeming contradiction may be due to a misunderstanding of technical terms, or it may be owing to the erroneous interpretation of Scripture on the one hand, or to the false claims of scientists who propound as settled truth what is merely an hypothesis or an opinion on the other. An interpretation of Holy Writ which cannot be harmonized with the undoubted facts of nature does not represent the true meaning intended by the Holy Ghost. Every opinion held by scientists that contradicts the *true* sense of Scripture is erroneous. The Bible and Science may treat of the very same subject, but they treat them from wholly different points of view. Consequently they may vary in the *presentation* of the same subject. Scripture was written with a view to the salvation of souls, and is therefore popular in matter and language. The aim of Science is to enlarge our natural knowledge, and has created and uses a technical language of its own which we must not look for in Holy Writ. Proceeding to analyse the Papal Encyclical, *Providentissimus*, he deduces therefrom the principle that profane science may be used not only to defend Holy Writ, but also to interpret it. In determining the true sense of a biblical text, Leo XIII., Schoepfer says, insists that exegetists must bear in mind the aim of Holy Writ. God does not intend by its means to make known the truths of natural science. This does not prevent the Sacred Writers from including scientific facts in their statements; but in doing so they use, not the language of Science, but the language of the people. Now, it is the peculiarity of popular speech to speak of natural phenomena as they fall under the senses. Hence the Scriptures speak of the sun moving and the earth standing still. A second rule, propounded by the Encyclical, Schoepfer formulates as follows: The true sense of a scriptural passage is not always the sense formerly attributed to it. In questions not affecting faith and morals, *i.e.*, on questions of natural science, Schoepfer tells us the Holy Father teaches that neither the *sensus obviu*s nor the consensus of the Fathers is a guarantee of correct interpretation, and counsels the exegetist not to interpret Scripture in a sense conflicting with the universal opinion of scientists on a question of science. Dr. Schoepfer then goes on to test these views by examining what the writings of the Fathers, the mediæval doctors, and the modern Catholic theologians, especially the Jesuits, say on the subject of scriptural hermeneutics. He examines at considerable length the views of St. Augustine, Albertus Magnus, St. Bonaventure, St. Thomas Aquinas, F. F. Pererius, Patrizi and Palmieri, and the decree of the Council of Trent on the interpretation of Holy Writ.

Passing to the practical application of his principles, the author first takes up the biblical account of the creation. The work of creation, according to his opinion, was not completed in six days of twenty-four hours each, and the parts of the universe were not created in the order recited by the Bible. The Sacred Writer in this recital had not an historical but an ideal aim. In short, Dr. Schoepfer is an ideal concordist.

On the Deluge controversy his opinion may be condensed as follows: The Deluge did not extend to the entire earth. Whether all mankind (except Noah and his family) was destroyed is an open question. The great ethnological table of the tenth chapter of Genesis does not include the ancestors of the nations of the earth, Schoepfer holds, and cites Hummelauer, Brunengo, Vigouroux and Manuci in support of his thesis. Lastly, the author sees in the confusion of tongues at Babel an event of a local rather than of a universal character. The men gathered in Sennaar were not the whole human race at that time living, but more probably one branch, probably a populous branch of Noah's family.



The book is interestingly written, and the controversy, while vigorous, is dignified and impersonal.

C. G. H.

SAINT BENEDICT; AN HISTORICAL DISCOURSE ON HIS LIFE. By the *Right Rev. Abbot Tosti*, of the Benedictine Cassinese Congregation. Translated from the Italian, with the author's special permission, by the *Very Rev. William Romuald Canon Woods, O. S. B.*, with a Preface by the *Right Rev. John Cuthbert Hedley, O. S. B.*, Bishop of Newport. London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Truebner & Co., Ltd. Price, \$2.75 net. Received from Benziger Brothers.

It has been a standing complaint among Catholic Italian writers that it is next to impossible for them to gain a hearing for their very best productions beyond the confines of Italy, their only chance of widening their audience being through the medium of French translations. As a matter of fact, an untold number of excellent Italian books are practically unknown beyond the Alps, except to the favored few who have learned the language of Petrarch and Dante. Among these may well be numbered the valuable historical monographs of Abbot Tosti, which have been before the Italian public so many years that we were somewhat surprised to read in Bishop Hedley's Preface that the author is still among the living. A tardy beginning is now being made by his English brethren to introduce this deserving author to the English-speaking world, and the opening is made with his historical treatise of the life of the illustrious patriarch of Western monasticism, St. Benedict. This treatise, although not the most successful of Tosti's literary labors, is a fair specimen of his work. It is replete with erudition, a model of exactness, and written in the glowing style which characterizes the productions of an able Italian when discoursing upon a favorite theme. If we were to venture any criticism of this modern Italian style, now that we are in hopes of welcoming a large number of the best works of that country in our cold English tongue, we should say that it suffers from the baneful influence of Teutonic nebulosity. Just as Verdi in his old age has endeavored to infuse Wagnerism into the pure stream of Italian melody, and with dubious results, so have many of the foremost Italian writers of our day, thinking to improve upon the limpid current of the old Italian masters, introduced a bastard, Kantistic, mystagogic mode of writing from the German, which may, for all we know, be intelligible to Germans, but which neither Carlyle could make palatable to us nor Tosti to his countrymen. If we could hope to be heard in Italy, we would most earnestly entreat those great and learned scholars to eliminate this foreign jargon and resume the lovely, simple speech of their ancestors. To illustrate our meaning, we shall quote a typical passage from the book before us. Abbot Tosti has just narrated with touching simplicity the story of Benedict's retirement from the world to his solitude of Subiaco: Gregory the Great had shown how so heroic a deed should be described. But suddenly the learned Abbot breaks loose from his sober guide and rhapsodizes in a way which to Gregory would have been highly suggestive of temporary insanity, but which we recognize as being purely German transcendental bosh:

"What appeared to many as a Brahmin's narcotic fetichism was a reflection of the mind upon itself, a powerful concentration of its faculties, a fertilizing of its powers, an aspiration towards an act unperformed by most men. It was an invocation of Absolute Virtue, which is God. The outcome of this spiritual energy I consider to be contemplation, which gave such beauty to certain souls in the poetical paradise of Alighieri. This phenomenon of mystic psychology does not manifest

itself to him who, luxuriating in reason's delights, does not believe ; but even the Pagans learned it from the catechism of nature," etc.

If this be "modernizing" Gregory, give us the grand old Pontiff in the sober simplicity of his classical toga, and if any attempt be made to inoculate such humbuggery upon our own speech, let us persecute it mercilessly to the death. Certainly, had we undertaken to introduce Tosti to English readers, we should have taken the liberty, out of regard for his reputation, carefully to expunge this and many similar passages. The very fact that the book is so excellent and timely would have made us extremely solicitous to make it as nearly perfect as possible. A book which seeks an audience must speak a language which people readily understand.

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THE JESUIT RELATIONS AND ALLIED DOCUMENTS. Travels and Explorations of the French Jesuit Missionaries among the Indians of Canada and the Northern and Northwestern States of the United States, 1610-1791, with numerous Historical, Geographical and Ethnological Notes, etc., and an Analytical Index. Under the editorial direction of *Reuben Gold Thwaites*, Secretary of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin; editor of "The Wisconsin Historical Collections," etc. Cleveland, Ohio: The Burrows Brothers Company.

We are proud to give the full title of the most important historical collection which has hitherto appeared in this country, and we mark as a significant note of the times that this great enterprise is editorially and typographically of Western origin. We observe, too, and not without a certain feeling of sadness, that there is not a cent of Catholic money in the entire undertaking. May it issue in waking our Catholic students and capitalists to the disgraceful neglect in which the glorious labors of the pioneer saints and missionaries of this continent have been left by our apathy. We sincerely regret that our late lamented friend and contributor, Dr. John Gilmary Shea, is no longer alive to enjoy this great publication, and to lend to the learned editor the valuable aid of his talents and experience. As the edition is limited to 750 copies, and consequently will soon be exhausted, we hope that those whom it concerns will see to it that our Catholic libraries shall be supplied in time. Mr. Thwaites calculates that the entire collection will be completed in about sixty octavo volumes of 300 pages each. The price has been placed at \$3.50 net per volume, which, in consideration of the typographical excellence of the publication, must be regarded as extremely moderate. It is the most appropriate present that could be made to the libraries of our Catholic colleges and seminaries.

The idea, then, is to allow the early Jesuit missionaries to tell the story of their labors and experiences in their own simple style. An exact *verbatim et literatim* reprint of the very rare French, Latin and Italian originals, both manuscript and printed, is accompanied, page for page, by a complete English translation. Some complaints having been made of inaccuracies in the first volume, extraordinary care has been taken to secure the greatest accuracy in the sequel. It is easy to understand that the language of religious, writing in a free and unaffected manner to their superiors, will at times contain technical terms apt to be misunderstood by those who do not profess to be skilled theologians. But we can safely rely on an editor like Mr. Thwaites sparing no pains to secure as correct as possible a translation of the text. Many expressions unintelligible to a layman could be explained quite easily by the nearest priest, and we have been told that it is the intention to submit the proofs to a learned Catholic clergyman for revision. This, surely, is the most rational course.



Four volumes have already appeared, dealing with the early travels and explorations of the Jesuit missionaries in Acadia and Quebec. We beg to call especial attention to the able and sympathetic words with which the editor introduces his *dramatis personæ* to his readers, giving a bird's-eye view of the whole subject, and enforcing the importance of the original narratives to all who desire to gain a correct knowledge of the early days of American colonization. Our present Pontiff, Leo XIII., has drawn attention to the important part taken by religion in the opening up of the new world. The documents now given to the public enforce the same lesson with a pathos far superior to the labored rhetoric of later historians.

Mr. Thwaites thus explains the nature and contents of these "Relations":

It was the duty of the Jesuit missionaries "annually to transmit to their superior in Quebec or Montreal a written journal of their doings; it was also their duty to pay occasional visits to their superior, and to go into retreat at the central house of the Canadian mission. Annually, between 1632 and 1673, the superior made up a narrative, or 'Relation,' of the most important events which had occurred in the several missionary districts under his charge, sometimes using the exact words of the missionaries, and sometimes with considerable editorial skill summarizing the individual journals in a general account, based in part upon the oral reports of visiting fathers. This annual 'Relation,' which in bibliography occasionally bears the name of the superior, and at other times of the missionary chiefly contributing to it, was forwarded to the provincial of the order in France, and, after careful scrutiny and re-editing, was published by him in a series of duodecimo volumes, known collectively as 'The Jesuit Relations.'"

Our readers will need no further words from us to appreciate the vast importance of this great undertaking, and they will join with us in the hope that the historical instinct will be found sufficiently alive amongst us to warrant the speedy completion of this and many a similar publication.

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ONTOLOGIA METAPHYSICA GENERALIS, *Auctore P. Carolo Delmas, S. J.* Parisiis: Victor Retaux, via Bonaparte, 82. 1896. Pp. xxx., 882. Pr., 8 francs.

Students of neo-scholastic philosophy have no grounds for complaint as to lack of material to aid them in their study. Within quite recent times a number of important works have been placed within their reach, any one of which would have been regarded as a boon by the students of a generation ago; a generation, however, itself by no means deficient in works kindred, if not of quite so thorough and timely a character. To one of these recent works, Fr. Pesch's *Psychology*, the latest addition to the *Cursus Lacensis*, the attention of our readers was called in the last number of this REVIEW. It is gratifying to be able to welcome here and now another no less important and valuable accession to the literature of Catholic philosophy in the general metaphysics or ontology of Père Delmas. The author, having had the experience of twenty years as professor of philosophy in the higher institutions of learning within the Society of Jesus, certainly may claim to speak with authority on his specialty. To one familiar with the subject little examination of the work is needed to convince him that it is the production of a thoroughly philosophical mind, broad and deep and clear of vision. The author has no ambition to be called original, in the sense that he has discovered or invented a new metaphysic. The history of



philosophy is already too sad a story of the fate of such aspirations. He accepts the solidly established truths of the *ancient* philosophy, and seeks to expound and demonstrate them in a way adapted to the needs and capacities of the modern student. Following the teaching of Aristotle, St. Thomas and Suarez, he presents the teaching of these masters, not on authority, of course, but on its intrinsic reasons and principles. In this, however, he is but one of a large class. He does but what a score of Catholic philosophers have been doing the past few years. The merit that deserves especial emphasis in the work is its constant insistence on and justification of the objectivity of metaphysics and metaphysical concepts. It is this feature of the work that gives it a timeliness which is not always predicateable of discussions of its class. The empirical or positivist philosophy prevailing outside Catholic schools has won a certain measure of popularity, on the one hand, by its claimed adherence to reality, to facts, to the ascertained results of physical science, and consequently, on the other hand, by its disregard and contempt for metaphysics. What Catholic philosophers have, therefore, most to vindicate in these days is the scientific character of ontology, its harmony with all that physical science has verified, in the order of experience, and the objective validity of abstractions which constitute the subject matter of metaphysics. In this lies the merit of Père Delmas's work that this insistence on objectivity is kept constantly in the foreground. At the very outset the objective validity and scientific constitution of metaphysics is solidly established against materialism, agnosticism and the Kantian criticism. Thus, as the concepts of the science come up for treatment, to each subject are assigned two theses—one to analyze the content, the other to prove its extra-mental foundation. In this fashion are set forth the notion of being, essence, potentiality and actuality, unity, truth, goodness, substance, nature, personality, accident, morality, quality, relation, cause, action, finality, the infinite, and beauty. Students familiar with the way in which these higher abstractions are sometimes treated will not fail to appreciate the value of a work in which the appeal to objectivity is so insisted on.

The work is intended as a text-book for classes of philosophy in universities and higher ecclesiastical seminaries, as well as an adjunct to theological study. It is not, therefore, elementary, and will reveal its excellencies only to serious study. At the same time the author has done much, by well-ordered arrangement of parts, by clearness of definition and precision of argument, by simplicity and lucidity of style, as well as by neat adaptations of letter-press, to lighten the labor of the student.

F. P. S.

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SONGS, CHIEFLY FROM THE GERMAN. By *J. L. Spalding*, Bishop of Peoria. Chicago: A. C. McClurg & Company. 1896. Price, \$1.25.

In his poetry, as in his prose, Bishop Spalding delights in a direct style, concentrated phraseology, crisp, neat, clear English. He translates from the work of the very famous, as well as of the less familiar, names in the long and honorable roll of German lyric poets. He is no unworthy competitor for honors in the similarly long list of translators from the German—Mangan, Baskerville, Merivale, Phillips, and their comrades who have done less work, if not less nobly, in this line. He is felicitous in his selection of adjectives—the most difficult task of a translator—such power dwells in a single word! Sometimes, however, he is not free from a taint—if it be a taint—of Carlylean ruggedness of phrase, a Teutonization of language perhaps unconsciously put on by both writers

in their foreign workshop. On p. 89, for instance, we read *on-glide* in the first stanza, and *on roll* in the second :

"The clouds and winds and waves on-glide,"

"I hear the years on roll."

He is happy in the selection of his themes. The poems take us out into the fresh air, the warm sunshine, the moist woodland, by cool waters and quiet pastures :

"Fall fast, O pattering rain, fall fast,  
Awake again the slumbering dreams  
Of childish days, too sweet to last,  
With all their many-tinted gleams,

"When in the sultry summer hours,  
Upon the parched and thirsty earth,  
Poured down thy cool refreshing showers,  
And drooping corn rose glad as mirth.

\* \* \* \* \*

"Ah ! would that I again might hear  
The rain's moist rustle round my head,  
Sweet as are thoughts of all the dear  
Who lie in their cool, earthy bed."

One would think that Longfellow's almost literal version of Goethe's *Der du von dem Himmel bist* should render any following attempt superfluous. But, although differing from the original in metre, while Longfellow's retained it, the version of Bishop Spalding is adequate and fine. The publishers have given the gems an elegant setting ; they have left nothing to be desired in the paper, the printing, or the binding. The volume is a thing of beauty.

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DEMON POSSESSION AND ALLIED THEMES. Being an inductive study of phenomena of our own times. By *Rev. John L. Nevius, D.D.* Chicago, New York and Toronto: Fleming H. Revell Company. Price, \$1.50.

The author of this remarkable book was for forty years a Protestant missionary in China, and is highly extolled, by those who knew him personally, for his great learning, vigorous and well-trained intellect, sound judgment, and, not the least commendation to Catholics, "childlike attitude towards the truth." He died in Southern China in the year 1892, leaving this book in the hands of Henry W. Rankin, Esq., for publication.

Dr. Nevius went to China wholly unprepared to meet cases of demoniac possession in modern life, but was led on, by his actual experiences among the heathen, to a gradual appreciation of the fact that the demons whom Our Lord was wont to eject from the bodies of unfortunate men were still in active existence, and could, even at the present day, be made to tremble and flee at the invocation of the Sacred Name. Phenomena met him at every turn which he could only ascribe to a preternatural agency, and he states the process of his final conversion to belief in actual demon-possession with a calmness which must impress every reader who has not deliberately hardened his soul against faith in the supernatural.

After stating his own experiences, he enters into a discussion of the



philosophy of the subject, rejects the false theories of so-called science, and declares his explicit belief in the literal interpretation of the frequent narratives of possession and exorcism found in the New Testament. It is needless to say that the Holy Catholic Church has never swerved from this position, and it is difficult to credit those who refuse to believe in a doctrine so clearly and emphatically inculcated by Scripture with any faith either in Christ or in the supernatural. The testimony of an "evangelical" missionary on a question so derided by modern infidelity cannot but be looked upon as extremely valuable, and we congratulate both the author and his editor upon their courage.

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ARCHÆOLOGIE DER ALTCHRISTLICHEN KUNST. *D. Victor Schultze.* Munich, 1895.

Alongside side of Kraus's great work, Schultze's "Archæology of Ancient Christian Art" is an elementary book. Indeed it aims to be little more, and yet it is in many ways interesting. Schultze is perhaps the chief Protestant authority on Christian archæology in Germany. We are, therefore, not surprised to find him contest Kraus's views on many points. Especially on the question of the principles that should guide the scholar in interpreting the paintings in the catacombs, Schultze has for many years vigorously sought to exclude their application to the illustration of Christian dogma. In the present volume, however, his controversy is less dogmatic and bitter. No doubt the work of Wilpert and Liell, as well as Kraus's arguments, have somewhat shaken his convictions. On the origin of the Christian basilica he is an ardent advocate of Dehio's views, which in fact he claims to have propounded before Dehio himself. Among Catholics Crostrarosa supports this theory. While by no means so full, nor, in our opinion, so fair a book as Kraus's work, which always recites the argument opposed to his opinion, Schultze's volume is a clear and brief setting forth of the main facts, illustrating ancient Christian art, and is well fitted to introduce a beginner into its mysteries.

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FESTSCHRIFT ZUM ELFHUNDERTJAEHRIGEN JUBILAEUM DES DEUTSCHEN CAMPO SANTO IN ROM. Herausgegeben von *Dr. Stephan Ehses.* Freiburg in Breisgau: Herder. 1897.

This is a collection of some twenty-five short monographs by as many German investigators of Christian antiquities contributed as a mark of esteem for the distinguished founder and rector of the college established at the Campo Santo in Rome, Monsignor de Waal. The proximate occasion of their writing is the wish to commemorate the eleventh hundredth anniversary of the establishment by Charlemagne of the hospice for northern pilgrims to the tomb of the Apostle. Among the names of several, as yet unknown to fame, we are pleased to note those of some whose merits have obtained a world-wide reputation, notably the learned Jesuit, Professor Grisar, who contributes a valuable paper on the *Pallium*. The entire volume, from both a literary and typographical standpoint, is worthy of the occasion.

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THE ABBE DE LAMENNAIS AND THE LIBERAL CATHOLIC MOVEMENT IN FRANCE. By the *Hon. W. Gibson.* Longmans, Green & Co.: London, New York and Bombay. 1896.

We were at work upon the study of this deeply interesting book with a view of making an extended notice, when our labors were super-



seded by the exhaustive paper of our esteemed contributor, Dr. Parsons, with whose views we are in full accord. It was to be expected that a biographer of the ill-fated Lamennais should be rather unduly biased by his sympathies, for his erratic hero seems to have been led to his ruin by the very exaggeration of his zeal for religion; but the decisions of Rome, and of history, cannot afford to be influenced by any other consideration than the cold, merciless objective truth. Error is only a temporary derangement, and it is the duty, as well of writers as of readers, to keep their sentiments and sympathies under the complete control of their reason. In some passages, we fear, Mr. Gibson will be found to have failed to do so. But, one the whole, the sad tale is narrated with admirable taste and skill.

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LOGIC AND METAPHYSICS. By *Rev. Louis Jouin, S.J.* St. John's College, Fordham, N. Y. Pp. ix., 263.

Father Jouin, professor of philosophy in the Jesuit College at Fordham, whence this book emanates, is the author of a course of scholastic philosophy in Latin. The first of the two volumes of that course on Logic and Metaphysics is given in an English dress in the present manual. The latter adheres very closely to the text of the former. Those who are familiar, therefore, with the terse compendiousness of the author's Latin will find his English style not redundant. The book is essentially a class manual. In the hands of an able teacher, fairly well versed in Catholic philosophy, it will prove serviceable.

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#### BOOKS RECEIVED.

THE SACRIFICE OF THE MASS WORTHILY CELEBRATED. From the French of the Rev. Father Chaignon, S.J. By the *Right Rev. L. De Goesbriand, D.D.*, Bishop of Burlington, Vt. New York, Cincinnati, Chicago: Benziger Brothers, printers to the Apostolic See. 1897. Price, \$1.50 net.

SHORT SERMONS FOR EVERY SUNDAY OF THE YEAR AND THE PRINCIPAL FEASTS. From the French. By *Rev. Thomas F. Ward*, Church of St. Charles Borromeo, Brooklyn, N. Y. New York, Cincinnati, Chicago: Benziger Brothers. Price, \$1.25 net.

THOUGHTS FOR ALL TIMES. By the *Right Rev. Mgr. John S. Vaughn*, with a preface by the Right Rev. J. C. Hedley, D.D., O.S.B., Bishop of Newport. The Roxburghe Press, Westminster. Received from Benziger Brothers. Price, \$1.50 net.

SOCIALISM AND CATHOLICISM. From the Italian of Count Edward Soderini. By *Richard Jerny-Shee*, of the Inner Temple, with a preface by Cardinal Vaughn. London, New York and Bombay: Longmans, Green & Co.

LIFE OF CARDINAL MANNING, with a critical examination of E. S. Purcell's mistakes. By *Francis De Pressensé*, a French Protestant. Translated by Francis T. Furey, A.M. Philadelphia: John Jos. McVey. 1897.

ROME AND ENGLAND, or Ecclesiastical Continuity. By the *Rev. Luke Rivington, M.A.* London: Burns & Oates, Lim. Received from Benziger Brothers.

THE CHAPLAIN'S SERMONS. By *Rev. John Talbot Smith, LL.D.* New York: William H. Young & Co., 31 Barclay Street. Price, \$1.50 net.

## *SPECIAL NOTICE.*

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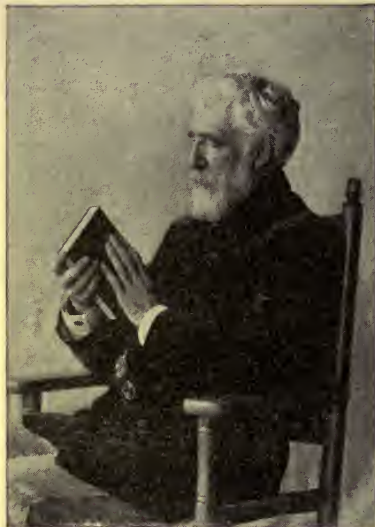
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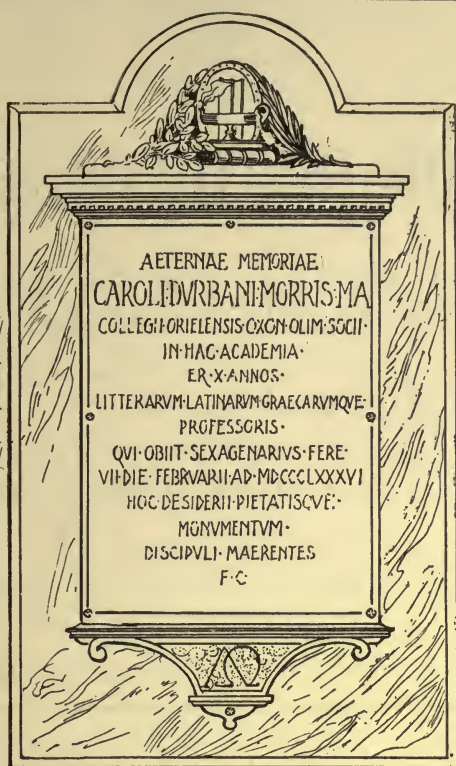
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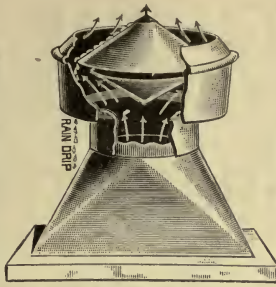
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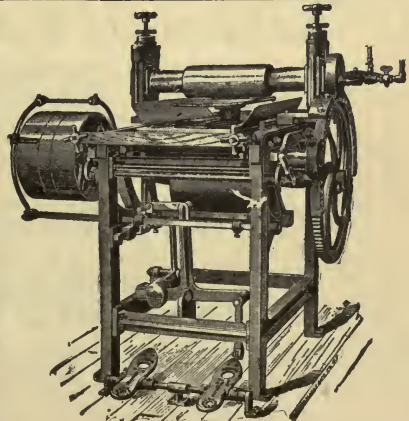
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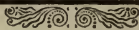
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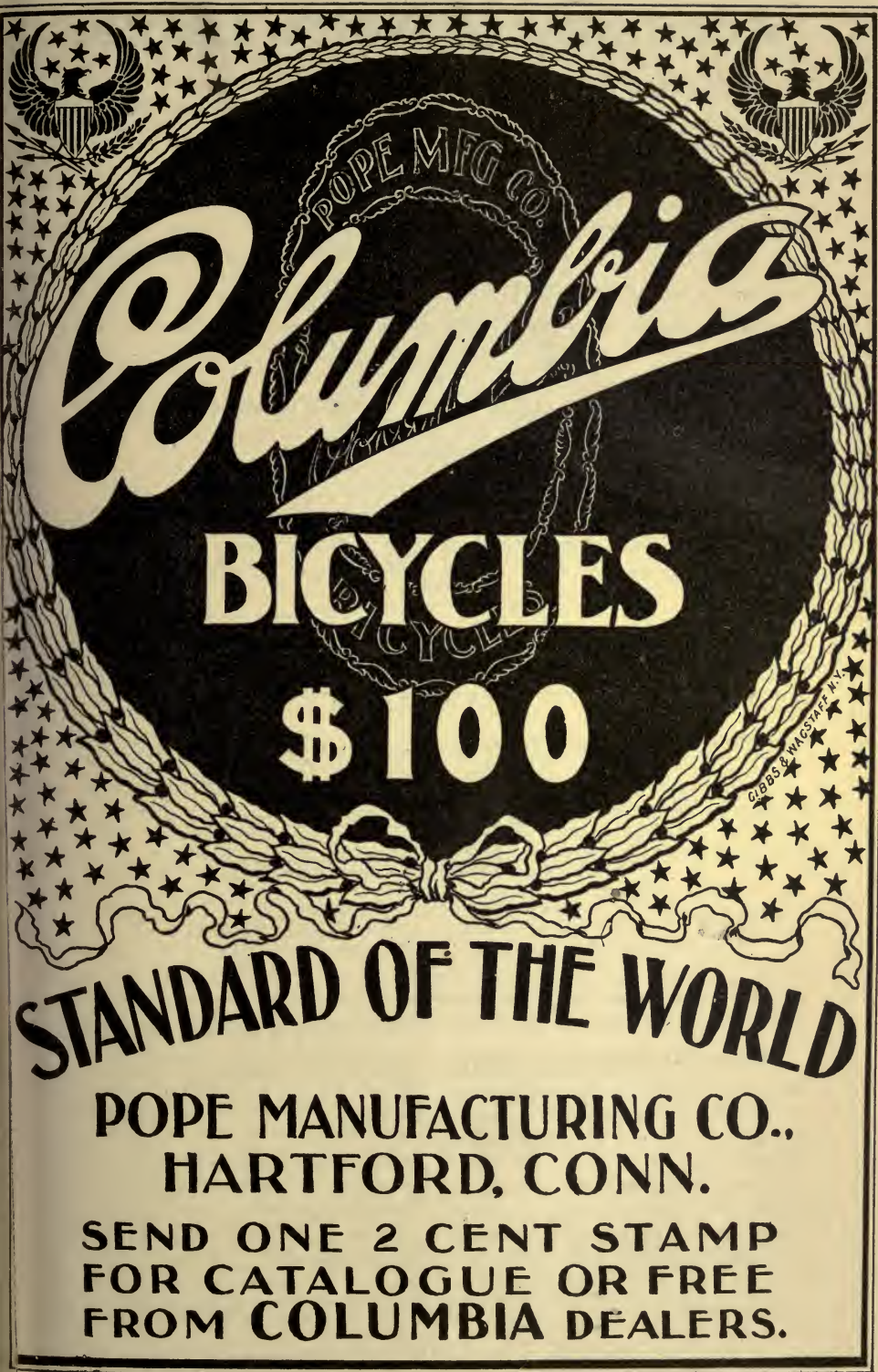
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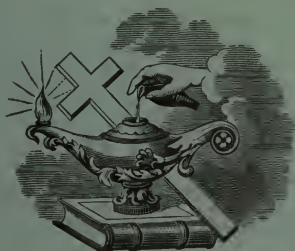


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## CATHOLIC SECONDARY EDUCATION IN THE UNITED STATES.

IN a previous number of this REVIEW<sup>1</sup> the present writer set forth in an article entitled "The Idea of a Parochial School" the scheme of primary education formulated by the Third Plenary Council of Baltimore. He showed how the faithful carrying-out of the Council's ordinances would secure an efficient system of elementary education. In many dioceses the organization of the parochial schools is already so perfect that they can challenge comparison with the richly-endowed public schools. It is hoped that this perfect organization will soon obtain everywhere, so that the excellence of the work done, as well as the sacrifices made in our parochial school system, shall get from American statesmen that hearty recognition which is now being bestowed on a similar system in England. Doubtless the day will come when enlightened men of all parties here will recognize that the enforced divorce between religion and education is injurious to the best interests of the State; that parents have an inalienable right to have their children educated according to the dictates of their conscience; and that denominational schools are as worthy of State support as any other, provided they give an equally good education in secular branches. Meanwhile, our separate parochial school system has to be upheld at any and every sacrifice; the faith of Catholic children has to be safeguarded; and the secular education given has to be kept abreast of the times, so as to put our boys and girls on the same plane as their neighbors for attaining temporal advantages.

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<sup>1</sup> No. 63, July, 1891.

The purpose of the present article is to treat of Catholic secondary education in the United States—of its province, its present condition, and its requirements.

By secondary education is meant that which holds a middle place between the groundwork of the primary school and the finished work—whether useful or ornamental—of the university. It supplies the student with the framework of a liberal education. It unfolds to him the most perfect languages and literatures of ancient and modern times, enables him to unravel the thoughts and discover the art of the greatest authors. It furnishes him with precepts and models to practice composition in its varied kinds, inculcates the requisites of good writing and speaking, and puts at his command such a knowledge of the form and substance of literature as will fit him to pursue gracefully and efficiently professional studies or some other avocation in life. In mathematics and science secondary education supplies all that is needed for sound mental discipline, as well as for the taking up of purely technical or scientific pursuits.

The youth who has pursued a good course of secondary education is fitted, on the one hand, for the higher and broader culture of the university, and, on the other, he is well-equipped for the work of life; his mind is so well disciplined that he can bring it to bear on all problems that present themselves, and his store of knowledge is such as to be, when ripened by experience, sufficient for all practical purposes. It may, indeed, be said that secondary is by far the most important of all phases of education. A country or a people is, as a rule, what its secondary schools make it. For, whilst the university gives perfect training only to the few, and the primary schools supply the elementary educational wants of the many, it is the secondary schools which train the minds and set in motion the brains of the bulk of thinkers. Germany's wonderful progress in recent years has been mostly due to the training given in her *Gymnasien*; the greatness of England is distinctly traceable to the influence of her secondary schools, such as Eton, Harrow, Winchester, Rugby and the others. This fact is so well recognized in England that, whenever her great men are spoken of, the secondary school in which they were educated is invariably mentioned. And the rapid strides which the United States are making in literature, science and art are the distinct outcome of the wide diffusion of secondary education.

The benefits of secondary education are within easy reach of non-Catholics in the United States under a twofold form. The public high schools, which exist in nearly all our cities, and which are supported by public taxes, supply a fair amount of it, and their work is supplemented by the well-endowed State and other col-

leges spread throughout the land. There seems to be no public institution in the United States which occupies itself fully and exclusively with secondary studies in the same sense as the *Lycées* of France, the *Gymnasien* of Germany, the *Public Schools* of England. The average high school or academy does not go far enough, and the ordinary colleges, as well as many of our so-called universities, whilst really not going beyond the proper limits of secondary education in letters and science, usually embrace some branches of university studies or some technical schools. This double system of the high school and college puts secondary education in the United States on a higher level than in any other country. And, whilst the high-sounding name of "university," which many of our American colleges assume, must be considered a somewhat boastful misnomer, except in some few cases, where it is used to describe an aggregation of technical schools, still it must be admitted that nowhere else in the world are so many opportunities given to such large numbers to attain an advanced degree of both liberal and useful knowledge. This high intellectual and practical training which is now to be had by almost every citizen of the United States is causing, and will cause still more in the future, a keen competition in all walks of life; and the day is not far distant when any one who aspires in this country to a position above that of laborer or husbandman must be equipped not only with primary but with secondary education, whether literary, scientific or technical.

Considering, then, the great importance of secondary education in itself, and the facility with which it may be attained by the modern American citizen, it cannot but be of benefit to examine how Catholics in the United States are situated with regard to it, what drawbacks exist for our people in this respect, and what ameliorations are desirable.

It must be admitted at the outset that no organized system of secondary education exists for Catholics in the United States. We have a primary system known under the name of parochial schools which are designed to do for our people what the ward or public schools do for their neighbors. We have a Catholic University which is being endowed by the general Catholic body, and which already offers a varied curriculum of real university studies. But between these two extremes there is no organized plan of intermediate, or secondary studies. With the exception of a few institutions which are due to individual munificence, such as the Catholic High School of Philadelphia, and the Creighton College of Omaha, we have no free high schools, and no endowed colleges. It is owing to the devotedness of the various religious orders that our youth can aspire to any distinctly Catholic higher



education between the parochial school and the university. Of the fifty or more Catholic institutions of secondary education in the United States, exclusive of seminaries, all but two or three have been founded and are conducted by the religious orders. The cause of this state of things is easily explained. In the absence of endowments our Catholic secondary schools depend for subsistence on the very small fees which the general poverty of our people can afford to give. Now, all who are at all acquainted with educational matters know that with no other resources but the fees of students it would be utterly impossible to build, equip, and man an educational institution. It is only bodies of men who give their own services for nothing, and whose personal requirements for living are reduced to a minimum, that can dispense any education worthy of the name without endowments.

It is to be feared that very few realize the amount of sacrifice made by the religious orders in this respect, just as very few realize the excellent work they are doing, notwithstanding the notorious financial disadvantages under which they labor. Anyhow, Catholic secondary education is bound up with these institutions at present; and it is in connection with them that its present condition, the work it is accomplishing, the drawbacks from which it suffers, the changes and improvements to be made may be best considered.

It is very hard to arrive at a just estimate of the work done not only by a Catholic but by any institution of learning in the United States. There is no standard by which to judge it. There is no uniform line of demarcation here, as there is in other countries, between primary, secondary, and university studies. There is no uniform standard required as elsewhere for entrance on professional studies, or for higher service under the government. Almost the only criterion by which to judge of American colleges is their programme of studies, and the men they turn out. This latter criterion may be, of course, very misleading. Men of exceptional talent and ambition may attain to greatness in spite of educational disadvantages. And thus it is of itself no sure indication of the actual or habitual worth of a given school or college that such or such a prominent man happened to be educated in it. Of course if a relatively large number of great men have been educated at various times in a given institution, and if their greatness is chiefly the result of their education, it is safe and right to conclude that their *alma mater* is indeed a nursery of great men. But, in a country like America, where, so very often, *c'est la position qui fait l'homme*, and where prominent positions are secured not so much through educational fitness as by political talent and influence, it would be very unwise to judge of given institutions or

systems by the number of persons holding high offices who were educated in them. The fact that a certain college educated a man or two who afterwards became Mayor of a large city, or Governor of a State, or Judge of Supreme Court, or even President of the United States, may be no proof whatever that the credit of such distinction is due to the education received. It is well known that the above and other high offices have been filled in the United States by men who had little or no liberal culture. It is of special importance to bear this in mind when judging of the work done by Catholic colleges and schools. It is sometimes said reproachfully of them that they cannot point to even a moderately large number of great men produced by them. Those who speak thus forget or ignore the prejudices that have all along existed against Catholics, the discrimination so often exercised against them in selecting for high offices, the comparative poverty of our people, and the consequent want of social influence to forward their claims to eminence. It is very probable, however, that this state of things will not long continue; and the day is fast approaching when true merit properly tested, and not political influence, will be the passport to high office in America as it is in most other civilized countries. Then we shall have a standard whereby to judge of the relative value of educational systems and institutions. It is safe to presume that when that day comes, our Catholic colleges here will be able to compete as successfully as they have done in other countries, where there is a fair field and no favor. At least, this is a conclusion forced on any one who carefully examines the programme of studies pursued in most of our colleges and compares it with that of similar non-Catholic institutions. The average graduate of our Catholic colleges receives as much solid liberal culture as the graduates of the majority of other colleges and so-called universities. In ancient and modern languages, in pure mathematics, and in many of the fine arts our graduates probably excel; and in most of our colleges there is a course of mental philosophy which far surpasses the corresponding course given elsewhere.

But, whilst maintaining the excellence of our colleges along certain lines and for certain ends, it must be acknowledged that they are inadequate to supply the kind and amount of secondary education which this age and our country demand, and which is within easy reach of non-Catholics. This inadequacy arises from no fault of our colleges but from the special nature of their organization. They are private, unendowed institutions. As such they depend entirely on the fees of pupils for subsistence. Consequently, they cannot open their doors to the large body of Catholic youth who are too poor to pay even a moderate fee; and they



can afford to teach only such subjects as do not require expensive installation. Hence the field of their labors is circumscribed, and the kind of education they give is governed by economic considerations.

The principle, *prius est esse quam ita esse*, necessarily regulates the policy of a private, unendowed institution. The necessity of having to act continually on such a principle is a drag on all progress, especially in educational matters. Let us see how it influences the quality and quantity of education given by our colleges.

It will be readily granted that the revenue of our colleges derived from fees of students is barely sufficient to pay the interest on buildings and grounds and to meet the necessary current expenses. There is not a Catholic college in the United States which could afford to pay even a moderate salary to its professors, whilst safeguarding the true interests and requirements of education. Even the colleges conducted by religious who make profession of poverty have usually a hard struggle for existence; and in most cases funds derived elsewhere than from pupils' fees are sunk in the college foundation. This state of things necessarily hampers the best-willed educationists. It causes them to do or to omit many things against their better judgment. For, not even a religious order can afford to carry on a college at financial loss, or to invest in improvements from which no immediate return can be expected.

Let us illustrate these views by reference to what ought to exist and what actually exists amongst us. Everyone knows that any institution or system of secondary learning worthy of the name requires of its students a standard for entrance, a standard in the various steps of the course, and a well-defined standard for its completion. Thus, there is here an entrance examination for high schools and for the non-Catholic colleges. In most European countries there is, besides, an age requirement for entrance, as well as a superannuation rule. Thus, in the great public schools of England already referred to, a boy is not admitted after fourteen nor kept after eighteen years of age.

Now, there is not one of our Catholic colleges in America that can afford to insist on such standard for either entrance on or the pursuit of its regular course of studies. Even our best and oldest colleges have under their roof mere children who are fit only for an elementary school. In fact, there is an open bid made for such pupils. It is nothing unusual to find a Catholic institution advertising itself at one and the same time as a university, a college, an academy, and a preparatory school. It is clear that the standard of studies as well as tone and character suffer from such an ad-



mixture. A worse feature connected with entrance to our colleges is the admission of boys, or rather, young men, as old as eighteen years or more, who are utterly unfit to take up courses corresponding to their age, and for whom reasons of economy provide "special classes." In the same way, and for the same reasons, there is no fixed standard insisted on for the pursuit of studies. At most a boy who is found unfit for promotion at the regular time is kept back for a term or more. Afterwards he has to be permitted to creep along in a higher class as best he can. It is probable that not one of our colleges can afford to exclude boys on grounds of mere dullness or indolence. Yet the presence of such boys is an impediment to the progress of others, and schools which are enabled by endowments to follow an independent line of action will not permit those who cannot take their class within a reasonable term, to remain on roll.

From another and more important point of view, that of the quality and amount of education given, the peculiar character of our colleges, and the straitened conditions under which they work render them inadequate to supply the needs of the large body of our people. As our colleges are, without exception, conducted by religious orders or by priests, the course of studies which they offer is, as a rule, the traditional classical one, which is undoubtedly the best preparation for the priesthood, or for the liberal professions, as well as the best foundation of all liberal culture. But our age and country evidently demand an entirely different system of education for the majority of boys and young men. This is the age and America is the home of applied sciences. Under these circumstances, for the one boy out of ten who may hope to make a living out of the fruits of a classical education, nine others will find their time and energy wasted to a large extent unless they get an opportunity of technical training also. Electrical, mechanical and civil engineering, mining, skilled workmanship in manufactures, expert methods in business—these are the fields where the largest amount of valuable livelihoods may be obtained. Yet our Catholic youth is, as a body, excluded from them. Our Catholic laity have not one-tenth of the representation that they ought to have in these and other walks of laudable, secular ambition. Nor can our colleges, in their present condition, supply the training necessary for success in these pursuits. This technical training would require the employment of well-paid lay instructors, and the installation and support of very expensive apparatus. None of our colleges could afford the expenditure necessary for carrying on such work in an efficient manner.

Another prominent defect in our system of secondary education, such as it exists, is the tacking on to it below and above portions

of education which have nothing to do with it, and which could be far better attended to separately. We have already referred to the admission to our colleges of boys, young and old, who have not yet gone through the curriculum of elementary studies. At the other end of many of these institutions we have what are called post-graduate courses which profess to supply university training. And thus we often have the A. B. C., the A. B., and the M. A. congregated together under the same roof, and under, practically, the same discipline.

Whilst everyone will admit that the presence of the first and last elements is quite anomalous, it is worth considering whether it would not be well to make a clear separation between the two parts of the seven years' course of secondary education. This separation is made in the non-Catholic institutions and systems all around us. The public high school or the private academy covers the first three or four years of secondary studies, and prepares for the college which occupies itself exclusively with the last four.

We have not a solitary example of this separation. We have not a single college which is exclusively devoted to the more advanced portion of secondary education. The truth is that none of our colleges is strong enough numerically and financially to cut loose from the long and somewhat straggling tail of its academical and elementary *clientèle*. Still the advantages of such a separation are obvious. Indeed many of our institutions feel the necessity of attempting it. Thus they put the younger boys in separate apartments and under separate supervision. But this separation can be, from the nature of things, only very partial. It often happens that a young boy is in the same class with those who are by many years his seniors, and, *vice versa*, an older but backward boy finds himself on the benches with those who are little more than half his size. And, in divers other ways and places, young and old, big and small are brought together, each category influencing more or less the other. It is pretty clear that this state of things is not at all so satisfactory as would be a complete separation of the two classes of students and of studies. Separation is advantageous both for the acquisition of knowledge and for the formation of character. The average pupil of a separate high school or academy receives a better intellectual training than the corresponding pupil of the three years' or academic department of our colleges. The high school, having an existence and object of its own, aims at a certain completeness or perfection. It feels that it has to give the finishing touch to the education of most of its pupils. It graduates them for business, or for technical schools, or for colleges. The high salaries it can offer secure



a correspondingly high class of teachers. These teachers feel in the work of their separate establishment far more interest than if it were merely the tail-end of a more pretentious institution. Their principal is able to concentrate his mind on the work of three or four years with far more intensity than if he had to direct also the work of three or four other years. Local needs and opportunities are borne in mind in framing the programme of studies. The greatest good of the greatest number is steadily and fearlessly sought, independent of the personal likings or dislikings, whims or fancies of the few. The boy who proceeds from the high school to college takes up his new work with a fresh interest. He finds himself in changed surroundings. He is in far more favorable condition for sustained effort than the corresponding freshman in a Catholic college, who is already anything but fresh, who is beginning to grow tired of the same scenes, and faces, and routine which he has been experiencing already for three or four years, and which he knows will remain practically unchanged for four years to come.

Then, too, development of character, which is, after all, one of the principal ends of education, gains by this separation of which we are speaking. Younger boys can be controlled and disciplined in a manner suited to their age far better in a separate institution than in the annex of a college; and youths who range from seventeen or eighteen to twenty-one or twenty-two years of age can and ought to be handled in a manner becoming their years and not to be held under the same *régime* as children. Of course, a distinction of treatment and discipline exists for these two categories in our colleges; but restraint becomes the more repulsive for youngsters in presence of the privileges granted the seniors; and much rational liberty has to be denied to the seniors through fear of disedification of the juniors. Speaking of this subject, I cannot refrain from expressing my opinion, which is founded on long years of observation in several countries, that the senior or older students of our Catholic colleges do not get sufficient rational liberty, sufficient opportunities for training themselves to exercise self-control, and self-respect, nor sufficient self-government and initiative.

However we may decry the abuse that license generates in non-Catholic institutions, yet we have to admit that the students of such places have an *esprit de corps*, an attachment to *alma mater*, a way of managing their literary and athletic associations, a spirit of enterprise and of self-reliance which are not found in near the same measure among us. It is to be feared that our young men are kept too long tied to the apron-strings of prefects and masters. This explains how so many of them when sent out into the



world are as unbent bows, exposed to snap and break in a disastrous manner. Surely, with the material we have to work on, and with the chastening and molding aid of the Sacraments and of the Divine Spirit, we ought to be able to train our youth to the use without the abuse of liberty.

The above-mentioned and other deficiencies in our existing institutions of secondary education are to be ascribed, as we have already intimated, not to any dereliction of duty on the part of the bodies that conduct them, but to the unfavorable conditions under which they are conducted. It even redounds to the honor of the Catholic Church that in it alone is to be found the self-sacrifice which succeeds in carrying on, without any aid from within or from without, establishments of higher education. Apart from the catchpenny institutions known as "business colleges," which are beside consideration in connection with true education, there is not outside the Church, from one end of this country to the other, a single college that attempts to do the work of higher education without endowments. So far, then, from finding fault with our colleges, such as they are, right-minded people cannot but admire the heroic work done under such grave disadvantages. But the self-sacrificing zeal for education displayed by the religious orders—especially as its best efforts must fall, as we have seen, short of the mark—should be no justification for apathy on the part of the general Catholic body in this matter. It has often occurred to the writer that the sacrifices made by the religious orders have indirectly done harm, inasmuch as they have removed from the minds of Catholics all idea of the duty and necessity of contributing to the support of higher education. Even Catholics of large means scarcely ever think nowadays of endowing anything connected with education. Yet education, to be as efficient and as widespread as it should be, is in absolute need of endowments. This question of endowments and of public interest and control is the key to the educational problem that confronts us. And it is through it alone that can be effected the much-needed improvements.

The improvements in our present system of higher education which we would suggest as both necessary and feasible are twofold—the establishing of free high schools in all the chief centres of Catholic population, and the founding and endowing of a certain number of colleges properly so-called. These improvements could be effected either in connection with existing institutions or separately.

To anyone who reflects seriously on the matter it must be obvious that the Catholic high school is a required complement of parochial schools. For, if it is expedient to give our children a

distinctly Catholic education in elementary branches, it is certainly unwise to throw them out as a body on the world with only such attainments as can be acquired in the parochial schools. Be these attainments ever so perfect, as far as they go, they are utterly inadequate to secure what may be called the middle-class positions to which the talents and character of a large proportion of our youth would eminently entitle them had they only got the chance of higher training.

The prevailing policy of confining the Church's corporate efforts in education to the parochial school necessarily relegates our boys and girls to a secondary place in the race of life. To speak here of the former only, who are the greater sufferers, how can the parochial school-boy be expected to compete, not only with his neighbor of the ward school, but with the high-school graduate? The former may know how to read, write and cipher; he may know enough even to keep the accounts of his father's small store; or his exceptional talents may push him to the front; or he may have the means of providing himself with higher education. But, as belonging to the ordinary class of parochial school-boys, and as an outcome of the incompleteness of our Catholic educational system, he becomes by the force of circumstances a "hewer of wood" for his high-school neighbor. The latter was admitted to the high school on the strength of his talents and previous record. If he entered the commercial department he has there learnt enough to enable him to embrace any business pursuit; or, if he belonged to the academic department, he has made sufficient progress in liberal studies to fit him to take up those proper to some profession, or to enter a university; or, again, if he has had the advantage of the manual training which is offered in many high schools, he finds himself equipped with attainments which will give him a ready and comprehensive grasp of whatever trade he may choose to pursue. In either case the high-school graduate goes forth from the State institution endowed with a fair share of advanced knowledge and possessed of the power and influence which that knowledge gives. The parochial school-boy is no match for him in the competition for success in life. It is a case of warfare analogous to that sometimes carried on with the rude weapons of the semi-civilized against the keen, deadly-precise arms of civilization. Extraordinary talents and moral worth may sometimes give the advantage to the less highly educated, just as dauntless courage and headlong bravery have more than once brought victory to the stone hatchet, boomerang or arrow against rifle, sword and cannon. But, in the one case, as in the other, there can be no doubt as to where victory will be in the end. As surely as the undisciplined heroism of the barbarian must go



down before the serried square and bristling phalanx of disciplined troops, so, too, must the imperfectly educated, how great soever their natural gifts and talents may be, yield to the discipline, the culture, the manifold resources which higher education gives.

It is needless to dwell further on the existence and results of this inferiority to which the incompleteness of our educational system condemns the vast mass of our Catholic youth. *Ça saute aux yeux*, as the French say. Nor dare we ask the question whether this state of things ought to continue. Our own self-respect, the honor of God's Church, the interests of generations yet unborn answer with a million voices: No! But a far more difficult and delicate matter is to suggest an adequate and feasible remedy.

An ideal remedy would be to have some generous, far-seeing Catholic, like the late Mr. Cahill, of Philadelphia, build and endow a Catholic high school.

There could be few more permanently useful investments for wealth than this; and the founder of a well-equipped high school should be regarded as amongst the greatest benefactors of his co-religionists. The number of such benefactors seems to be very limited, especially amongst us; but it is probable that several of them would be found were the merits of this particular question put before them by the proper authorities.

Another way of attaining the same end would be to have the several parishes of a district unite in raising funds for the erection and support of a high school. This plan ought to be quite feasible in centres where there are twenty or more parishes. Each parish would not find it burdensome to keep, say, ten pupils at the high school. This could be done at a cost of less than one thousand dollars a year.

A third and more economic plan would be to have the parishes make arrangements with the Catholic colleges already existing in a locality. It is probable that some of these institutions would be willing to devote a sufficient portion of their buildings and faculty to the purposes of a high school in return for the foundation of a certain number of free scholarships by the parishes. Of course they should, further, give a reasonable guarantee of efficiency and reasonable privileges of inspection and control to those interested. We believe that the increased and definite sphere of usefulness offered by such an arrangement would justify our colleges in accepting it, just as the economic, yet reliable, terms it would secure for the parishes should urge them to propose it.

But, whatever may be thought of the relative feasibility or advisability of these several plans, some one of them should be adopted. Our parochial school system should be supplemented



everywhere by the high school conducted as a public institution, controlled by a representative board of trustees, insisting on a certain standard for the entrance to and pursuit of its course of studies, which should be mapped out to meet local needs and opportunities. Such an institution would secure two excellent results. It would, in the first place, put a fair amount of higher education within the reach of the masses of deserving Catholic boys who are at present precluded from it, and thus put them on a level all along the line with their neighbors. And, secondly, it would have a most salutary reflex effect on the parochial schools. The annual examination for entrance to the high school would be a strong stimulus for the pupils of the lower schools, and an incentive to healthy rivalry between them. Each pupil who aspires to enter the high school would be urged on to greater efforts by the foreknowledge that his proficiency would be tested by an impartial tribunal, and compared with that of his classmates. And the thought that the school as a whole would be judged by its success at the high-school entrance examination, and compared with other schools, would stimulate teachers and taught to strain every nerve so as not to be beaten by their competitors.

In the absence of the Catholic high school there remains for most of our boys, who have finished the parochial-school curriculum, only the alternative either to take their chances in life with what they have acquired, or else go seek higher learning in the non-Catholic high school or other institution. We have already referred to the first feature of this alternative. It is a serious matter for the Church to leave large sections of her children in an educational condition where they may be exposed to blame their Faith for their secular disadvantages. The other alternative, namely, to have Catholic boys go without let or hindrance to the non-Catholic high schools is very objectionable. To our mind there is far less danger in allowing young children to attend the ward schools and young men to attend the non-Catholic technical schools and universities than in permitting the frequentation of the non-Catholic high schools or academies. We believe it would be better to frankly accept the public-school system as a whole and make special provisions for supplying its deficiencies in religious teaching than to expose our children to the influence of a dual system. The change of method and discipline, the sudden stoppage of all religious teaching must affect injuriously the parochial school-boy who enters a non-Catholic high school. Besides, he is just at that age which requires the most vigilant moral training; and he enters on the studies which specially need the direction of a religious teacher. It is a very serious matter to hurl the modest Catholic boy into the system known as the co-education of the

sexes; and it is a terrible ordeal for him to be introduced by unchristian teachers to the sensualities and heresies of English and other literatures, and to the lies and misrepresentations of bigoted histories.

When we consider the dreadful cost of a diluted faith and morals at which higher education has to be acquired by our youth in non-Catholic institutions, there ought to be no hesitation about making a supreme effort to supply them with the training they need, whilst safeguarding that which is the most precious of all possessions. The demand for such a supply is urgent, the means for giving it are within our reach.

The foundation and support of free Catholic high schools in every large centre is, then, the first and most pressing need of our secondary educational system. But, as we have already hinted, there is a still further need. We need a certain number of first-class colleges and technical schools exclusively devoted to the higher part of secondary education, doing for our young men what so many hundreds of similar institutions are doing for others. We want some colleges able to do for our people what Princeton, for instance, does for the Presbyterians; we want some colleges that can afford to confine themselves to the four years' course, to set a standard for entrance, a standard for progress, a standard for graduating. We have not one such at present in the whole United States. Our new university professes not to deal with such work, but rather with the still higher which is its proper sphere.

There are several of these four years' course colleges for non-Catholics in every State of the Union. Take, for instance, this State of Pennsylvania. Here there are more than a dozen such sectarian institutions, not counting the larger non-sectarian universities. We Catholics have not one. Yet we number about a million; that is about one-fifth of the whole population; and we are far more numerous than, and probably quite as wealthy as, several of the sects that own and conduct these higher colleges in the interests of their members. We seem to rest contented with seminary work, and the training of a mere fraction of the laity in our private, unendowed, agglomerate colleges. The result is, that whilst our clergy are, as a rule, well trained, our laity are far behind. We have not anything like the proportion we should have of educated laymen able to hold their own in the higher walks of life—in the professions, in business, in the applied sciences, in the arts, or in literature. Our disproportion in this respect is becoming more and more marked as time advances and educational methods progress. Our system of secondary education, if system it may be called, smacks too much of the monastery school with-



out the endowments of the monastery, of the *Petit Séminaire* with much of its *petitesse*, of the penal times when our laymen were debarred from knowledge.

Surely, there is no wisdom in continuing on those lines in these times and in this country. Yet continue on them we must, unless our pressing needs in this respect dawn upon those who have the power and the duty to come to the rescue. Every man who owns a dollar has this power, and every Catholic has this duty—the power and the duty of putting higher education within the reach of our people, in the only way in which it can be done, that is, by endowing directly or indirectly institutions of learning.

Here comes the question: How endow establishments of secondary education in the present state of things, seeing that they are nearly all in the hands of religious orders? To this it may be replied that no religious order could expect to receive endowments without giving satisfactory guarantees that they would be properly used; but, with such guarantees, there is no reason why a religious order would not be trusted as well as any other board of trustees. If, however, these guarantees (which should include power of inspection and of control) were not forthcoming, then let the endowments be made outside the religious order. Personally, we would like to see established amongst us what have made the greatness of other countries and peoples, and what are doing the same all around us here for non-Catholics, that is, some colleges endowed, organized and conducted, not in the interests of any particular order or section, but under the public eye and for the public good. The orders will know how to take care of the special interests confided by Divine Providence to their care. Some of them would, perhaps, be glad to be relieved of the burden which the education of outsiders puts upon them. The stronger ones would, probably, in presence of competition, concentrate a number of their present small collegiate departments in one or two real colleges. A few independent colleges would open once more to our laity the profession of teaching from which they are now practically excluded.

But, if the required direct endowments are beyond reach of Catholics at present, the same cannot be said of indirect ones, such as the foundation of prizes and scholarships in and the increased patronage of existing colleges. If Catholics are to remain beholden for secondary education to the self-sacrifice and zeal of the religious orders, the institutions which these are conducting should receive more encouragement.

Too often even the leaders of Israel seem quite indifferent as to what school or college will be frequented by the Catholic boy, once he has gone through the parochial school. And there is a



growing tendency among Catholics of means to send their sons to the fashionable non-Catholic seats of learning, even though they hear the most famous of them spoken of by those who should know as hot-beds of immorality. It is certain that if the Catholic brains and money that are now contributing to the support and fame of non-Catholic colleges were concentrated in our own, our position in this matter of secondary education would be far superior to what it is. The bodies that conduct our colleges could with proper encouragement afford to provide themselves with better equipment, better apparatus, better teachers, better programmes of studies, and thereby secure better results.

The importance of this question cannot be too strongly urged. Secondary education is the plateau on which the war of good and evil, light and darkness, will ever be decided. It is here that the strong and skilled forces, which are the mainstay of truth, are at the same time trained and brought into action. The result will influence the masses of young recruits on the plains below, as well as the select posts of observation on the mountain peaks above. It is from the plateau of secondary education that the proper stimulus can be given to the masses in the parochial schools ; it is from thence, too, that must be derived the select forces of the university.

Let us then see to it. Let us strengthen and equip our forces on this most important field of operation, so that the keen talents and high morality of our people may be extensively and efficiently utilized in the interests of light and strength.

JOHN T. MURPHY, C.S.Sp.

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## THE EPISCOPATE OF BISHOP BARAGA.

**D**IRECT episcopal jurisdiction over the Upper Lake Missions of Michigan was established by Pius IX., July 29, 1853, by the creation of the Apostolic Vicariate of Upper Michigan.

Rev. Frederick Baraga was appointed Vicar Apostolic; he was at the time 56 years old, and for twenty-three years he had labored among the Ottawas and Chippewas.

He was consecrated Bishop of Amazonia, *in part.*, in the cathedral at Cincinnati, by Archbishop Purcell, in whose province the newly-created vicariate was, November 1, 1853. There were present at the solemn ceremony the Coadjutor Bishop of Detroit and the Bishop of Milwaukee, in whose respective sees the vicarial territory was situated. Bishop Spalding, of Louisville, was the orator.

In order to place under the jurisdiction of the venerable prelate the Indian missions which he had established and maintained on the littoral and islands of the Lower Peninsula, Bishop Lefevere, Administrator of the Diocese of Detroit, ceded his power to Bishop Baraga over the five counties in which these missions were located, namely, Antrim, Charlevoix, Cheboygan, Emmet and Leelenaw. Bishop Henni, of Milwaukee, ceded his power over La Pointe, and the group of the Apostle Islands, in the headwaters of Lake Superior, in the State of Wisconsin.<sup>1</sup>

It will be remembered that La Pointe had been the centre of missionary work during the first decade of Bishop Baraga's residence at the headwaters of Lake Superior, the crucial experience of which has been described in our article on the "Chippewas of Lake Superior."<sup>2</sup>

Bishop Baraga, thus honored by the Hierarchy of the American Church, and with the concurrence of the Holy See, obtained episcopal control over all the territory of the Upper Peninsula of Michigan, over the littoral and islands of Lakes Huron and Michigan in the northern portions of the Lower Peninsula, and in that part of Wisconsin which had been the scene of his earliest missionary labors in the Lake Superior region. Most of the Indians residing in this extensive territory had been evangelized during the two preceding decades, and were leading Christian lives.

<sup>1</sup> These cessions were made in 1854.

<sup>2</sup> See the AMERICAN CATHOLIC QUARTERLY REVIEW for April, 1896. Vol. xxi, No. 82, p. 354.

Leaving his missionary home at L'Anse, Bishop Baraga came to Sault Sainte Marie, and established there the cathedra of his apostolic vicariate.

Upon assuming the mitre, he is said to have exclaimed, "Now I can do something for my missions!"

He probably had in mind that as a bishop he could recruit and ordain priests; while he would personally receive the allocations annually made by the Propaganda of Lyons, France, and of the Leopoldine Society of Vienna, for the spread of the Gospel in this part of America, which allocations had previously generally been sent to the ordinaries of the dioceses in whose territory were located his respective missions, but from which he had derived but slight pecuniary aid. "Now I can do something!" There was much significance in this exclamation.

He who uttered it began his apostolic work when he landed at La Pointe, in 1835, with three dollars. After one year's experience among the unfortunate Chippewas on this island, during which year he suffered from the rigors of the climate and the paucity of food, he became so appalled at the prevalent misery that he went to Europe to procure financial aid wherewith he might be enabled to relieve their utter wretchedness.

By hard work and persistent effort, before the end of his first decade among the Chippewas on the island of La Pointe and subordinate missions, he had succeeded in improving their social condition. Divine Providence inspired him to move to L'Anse, and to establish there a colony of Chippewas who would cultivate the soil and provide a comfortable support for their families.

To purchase from the government the tract of land upon which the Chippewas were to make their new homes, to build the houses in which they were to live, and to furnish these houses to some extent, absorbed the last dollar realized from the capitalization of his patrimonial income; so that when he assumed the mitre of his apostolic vicariate it became a serious question with him, so denuded was he of material resources, where he was to procure the funds requisite to provide his episcopal outfit. Such was the status of Bishop Baraga when he was consecrated. From whatever source the money came to enable him to appear according to his episcopal rank is a question immaterial; it did come, and not in stinted measure.

Bishop Baraga had so well established his Indian missions that the priests to whom he confided their spiritual care had but little trouble in continuing his apostolic work. These missions, during all his subsequent episcopal experience, never caused him inquietude; while the welfare of those he had won from paganism—men, women, and children—was ever cherished. We shall see how his



paternal love for them was shown by his continuous visitations, while wearing the purple, to their villages and homes.

When Bishop Baraga came to Sault Saint Mary to inaugurate his apostolic vicariate, as stated, the old mission church of St. Mary was made his cathedral, while the adjoining old presbytery became his residence.<sup>1</sup>

At this time there were probably 2000 full-blood and half-breed Catholic Chippewas at the Sault and on the shores and islands of the river Saint Mary, who worshipped and who fulfilled their religious obligations in this old church. There were many sincere Christians among this population; for, no matter at what hour of the day you might enter St. Mary's, you would find many tawny-skinned devotees—men and women—kneeling before its altar.

Upon the advent of Bishop Baraga, St. Mary's of the Sault was in charge of John B. Menet and Auguste Kohler, fathers of the Society of Jesus, who had made old St. Mary's the centre of missionary work for the town, and for both sides of the river down to the lake.

They were holy priests, and they were so esteemed by the white residents of the Sault, and almost worshipped by the Indian and half-breed Christians. These Jesuits were members of a missionary band whose superior was Rev. Nicholas Point, S.J., pastor of the Church of the Assumption, at Sandwich, in Canada, on the south shore of the strait, opposite Detroit.

Father Point, at the time, had his missionary headquarters at Fort William, on the Canadian shore of Lake Superior. With him was Father du Ranquet, S.J. They had evangelized the Chippewas on that side of the lake, and occasionally, when asked, had visited some of Father Baraga's missions.

But the missionary work of the Jesuit Fathers, if continued on the American shores of the River St. Mary and at the Sault, would have to be subordinate to the vicar apostolic, while the Jesuits were subject directly to Father Point, who was controlled by the father superior at Quebec.

It resulted, as a consequence, that about three years later Fathers Menet and Kohler retired from St. Mary's and crossed the frontier line into the Canadian realm.

The career of the celebrated Superior of the Jesuit Missions in the Lake Superior region, which, at the time, had been revived, after the lapse of a century, but on the Canadian border of this wild region only, is so remarkable that we are tempted to give

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<sup>1</sup> It is doubtful if there could have been found at the time, in any see in North America, such a poor example of a cathedral and such an episcopal residence as were St. Mary's and its presbytery, at the Sault, when Bishop Baraga assumed control.

a brief outline, in connection with the closing chapter of our sketch of the life and apostolic work of Bishop Baraga.

Rev. Nicholas Point, S.J., was born at Rocroi, Ardennes, France, April 7, 1802.

His classical education was partially completed in the college of St. Acheuil.

He was one of the few bright young men who, at the time, were blessed with a sacerdotal vocation.

He commenced his theological studies at Rheims, and received minor orders in 1825. On May 29th of that year took place the coronation of Charles X., last of the direct line of Bourbon kings of France.

On this occasion, memorable as an epoch in the history of French royalty, the Church honored the ceremony by the presence of her greatest dignitaries in the French hierarchy and with all the *éclat* of religious ceremonial.

Among the attending prelates was the Archbishop of Bordeaux, Elie Daviau du Bois de Sanzay, Peer of France and Knight of the Order of St. Louis.

How suggestive these details read, in the relation of the Church to the State at that epoch, when compared with the status of the Church in her relations with the French Republic of our own times!

In the archiepiscopal retinue of His Grace of Bordeaux was Rev. Nicholas Point, one of his deacons.

In the following year, May 20, 1826, Rev. Mr. Point was ordained to the priesthood at Rheims by Cardinal de Latil. Subsequently he was appointed vicar of the cathedral of Rheims, and then immovable rector of the parish of Vezzy and canon of the cathedral chapter. Thus at the age of 37 he had been honored with the highest rank attainable in the priesthood, and it was then that he entered the Society of Jesus in 1839. He was subsequently sent to Canada. In 1842 he succeeded the venerable Father McDonald, pastor of the Church of the Assumption, at Sandwich, Ontario, opposite Detroit. At the time this relic of the old regime of the Jesuits, which had been the Church of the Huron Mission of Detroit, founded by Father de La Richardie, S.J., in 1728, was still in use; it was a spacious old edifice, built of hewn timber, but rather shaky and kept in plumb by a row of solid beams around its exterior walls.

Father Point took up the work of his venerable secular predecessor and completed the present fine Church of the Assumption; the old relic of the previous century had, in the meantime, been taken down; a Jesuit missionary, Father de La Richardie, had built the first church of its name in 1728; his successor, Father Potier, S.J., last of the Huron missionaries, had enlarged the

original edifice in 1755—both fathers were of the “old regime;” and now, after 125 years, Father Point, of the “new regime” of the Society of Jesus in North America, completed the successor of the church founded by Father de La Richardie.

Besides building this church Father Point founded and built the College of the Assumption in the spacious grounds of the missionary domain. About twenty years ago the Basilian Fathers succeeded to the control of the parish, and have since successfully conducted the college.

The parochial work of this old parish was too monotonous for such a man as Father Point; for seventeen years he was, besides, superior of his order on the Western Canadian frontier. He and his associates sought for more active work in the missionary field extending from the shores and islands of the Georgian Bay up the River St. Mary and along the Canadian coast of Lake Superior to the head waters of this lake.

In 1854 Father Point's missionary headquarters was, as stated, at Fort William, on the Canadian shore of the great lake, with Father du Ranquet as his assistant.

In 1861 Father Point was appointed superior at Quebec, which position he occupied eleven years; having reached his seventieth year, he was transferred to St. Mary's College, Montreal, without special functions, where it was probably intended the few years remaining of his mortal existence might be agreeably passed in the cheerful society of the distinguished and venerable fathers domiciled in the college. But he survived most of those who greeted his coming.

Year after year passed and still the tall and venerable form of Father Point appeared in the halls and refectory of the college; he outlived three generations of the nineteenth century, and had become the dean of the sacerdotal order in North America, and probably in Christendom. He lived at St. Mary's twenty-four years, and was finally called to his eternal reward September 19, 1896.<sup>1</sup>

In the estimation of the North American Indian, Father Point was the perfect type of a “black gown;” he was finely formed, well preserved and over six feet in stature. No priest on the western lake frontier during the “fifties” was better known or more highly esteemed.

We do not believe that at the time the venerable prelates of the province of Cincinnati, who had advised the Holy See to create the Vicariate Apostolic of Upper Michigan, had positive knowledge of the hidden, undeveloped mineral riches of the Upper Pen-

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<sup>1</sup> We are indebted to our esteemed correspondent, Rev. Arthur E. Jones, S.J., archivist of St. Mary's College, Montreal, for most of these details.



insula of Michigan, the disclosure of which was destined in the near future to attract capital from the older States for the working of the richest copper and iron mines in the world, and to attract from these States and from Europe the thousands of hard-handed toilers who were to be employed in penetrating the sterile soil and in forming the subterranean chambers in whose walls were masses of pure copper, or beneath which lay in the depths inexhaustible beds of rich iron ore.

Let us consider, for future reference, the religious fabric of the Vicariate Apostolic of Bishop Baraga as officially announced by him and of record in 1854:

Sault St. Mary; St. Mary's Church and Cathedral, Rt. Rev. Frederick Baraga, D.D.; Rev. John B. Menet, S.J.; Rev. Auguste Kohler, S.J.<sup>1</sup>

Mackinac Island; St. Anne's, Rev. Eugene Jahan.

Point St. Ignace (known in history as Michilimacinac); St. Ignatius, Rev. A. Piret.

La Croix; St. Anthony's, Rev. Ignatius Mrak, Rev. Lawrence Lautisher.

Beaver Island; St. Leopold's, attended by Father Mrak, from La Croix.<sup>2</sup>

Little Traverse Bay; St. Peter's, Rev. Angelus Van Paemel and Rev. John G. Steinhauser.

Middleville; St. Francis Xavier's, attended by Father Mrak, from La Croix.

Cheboygan; St. Mary's, attended by Father Van Paemel, from Little Traverse.

Duncanville; missionary station, attended by Father Jahan, from Mackinac Island.

Grand Traverse Bay; missionary station, attended by Father Van Paemel.

With the exception of Sault Ste. Marie, all these localities were in the Lower Peninsula of Michigan, on the littoral of the waters of Lakes Huron and Michigan.

Nearly all the priests serving these missions had been *protégés* of Bishop Lefevere, of Detroit. After he had ordained them they offered themselves for missionary work among the Indians on the northern shore of the Lower Peninsula. We have in mind the personality of two of these priests, Father Jahan, of Mackinac, and Father Van Paemel, of Little Traverse; holy men they were. Father Jahan was from France; he was short in stature, but he

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<sup>1</sup> There were schools connected with all the Indian Missions. Those at the Saulte were in charge of a lay Jesuit brother for boys, and the Ursuline Sisters from Quebec for girls.

<sup>2</sup> Father Mrak became the successor of Bishop Baraga.

was endowed with a frame of iron such as few men possess, and he accomplished much hard work. He endured the hardships of Indian missionary life for nearly three decades, and returned to France, where, in his native village, he might possess his soul, and in meditation and prayer await his call to eternity.

Father Van Paemel was one of two brothers, from the vicinity of the paternal home of Bishop Lefevere, in Belgium.

Of wealthy and pious parentage, the brothers, gifted with sacerdotal vocation, were among the young volunteers recruited by Bishop Lefevere for the diocese of Detroit. He ordained them, and they offered themselves for Indian missionary work.

Both brothers were tall and of splendid physique; they were cultured men, and pious by inheritance. The elder brother, Angelus, as has been stated, was a missionary at Little Traverse, one of the beautiful localities in the waters of Lake Michigan, near the northwestern border of the Lower Peninsula, a locality identified with the history of Catholic missions for nearly two centuries, when his mission, as has been stated, was included among those ceded by Bishop Lefevere to the control of Bishop Baraga. Father Angelus was subsequently given charge of the mission of La Pointe and its tributaries. On this island, for several years, he served, while he was idolized by the Chippewas; but the climate, whose rigor could not chill the delicate physique of Father Baraga, proved too severe for the stalwart Father Van Paemel. Broken in health, he returned to his native province.

His younger brother Edward was assigned to Indian missionary work among the Ottawas and Chippewas in the central counties of the Lower Peninsula, and subsequently to Muskegon, on the shore of Lake Michigan, one of the missionary localities visited by Bishop Baraga during his missionary career in the Grand River Valley in 1832.<sup>1</sup>

At the time we write, Muskegon is in the diocese of Grand Rapids, Michigan. Where sixty-two years ago there was an Ottawa village, there is now one of the prosperous cities of Michigan.

The primitive chapel and school, built of logs and bark for the Ottawas by the missionary Baraga, have long since disappeared, and have been replaced by three fine churches, with French, German and English-speaking congregations. Of the latter, St. Mary's, Father Van Paemel is pastor, assisted by Father O'Connor. Schools taught by the Ursulines are attached to these churches.

Above Sault St. Mary, on Lake Superior soil, the primitive

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<sup>1</sup> See "Frederick Baraga Among the Ottawas," *AM. CATH. QUAR. REVIEW*, vol. xxi., No. 81, January, 1896, p. 106.

religious centres now included in the See of Marquette were, in 1854, described by Bishop Baraga as follows:

Eagle Harbor; Holy Redeemer Church, Rev. Louis Thiele, pastor, who visits the mining locations of the Keweenaw district, preaching and hearing confessions in the English, French and German languages.

Ontonagon Village, Ontonagon County; St. Patrick's, Rev. Lawrence Dunne, A.M., pastor. Sermons in French and English.

Visits from time to time the principal mining locations of Ontonagon district. There is an English Catholic school attached to this church conducted by Father Dunne's brother.

Our readers will, we hope, pardon us for directing their attention to the status of the religious provision intended for the service of the white population upon the assumption of the mitre by Bishop Baraga in November, 1853. There were two priests who had been supplied by Bishop Lefevere; one at Eagle Harbor and one at Ontonagon.

To complete the fabric of 1854 of the Apostolic Vicariate, there remained in the territory ceded by Bishop Henni in Wisconsin:

La Pointe; St. Joseph's, Rev. I. D. Carié, with subordinate missions.

Bishop Baraga, in speaking of La Pointe in his official report, states:

"This mission, indeed, has declined much in consequence of the government removal of the Chippewas of Lake Superior to the country west of the Mississippi."

Subsequently Bishop Baraga succeeded in securing, in the treaties negotiated by the United States Indian Agents, reservations for nearly all the Christian tribes located around the head-waters of Lake Superior, with annuities for most of these tribes, whose people he had evangelized, and they were thus enabled to retain their ancient homes, including La Pointe. Some of the Indians who had gone, with the others, to the West, returned and re-occupied their villages.<sup>1</sup>

It will be seen, therefore, that when the Apostolic Vicariate of Upper Michigan was established in 1853, its territory embraced twelve well-conducted Indian missionary-centres in the Lower and Upper Peninsulas, served by nine priests; while two centres of religious work at Eagle Harbor and Ontonagon respectively, with two priests, ministered to the faithful among the white population engaged at the time in the comparatively primitive development of the mineral wealth of the Lake Superior region.

Bishop Baraga officially reported in 1854, as under his control,

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<sup>1</sup> For a detailed account of these treaties, see the *AMERICAN CATHOLIC QUARTERLY REVIEW* for January, 1897.



13 churches, 11 priests, 4 churches building, 8 schools, and a Catholic population of 5700 souls.

That same year he raised to the priesthood Rev. Louis H. Thiele, and soon after Revs. Martin Fox and Edward Jacker.

But the apostolic mitre of Bishop Baraga, so far as the spiritual care of the red-skinned Christians under his jurisdiction was concerned, was not painful to wear.

It was destined to become irksome by the phenomenal development of a white population, which came with rapidly-increasing numbers to the mining centres of the Upper Peninsula; among which, as has been stated, was a large percentage of people of the Catholic faith.

We have seen how, while this venerable missionary was absorbed in his devotional life and his philological studies at L'Anse, he did not hesitate, when his sacerdotal ministrations were solicited for some sick or dying Christian, to leave the sanctified locality of his humble missionary home, and to undertake, especially during the winter season, long and tiresome journeys, "often attended with great peril," as our friend, Hon. Peter White, has explained, to bring the last consolations of the Church to a Christian about to appear before his Eternal Judge. This was Christian charity exemplified heroically in one of the frailest and most delicately constituted, probably, of men.

Near, as we have before stated, and still claim and believe, that Bishop Baraga was to the divine presence, we are inclined to think it was revealed to him that the influx of white Christians upon Chippewa soil would be so great as to necessitate a change in the general system of his missionary work. We repeat the words contained in a letter to his sister :

"It appears strange to me," he wrote, "to be among a congregation of white people." "I live here in peace, and am much more comfortable than among my Indians; but I feel like a fish thrown on dry land."

Whatever may have been his misgiving as he gradually realized the impending change, he was not dismayed. Rev. Edward Jacker, whom he had ordained in 1855, was destined to become an able co-worker; and as a man, a confidential friend, who would aid him materially in carrying the burden of his episcopacy.

But money, and above all priests, had to be obtained to provide for the spiritual requirements of his new constituents.

To obtain both he went to Europe.

He visited Vienna, where he was kindly received by the imperial family and presented at court.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> "Bishop Baraga had more than one audience with the Pope, at whose hands he received rich gifts. He represented the American episcopate at the marriage of the Emperor of Austria."—Dr. Shea, 4, p. 591, who quotes from *Detroit Catholic Vindicator*, August 5, 1855.

He next visited his native province, and received an ovation which consoled him for many privations. In the Austrian capital he was made the recipient of princely aid in money, while in the old Catholic province in which was his family-seat he recruited several valuable priests. He visited Paris in the interest of his mission, and then went to Dublin, to obtain Irish priests for his new congregations in the mining-centres of the Upper Peninsula of Michigan.

The results of his European visits were encouraging; he secured five priests and considerable funds, and he returned to Sault Ste. Marie in 1855. In Bishop Baraga's report for that year, we find the Jesuit fathers still at the Sault, while their Superior Father Point was at Fort Williams. Father Jahan at Mackinac Island had established the Society of St. Vincent de Paul and other pious works. At the other Indian missions there had been no change, generally, except that Father Jacker had been located at L'Anse, whence he made regular visits to the Portage mining district, where he established stations and preached at stated times in English, French and German, and heard the confessions of the faithful speaking these languages. Not only did he perform this work, but he attended sick calls nearly as faithfully in all that region as Bishop Baraga had done during the decade of his missionary life at L'Anse; and this is saying much in favor of Father Jacker.

Father Angelus Van Paemel had commenced his apostolic work at La Pointe, having been transferred from Little Traverse, on Lake Michigan, where he was succeeded by Father Steinhäuser.

Religious progress among the cosmopolitan Catholic populations of the mining centres is notable by the work of Father Jacker referred to, and by the addition of another priest, Rev. Martin Fox, who was sent to the assistance of Rev. Laurence Dunne at Ontonagon. These were all the changes which had been made in the copper-mining region. The iron-mines had, in the meantime, been developed sufficiently to prove their unparalleled richness by the abundance and quality of their ore. Bishop Baraga fully realized that Marquette would become the centre of iron-mining development, as Ontonagon, the Keweenaw district, and Eagle Harbor were in reality the centres of copper-mining.

He accordingly sent to Marquette, after his return from Europe, Rev. Sebastian Duroc, one of the French priests he had obtained while abroad, to establish a church at the central port of the iron-mines.

Saint Peter's was built and dedicated by Father Duroc. This was the initial church in the future cathedral city of the diocese of Marquette.



At the close of the year 1855 Bishop Baraga reported 16 churches, 14 missionary stations, 5 churches building, 16 priests, 11 schools, 1 young ladies' academy, and a Catholic population of 6000. It is probable, if such a statement had been considered at the time as having reference to a diocese located in any of the older States of the Union, it would be concluded a Catholic population of 6000 was well provided for.

But spread such a population over the extensive range of forests and waters from the northern counties of the Lower Peninsula, over all the Upper Peninsula of Michigan, and beyond the shores of the latter, among the islands in the head-waters of Lake Superior—a country including a vast extent of coast-line not generally understood—and take into consideration the bloods and races of the peoples composing this population, and an indefinite estimate might be formed of the responsibility delegated to Bishop Baraga by the hierarchy when he was invested with the mitre of the Apostolic Vicariate of Upper Michigan by Archbishop Purcell, at Cincinnati, in 1853.

In 1857 the Apostolic Vicariate was replaced by the Diocese of Sault St. Mary, and Bishop Baraga was confirmed by the Holy See first bishop, in accordance with the petition of the Fathers of the First Council of Cincinnati.

The following year, 1858, he ordained, at Little Traverse, Rev. Nicholas Louis Sifferath and Rev. Seraphin Zorn.

Contemporary with Bishop Baraga in the American hierarchy during the "fifties" were 6 archbishops and 50 bishops.

This was exclusive of mitred abbots.

Dr. Shea, in his last volume of "Church History,"<sup>1</sup> gives 46 portraits, including those of all the archbishops and 40 of the bishops. This valuable collection offers an interesting study to the intelligent student of the history of the Catholic Church in the United States during her formative period, or, rather, during the progress of her great expansion.

Considering the nationality of the hierarchy at the period referred to, we find 13 were "to the manor born," of whom several were of Irish parentage; 16 were born in France, among whom were most of the distinguished missionary bishops among the Indians and the pioneer settlers of the Western States, whose worn features and whitened hair indicate most decidedly, by premature age, the nature and hardships of their apostolic work; 21 were born in Ireland, and among this number may be found some of the most distinguished of the prelates of the Church in modern times, as well as of her saintly rulers, while her theologians and

<sup>1</sup> *History of the Catholic Church in the United States, 1844 to 1866*, pp. 727. Royal octavo. New York, 1892.



writers are to a large extent represented; 2 were born in Germany; 1 in Austria—Baraga, of Sault St. Mary; 1 in Belgium—Lefevre, of Detroit; and 1 in Switzerland—Henni, of Milwaukee.

Several of the prelates whose portraits are given were members of the Society of Jesus. Whether it is a fancy on our part or not, it is certain we recognize the Jesuit type in Carrell, of Covington;<sup>1</sup> Miège, of the Indian Territory,<sup>2</sup> but more especially in the excellent likeness of Van De Velde, of Chicago.<sup>3</sup>

Nearly all of the 46 portraits are those of men who had passed the meridian of life, while a few faces among the younger prelates are finely formed and, to some extent, youthful in appearance.

After a careful study of all the portraits of the distinguished Fathers of the Church in Dr. Shea's collection,<sup>4</sup> it will be admitted, we believe, Bishop Baraga's is the most remarkable. It will be found on page 588 in Dr. Shea's history, referred to above.

Who can look upon that face, feminine and handsome as it is, and molded in such winning lines, whose beauty is but slightly shaded by the intellectual and by the determined cast which give expression to that youthful-looking face, to that finely-formed brow, to that shapely head covered with abundant, flowing auburn hair, and not exclaim: "Is this the portrait of the saintly missionary Baraga?"

Yes, this is the portrait of Bishop Baraga! Scion of an ancient lineage, from the genial climate of far-distant Carniola, near the Adriatic, who, while yet young in sacerdotal years, crossed the seas and came to Detroit, a quarter of a century previously, to devote his life to missionary work among the Pagan Indians of the Lower and Upper Peninsulas of Michigan, whose apostolic career we have attempted to outline; whose life among the wretched Chippewas, whose toilsome journeys through the Lake Superior forests in midwinter, while the temperature was many degrees below zero, forests without roads or habitations, where a night's sleep was to be had in a deserted wigwam or in a great snowdrift; who tramped on the frozen surface of the bays of the Great Lake, or who sailed upon its treacherous waters in his frail boat with a single attendant, to bring the last consolations of religion to some dying Christian—as if it were in the power of any mortal to describe travail whose severity is known only by the Almighty Ruler whose will it was that His devoted servant should accomplish such work!<sup>5</sup>

But there is another consideration, reserved more particularly for the limited number of Americans who, versed in American In-

<sup>1</sup> P. 574.

<sup>2</sup> P. 264.

<sup>3</sup> P. 235.

<sup>4</sup> In Shea, 4.

<sup>5</sup> The original portrait was painted after the return of Bishop Baraga from Europe in 1855.

dian bibliography, can appreciate the valuable contributions of Baraga to Algonquian bibliography, in the Ottawa and Chippewa works which he composed and had published. Such scientists, when they study the picture with all its freshness and beauty, may well exclaim: Can this be the portrait of the missionary Baraga who, while toiling in missionary life, found the time to write his Chippewa grammar and to compile his dictionary of the Chippewa language, works which have made his name immortal in Indian bibliography?

The Very Rev. Edward Jacker, who became more and more intimate with Bishop Baraga, and finally his personal attendant, states that throughout all his sacerdotal and episcopal career he was an early riser; it was his custom to rise at three o'clock in the summer and at four in the winter. Meditation and prayer occupied the two first hours of each day. This confirms our remarks upon the high estimate he placed on the value of time made in a former article.

Describing this early morning devotion, Father Jacker writes:<sup>1</sup>

"You would invariably find him on his knees, wrapped in his cloak in sweet communion with his Creator, no matter what difficulties the circumstances of time or place might seem to offer.

"I have seen him thus devoting to God the first hours of his day's work or journey; in the depths of the Lake Superior forest; on the shore of the lake in a howling storm; in some sequestered corner of a crowded, uncomfortable boarding-house, as well as in his own simple room in his residence at Sault St. Mary."

"When, after some long and tiresome journey," continues Father Jacker, "by land or by water, we had reached our place of rest, often an hour or two after midnight, when 'balmy sleep' was essential to the recuperation of mind as well as of physique, one would naturally conclude Bishop Baraga would forego his customary early devotion and take the rest apparently requisite to sustain him in his missionary work. But there was no deviation on his part from his rule of life on such occasions; after I had been refreshed by several hours of sound sleep, and arose to make my own morning devotions, I found the bishop on his knees absorbed in meditation and prayer." Bishop Baraga led a saintly life; each day his life was devotional.

Whether at his humble home or while upon his most toilsome journeys, no food passed his lips until noon; this was his invariable rule.<sup>2</sup> His food at all times was simple; but while pursuing

<sup>1</sup> We are indebted to Professor J. F. Edwards, of the faculty of the University of Notre Dame, for a manuscript copy of Father Jacker's eulogy on Bishop Baraga, which the professor kindly had taken for us from the printed copy in the *Catholic Archives of America* at Notre Dame.

<sup>2</sup> During the last twenty years of his life Bishop Baraga abstained entirely from the use of meat.



the solitary tramps he was accustomed to make through the forests of the Upper Peninsula, he subsisted on crackers and cheese, a limited supply of which he carried in a pocket of his coat. As has been stated in our former articles, he never used stimulants.

That the literary status of Bishop Baraga was of a high order is unquestionable. His collegiate career, considering the times and circumstances ensuing after the Napoleonic wars, was exceptionally brilliant; while the works he wrote remain, and always will, a high tribute to his ability as a scholar and an author, more especially so in his bibliographical contributions to the languages of the indigenous races whose ancestry were formerly rulers of the Lower and Upper Peninsulas of Michigan, among whom he made his home, to redeem the people of these races from Paganism and to bring them within the fold of Christianity, for their spiritual and temporal regeneration.

Aside from the saintly attributes of Bishop Baraga, Father Jacker tells us "what manner of man" he was:

"Although by no means," he writes, "a stranger to those exquisite sensations which the new, the beautiful and the sublime awakened in the mind, his inclination tended toward the comforts of home and the quiet enjoyment of study and literary work in preference to the excitement and uncertain movements inseparable from missionary work among the red or the white races. He would naturally have preferred the society of the refined and literary people of the European circles to the association in daily life with the rude and vulgar elements constituting the degrees of uncivilized, semi-civilized and civilized communities for whose peoples he had left home and country and crossed the seas to labor for the salvation of their souls."

He came to Michigan to devote his life to the evangelization of the Indians of her Upper Lake regions. In this he succeeded.

Not so much perhaps by self-sacrificing labor as by the divine concurrence induced by his holy life.

As to "what manner of man" he was, in what constitutes the principles of charity, Father Jacker states: "He endeavored to become everything to all in order to gain all for Christ. He was the especial friend of the poor, of the miserable, of the ignorant, and particularly of the children of these. He tenderly loved them in the Sacred Heart of Jesus, whose divine personality, in his eyes, they represented."

There is probably no doubt the magnetic influence of the soul of such a sincere and holy Christian man as was that of Frederick Baraga attracted to him the love and veneration of those of the unfortunate Chippewas, among whom he lived and suffered, during the mature years of his sacerdotal life.



Speaking of the Indian missionary vocation which led Father Baraga to the wild and frigid regions of Northern Michigan, Father Jacker writes: "That during the seven years of his work as a parish priest in his native province, 'Gospod Frederick,' as he was called by the Slavonian people of his extensive parish, was distinguished for his zealous and charitable work among the poorer and more ignorant of his flock."

We do not assert as a fact, but we incline to the belief, that it was intimated to Father Jacker by Bishop Baraga that, while thus engaged in parochial and charitable work in his native parish, "Gospod Frederick" reflected that there were many able and willing members of the sacred ministry who would care for the spiritual and perhaps for the temporal interests of the unfortunates of Europe, while across the seas in North America there were uncounted thousands still poorer, living in the darkness of paganism, whose souls might be won to God, but for whose salvation very few had the courage to offer themselves for the sacrificial ordeal of such missionary work.

Why should he not go there, where the labors, the privations and the hardships incidental to such missionary work would be acceptable to God, and become the means of his own spiritual perfection, which he so ardently desired? Such reflections inspired the vocation of a missionary life among the Indians of Michigan.

Father Jacker writes: "This vocation was inspired by the will of God, and He whose inspiration created the vocation enabled the postulant to accomplish its work."

We have outlined his missionary work among the Ottawas and Chippewas, and we firmly believe his sensitive nature and sincerity of purpose was, to a great extent, satisfied with the results of his self-sacrificing labor. While the responsibilities of a missionary among the Ottawas and Chippewas were, to such a man, conscientiously fulfilled, but, as we have endeavored to show, at the cost of much personal hardships, the burden of episcopal responsibility which involved the spiritual care of a constituency including Indians and whites became heavy.

While rewarding such a saintly, such an indefatigable Indian missionary with the mitre, the American hierarchy placed upon his head, all unaware of the fact as they may have been, an ever-reminding crown, which concealed within its silken exterior more thorns than honors.

During the winter seasons, sometimes lasting more than six months, the Upper Peninsula was closed to the missionary work of Bishop Baraga. But the Indian missionary stations on the River St. Mary, on the shores of the northern portion of the Lower

Peninsula, and on the islands in the adjacent waters, were regularly visited by Bishop Baraga, who made these visitations in mid-winter, travelling at times alone on the ice on snow-shoes.

In the winter of 1859 he completed the preparatory instruction of two postulants for the priesthood: Patrick Bernard Murray, whom we subsequently knew, and Gerard Terhorst. Both of these students he ordained in the spring of 1860.

With the opening of navigation the bishop usually commenced his episcopal visitations to the Upper Peninsula of Michigan. His account of one of these apostolic journeys is characteristic and suggestive :

"On the first of May, 1860," writes Bishop Baraga, "I embarked on a steamer at Sault Ste. Marie, bound for Lake Superior ports. The first day we got along all right. On the second day, however, we met immense fields of floating ice, extending on all sides as far as eye could see; the steamer could proceed no farther, and lay to for twenty hours, when the wind drove the ice ahead and opened a channel.

"The first mission I visited was the mining centre of Portage Lake, or Houghton, where we have a good-sized church, which, however, is already inadequate to accommodate the faithful who assemble there on Sundays and festivals. The copper-mines in this district are very productive, and the Catholic population numbers 4000 adults—American, German, French and Irish—comprising nearly half the mining population. Rev. Edward Jacker is the resident priest, who preaches in the English, French and German languages, and who hears the confessions of the faithful of these three nationalities.

"While at Portage Lake I authorized Father Jacker to build a new church large enough to accommodate the fast increasing Catholic population of the district.

"My next missionary visit was to the young city of Superior, at the extreme head-waters of Lake Superior.

"The people there were exceedingly glad to see me, the servant of God, at the time; for the pious and zealous missionary, Father Van Paemel, who had attended Superior from La Pointe, could not stand the rigor of the climate, and had become so feeble that he was incapacitated for the performance of missionary work, and, taking the last steamer from La Pointe the previous season, he had returned to his native country, Belgium, in the hope of recuperating his health. He has written me he is very anxious to return to the scene of his missionary labor, but he fears he will not be able, as his health will not permit.

"The people of his missionary circuit were affectionately attached to him, and greatly saddened at his departure.



"They felt keenly the absence of a priest during the long winter. The sudden departure of Father Van Paemel so late in the season prevented me from providing a priest to take his place.

"I remained ten days at Superior, and performed, as I had in former years, the duties of a missionary priest.

"Often I spent the entire day in the confessional.<sup>1</sup> I instructed the adults and children; baptizing, blessing the marriages of the natives and regulating their Christian life as far as it was possible. From Superior I went to La Pointe, eighty miles east.

"This was the scene of my first mission in the Lake Superior region, which I had established twenty-five years previously.

"I remained there ten days doing missionary work, such as I had performed during my younger years. I felt so happy to be in my natural element, for such it was to me. I baptized sixty-four persons at La Pointe and Superior.

"I was glad to hear that only a few deaths had occurred during the absence of a missionary priest. I wish to state that, while our Christian Indian population increases slowly but regularly, the wild, unconverted Indians decrease in number more and more each year, and there are comparatively few full-blood Pagans remaining in this locality.

"On June 10th, while at La Pointe, I baptized twenty-three persons, and preached in the Chippewa language twice in the morning and three times in the afternoon. My work being concluded in this vicinity, I went to the mining town of Minnesota, where Rev. Martin Fox is resident pastor. He has the largest and finest church in the diocese, but it is already too small for his parishioners, who are of French, German and Irish nationalities. Fortunately, his church has three large doors. While one-half of the faithful are seated inside, the other half stand outside on Sundays, and through these doors they can see the priest and assist in the divine service.

"Last winter there were two priests at Minnesota, Revs. Father Fox and John Cébùl, the latter from my native province, Laibach, in Austria, whom I had sent to Minnesota after his arrival, to learn English and French. Father Cébùl readily acquired a practical knowledge of these two languages, and during the last three months he has preached to the English and French congregations on Sundays at stated hours, and he hears confessions in the respective languages.<sup>2</sup>

"I have sent Father Cébùl to La Pointe, from which place he

<sup>1</sup> This means that the apostolic Bishop Baraga confessed the whites in English, French and German, and the Chippewas in their native dialect.

<sup>2</sup> This venerable priest, dean of Ontonagon, in the diocese of Marquette, after thirty-six years of missionary work, still labors in the vineyard of our Lord.



will attend Superior and other missionary stations. As he is so highly endowed with the faculty of acquiring the knowledge of languages, I hope he will soon be able to preach in the Chippewa dialect. After my visit to these missionary centres I was obliged to return to Sault St. Marie, where a great number of letters had in the meantime arrived which required immediate attention. When I have given attention to my accumulated correspondence I will undertake a missionary tour to the southern part of my extensive but thinly inhabited half-Indian diocese."<sup>1</sup>

In the meantime Bishop Baraga, during the long and dreary winter seasons, continued his literary labors in the dingy little room of his "episcopal residence," at Sault Ste. Marie. After his consecration and prior to his departure for Europe, he had printed by Joseph A. Hemann, Cincinnati, "Eternal Truths Always to be Remembered by a Catholic Christian," a work of 337 pages, in the Chippewa language, and after his return from abroad, by the same publisher, in 1858, a revised edition of his Ottawa prayer-book, a most valuable work of 237 pages.<sup>2</sup>

The official statement of Bishop Baraga at the close of the year 1860 indicated the continuous increase of his white constituents.

The population of Sault St. Mary had changed to a great extent from full-blood and half-breed Indians to whites; the former were still there, but they no longer predominated.

Of the Indian missionary churches and stations, there were nine in the Upper Peninsula and adjacent parts of Wisconsin in the head-waters of Lake Superior, and six in the Lower Peninsula.

The Sault, as has been stated, Mackinac and Duncanville, were no longer Indian missions; their population had, to a great extent, changed from the red to the white races. But in the mining centres the increase of the white Catholic population had been progressively large. There were churches at the Cliff Mine, at Copper Harbor, at Keweenaw Point, Marquette, Minnesota Mine, Nebraska Mine, Norwich Mine, at Ontonagon and at Portage Lake. Bishop Baraga's interesting account of his visit to these mining centres has been given above.

At each of them he was confronted with an overflowing congregation wherever a church had been provided with a pastor. To such a sensitive nature as was that of the bishop, this state of affairs could not but weigh upon his mind, and render the mitre of his episcopal charge at the time a burden more difficult to support than had been the heavy pack which he had carried upon his shoulders, while travelling as a missionary, as we have attempted

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<sup>1</sup> For the English version of this letter, the original being in German, we are indebted to Rev. C. Verwyst, O.S.F.

<sup>2</sup> Described in this REVIEW for January, 1897.

to describe, in the lonely and frigid journeys he had made in these same localities.

At this time the Very Reverend Ignatius Mrak was vicar general of the diocese, while stationed at Eagletown as an Indian missionary.

Including Father Mrak, there were six priests attending Indian missions, among whom were Father Jacker, and at La Croix, in Emmet county, Rev. John Bernard Weikamp, of the third order of St. Francis; while from L'Anse, where Father Jacker was stationed, as has been stated, sick calls in the Keweenaw district were attended. The priests caring for the spiritual interests of white Catholics in the diocese of Sault St. Mary included Fathers Thiele, Duroc and Fox, with Jacker, both white and red, as were also Murray and Mrak, white and red; while the spiritual leader of these devoted servants of God was "all things," as Father Jacker has said, in order to gain their souls—to the Christians of the white races, to the sallow-hued half-breeds and to the copper-colored natives of the soil. This was thirty-seven years ago.

He who impartially studies the make-up and the status of all the episcopal sees in the United States east of the Mississippi at this period in the history of the American Church cannot but admit that in the diocese of Sault Ste. Marie, extending from the vicinity of the Straits of Mackinac to the borders of Wisconsin on the headwaters of Lake Superior, having a coast-line of nearly 700 miles, the venerable bishop, his vicar, and the ten priests serving in this extensive diocese, accomplished more spiritual work than could be laid to the credit of the bishop and priests of any contemporary diocese. We may be mistaken.

But we have studied the situation existing at the time carefully and seriously. As an humble citizen of Michigan, we do not hesitate to submit the record of Bishop Baraga, nor do we fear adverse criticism on our conclusions.

But the erudite prelate of Sault Ste. Marie had in the meantime not been unmindful of the intellectual accompaniments of Catholic missionary work in his diocese. He had thirteen free schools for boys, and an equal number for girls, which were maintained in connection with twenty existing churches and nine missionary stations. At this time Bishop Baraga estimated the Catholic population of his diocese, including the whites, the half-breeds, and the Christian converts among the Indians, at 10,600.

The two Jesuit fathers had been recalled from Sault Ste. Marie, on the American side. The parochial work of the Catholic Church devolved upon and was performed by Bishop Baraga.

It is probable the bishop responded to sick calls on the American and Canadian sides of the River St. Mary, from the rapids



down to its mouth. This, in winter, necessitated snow-shoe journeys on the ice and along the shore.

The bishop's assistant at this time was a French ecclesiastical student, Honoratus Bourion, whom he ordained to the priesthood in 1861.

The charitable soul of Bishop Baraga, who for a quarter of a century had been toiling for the spiritual and temporal welfare of the Chippewas of Lake Superior, and for whose benefit he had expended all the money he had realized from the capitalization of his patrimonial income, was greatly consoled by the results of his beneficent efforts, in the evident improvement in the social condition of the Christian people of this unfortunate race.

Wherever the climate had permitted, they had planted and raised corn, which was a great essential, a healthy and nourishing element in the domestic economy of an Indian's household.

Not only had the Christian Chippewa cast aside the cult of his ancestors in their contempt for manual labor, and in condemning their wives to toil for the support of their families, but he had learned to respect the mother of his children, and to take upon himself the burden of their support.

Instead of shivering by the fire of his cabin in midwinter and smoking his pipe, while his thinly-clad wife and naked children, half-starved as they were, huddled around him, the head and the paternal support of the humble household, he had, by Christian influence, learned to realize his responsibility under the eye of his Creator. Laying aside his pipe, and protecting himself against the cold in the best manner his poor wardrobe permitted, he had gone out upon the ice in a zero temperature, cut holes in its surface, and with his spear secured an abundance of the fish which a merciful God had placed at his disposal, and which provided an ample supply of healthful and nourishing food for his household. Although many of the noble animals of the chase had disappeared, there remained still in the forest several varieties of smaller wild animals, whose fur was valuable, while the beaver continued to build his home and to multiply his species in the streams undisturbed by human intrusion. These vestiges of the chase of former generations the Christian Chippewa industriously exploited.

In the early spring he tapped the maple-tree, and made as much sugar as his primitive methods permitted.<sup>1</sup>

These special results of Bishop Baraga's missionary work, which, by the mercy of Divine Providence, he was permitted to witness during his lifetime, in the ameliorated status of the Christian Chip-

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<sup>1</sup> These facts were communicated to us by Mr. Francis Jacker, of Jacobville, on Lake Superior, by letter dated February 5, 1897. Mr. Jacker is a younger brother of Father Jacker. He is a ripe scholar, and has a Chippewa wife.



pewa, were important. That they were consoling to the charitable heart of the venerable missionary there is every reason to believe. But the average reader of the REVIEW, who may become interested in this outline of the career of one of the most saintly men who had trod the soil of Michigan's northern wilds and the shores of her great lakes, may not fully appreciate their significance.

The American Indian *pur sang* is a nomad *par excellence*. You will find many of his type in the regions west of the Mississippi. He lives in an atmosphere of wild excitement in the hunting-fields, while his squaw, his children and his cabin are but incidental concomitants to his existence. He does not work as civilized people do, and he is an utter stranger to the economical requirements of a civilized life. Circumstances such as fell to the lot of the "Indians of the Indians," of the Iroquoian nations of the Country of the Lakes of New York, may deprive him of his hunting-field, and civilization may prevent the more exciting indulgence of his propensity for war. In war and in the chase, the Indian *pur sang* lives in his natural element. In the course of events the American Indian has first been cut off from following the war-path, and then his hunting-fields have been taken from him and given up to the white settler for cultivation. Left upon his native soil with circumscribed territory, his nomadic habits render him unfit for agricultural life, whose laborious requirements are repugnant to his nature. It has required the greater part of this century to transform the once warlike Senecas, who still occupy their ancestral homes in Western New York, from the nomads and the warriors they were before the time of Red Jacket to the tolerably fair farmers they now are. The nomadic life is a part of the nature of the American Indian. Its fascination is probably not understood by the average American citizen living in civilized communities.

We sometimes wonder why some of our friends, even in mature life, will leave their luxurious homes, put on the hunter's outfit, make long journeys through the woods and spend weeks in camp life, to hunt and fish, and thus enjoy the excitements of the chase.

In cities there are often men engaged in important business affairs who make the sacrifice of valuable time, and who undergo the fatigue incidental to such expeditions, for the purpose of enjoying a mere taste of the excitements, if not the sweets, of a hunter's life.

If such considerations can induce the citizen to leave home and fireside at stated times each year, and to seek the solitude of the wild forest to become, for the time, an amateur nomad, there must

be great attractions to compensate for the contribution of time and the endurance of the hardships experienced in the pursuit of such enjoyment.

The triumph, therefore, of Bishop Baraga in weaning the wild Chippewas from a nomadic to a semi-civilized life, being understood, will be more generally appreciated. He had not only converted one generation of wild Chippewas from Paganism to Christianity, but with the practice of Christian life came the improvement of home, with the habits of industry. The scenes of semi-starvation and of misery which met his eyes when he first came among the tribes, and which appalled his soul, had disappeared from among the Christian communities he had redeemed from barbarism.

In 1862 Bishop Baraga ordained to the priesthood, at Rockland, Rev. Francis R. Flannigan, and the same year, at Sault St. Mary, Rev. James Sweeny.

"In order to attend a council of his brother bishops at Cincinnati," writes Very Rev. Edward Jacker, "the venerable prelate traveled a distance of over 150 miles, partly on snow-shoes and partly in an open sleigh in midwinter, while the weather was exceedingly severe. He arrived at Thunder Bay, on the western shore of Lake Huron, quite sick and almost frozen. From the hardships endured during this journey he never entirely recovered."

In 1865 he ordained to the priesthood, at Hancock, Revs. Edward Walsh, William Dwyer and Patrick Gallagher. It will be noticed that as early as 1862 he held one ordination at Rockland, while the three last mentioned were at Hancock, both places being in the copper-mining centres.

October 15, 1865, the see of Marquette was created jointly with that of Sault St. Mary, and Bishop Baraga, after a residence of twelve years at the Sault, transferred his cathedra and residence to Marquette.

With this change, the jurisdiction which had been ceded by Bishop Lefevere over five counties in the Lower Peninsula, the Apostle Islands and adjacent missionary points in the head-waters of Lake Superior in the State of Wisconsin, which at the same time had been ceded by Bishop Henni, reverted back to these prelates. While the Christian Indian population had been lessened by the reversions mentioned, the white population in the diocese of Marquette had more than doubled, aggregating 22,000. As stated, a church had been built at Marquette, and churches at Clifton, Eagle Harbor, Escanaba, Hancock, Houghton, Maple Grove, Rockland, Negaunee, Norwich Mine and Wyoming, and stations had been established in sixteen mining towns. There was, however, a great want of priests, the churches and stations being



served by only fourteen priests. The Ursulines had a convent and school at Marquette, and the Sisters of St. Joseph had similar establishments at Hancock, L'Anse, and at Sault St. Mary, where Rev. A. Baudin, S.J., was pastor of St. Mary's Church.

The first and the only ordination at Marquette was in 1866, when Rev. John Vertin, its present bishop, was raised to the priesthood by Bishop Baraga.<sup>1</sup>

Dating from the time of that fearful journey on the ice and snow, when he arrived at Thunder Bay, half-frozen and ill, commences the physical decline of Bishop Baraga. From the effects of this exposure he never recovered, writes Father Jacker. For four years he continued to fail. In 1866, symptoms of palsy, a hereditary disease in his family, became manifest; his right hand became partly paralyzed.

In September, 1866, he made his last entry in the journal he had kept for many years.

He preached for the last time, in St. Anne's Church at Hancock, three different sermons in the French, English and German languages; but he found on this occasion that his voice was failing.

Very Rev. Father Jacker states that prior to these events the burden of his episcopal office, with its cares, disappointments and responsibilities, was harder to endure than the toil incidental to his missionary life during former years. This burden, he asserts, tended to weaken the vitality of his naturally strong constitution, and to bring his career to a premature end.

From another source we are assured that during his episcopal administration "he drank sorrow at every breath." While, as a missionary, his life had been made happy by consolations, as a bishop, solicitude, anxiety, scruples, disappointments and deceptions marred the peaceful course of his holy life.<sup>2</sup> Bishop Baraga built at Marquette the Cathedral of St. Peter, the finest church at the time in the Upper Peninsula. He attended in October, 1866, the Plenary Council of Baltimore, and was the guest of the Archbishop.

While a procession of prelates was forming at the archiepiscopal residence, Bishop Baraga was stricken down with an apoplectic stroke; in falling, his episcopal cross fell between his head and the pavement, inflicting a deep wound from which blood flowed freely, thereby saving his life. Subsequently, when he returned to Marquette, he heard confessions, attended sick calls, and performed other sacerdotal duties when necessary.

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<sup>1</sup> We are indebted to Rt. Rev. Dr. John Vertin, Bishop of Marquette, for the names of the priests ordained by Bishop Baraga, and the years in which the ordinations occurred.

<sup>2</sup> Rev. Walter Elliott, C.S.P., Manuscript.



Soon, however, he became so feeble he was forced to remain in his room, assisting at the Holy Sacrifice, however, on Sundays and festivals in the cathedral.

Aware that his final hour was near at hand, he continued to meditate and pray. Conscious to the last, and after receiving the Holy Sacrament, the gentle, the chivalric and the charitable soul of Frederick Baraga quietly passed to eternity on the morning of January 19, 1868, Feast of the Holy Name of Jesus.

Bishop Baraga died in his seventy-first year; forty years of his life had been spent among the Indians and whites in Northern Michigan.<sup>1</sup>

Never, since the death of the Irish Mohawk chief and British baronet, Sir William Johnson, at his castle on the Mohawk, while a council of the Iroquoian sachems was in session, in 1773, have the souls of the American Indians been so deeply moved by the death of a white man as were those of the Chippewas and Ottawas of the upper lakes of Michigan, when Bishop Baraga died.

Sir William had won the confidence and esteem of the rulers and people of the tribes of the Six Nations of New York.<sup>2</sup>

Swift runners were sent to every canton of the Confederacy from the Mohawk to the shores of Lake Erie, with the sad tidings of his sudden demise; thousands came to follow his remains, with sorrowful hearts, to the tomb. But Bishop Baraga had been revered and loved as a saint. The telegraph flashed the news of his death to all connecting points; and although it was in mid-winter, the Indians, stricken with grief, came on the ice and snow to Marquette in great numbers to look for the last time on the lifeless form of their beloved apostle.

To enable the people of the most distant tribes to reach Marquette in time for the funeral, the body of the bishop was kept for nine days; it did not freeze and it remained pliable. On the day of the funeral all business in Marquette was suspended; even the railroad shops were closed. All, Protestants and Catholics, knew his life, and that he was a man of God.

The Indians were permitted to act as chief mourners when the body of Bishop Baraga was finally entombed in the cathedral.<sup>3</sup>

"Thus ended the career of a man," writes Father Jacker,

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<sup>1</sup> The Indians and half-breeds of the Upper Lakes were firmly convinced of the miraculous powers of Bishop Baraga. Many instances have been mentioned in corroboration of this belief. When the half-century succeeding his death shall have elapsed, the "cause" of his sanctification may be undertaken by a succeeding bishop.

<sup>2</sup> The baronet had been made a Mohawk war-chief; his second wife was Molly Brant, a sister of Joseph Brant—Ta-yan-da-ne-ga, renowned in American Indian history—by whom he had eight children.

<sup>3</sup> Every article of the wardrobe of the dead bishop was cut into small pieces and distributed as relics, by Father Jacker, to the Indians and half-breeds.

"whose purity of soul, whose singleness of purpose, whose mortified life, and whose burning zeal, joined to uncommon talents and acquirements, faithfully and successfully employed all in the service of Almighty God among the most abandoned of his creatures.

"His memory will be honored in the history of religion and of civilization in the State of Michigan, and particularly in the Lake Superior country, where he lived during the greater part of his life."

In closing this outline of the life and services to God and in the cause of humanity, of Bishop Baraga, we are inclined to refer to what we wrote in our opening article, "Frederick Baraga Among the Ottawas," published in this REVIEW for January, 1896. We called attention to the changed condition of religion in the Grand River Valley of Michigan.

Where Father Baraga had built his chapel of logs and bark, in which he had preached and baptized the aboriginal owners of the soil, there is now the cathedral church of Grand Rapids and four other churches.

The Ottawas have gone; but white civilization has effected a wonderful transformation in this, one of the fairest regions in the Peninsular State.

From the pen of a fair and talented lady of Marquette we are permitted to describe the religious status of this diocese as it exists thirty years after Bishop Baraga's accession:

"There are now caring for the spiritual interests of the faithful in the Upper Peninsula, 55 secular and 8 regular priests. There are 54 churches with resident pastors; 24 mission churches; 17 chapels of religious orders; 64 missionary stations; 19 communities of religious women; 5 academies for young ladies; 20 parochial schools, with 6000 pupils; 3 orphan asylums; 4 hospitals; 2 industrial schools for Indian youth, while the total Catholic population is estimated at 80,000."<sup>1</sup>

Our readers may draw their own conclusions from the facts we have stated.

We have attempted to outline the work of the holy missionary in the Lake Superior region; we have attempted to describe his journeys through the solitary forests in such frigid seasons that the wild animals instinctively remained within the protection of their lairs and dens, while the frail form of Frederick Baraga, burdened as it was, alone broke the silence of the dismal scene, as his snow-shoes pattered on the icy surface, or over the snow-drifts, in which he sometimes made his bed.

What wonder, then, that the soil of the upper peninsula of

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<sup>1</sup> Mrs. George Barnes, in *Women's Edition of the Iron Ore*, Ishpeming, January 16, 1897.

Michigan, which had been trodden by the footsteps of such a saintly man, should have produced such an abundance of regenerating spiritual fruit!

That by the will of Divine Providence this fruit was not destined for the nourishment of the Chippewa race, but for the white races who succeeded on Chippewa soil, probably may have been among the disappointments mentioned by Father Elliott, which Bishop Baraga experienced during his episcopal term.

In all North America no such example may be found as is now shown in the changed condition of the wild and barren region of the Lake Superior country since the time when Father Baraga began his apostolic work among the Chippewas, which includes the last five decades of the expiring century.

This lake region is, and always will be, ice-bound during the winter season. But it is now covered with flourishing cities and traversed by railways, whose systems connect with the commercial centres in North America, between the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans.

During these decades the richest copper- and iron-mines in the world have been developed. One of the former, the Calumet and Hecla, has been equipped with gigantic machinery forged in the works of the Krupps, in Essen, Germany, exceeding in magnitude any wrought-iron work ever known in modern times. In 1855 the Lake Superior Ship Canal was built, through whose locks the largest steamers afloat may pass in and out of the waters of Lake Superior by way of the River Saint Mary, at the Sault. This canal, with its locks, is a monument to engineering science. Under the supervision of the late Gen. O. M. Poe, U. S. A., it was enlarged. Its massive gates surpass in extent any similar work in the world.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> In 1896 the canals at Sault Saint Mary were opened April 21st, and closed December 8th. The custom-house registers show there passed to and from Lake Superior:

Sailing vessels, . . . . .	4,391
Steamers, . . . . .	13,404
Freight barges, . . . . .	820
Total passages in and out, . . . . .	18,615
Aggregate registered tonnage, . . . . .	17,249,418
Number of passengers carried, . . . . .	37,066

While during 8 months in 1896, 18,615 steam and sail vessels, whose aggregate tonnage exceeded 17 millions, passed through the Lake Superior Ship Canal; during all the year 1896 there passed through the Suez Canal 3434 vessels, having a total of 8,448,383 tons, representing the commerce of the commercial world.

Freight destined for Lake Superior ports:

Net tons of coal, . . . . .	3,023,340
Barrels of salt, . . . . .	237,515
Unclassified freight, net tons, . . . . .	520,851



What the Erie Canal was in its day in importance as a factor in the development of interstate commerce between the East and the West, the Lake Superior Ship Canal is proportionally a greater factor in the universal commerce of America and Europe.

The contrast between the old system and the new is suggestive; in the former the motive-power of the old-time canal-boat was a team of horses or mules on a tow-path; in the latter the finest vessels afloat are moved by steam—object-lessons of both epochs.

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Cereal products from the West destined for Eastern ports and tide-water:

Wheat, bushels, . . . . .	63,256,463
Flour, barrels, . . . . .	8,882,858
Corn and other grain, bushels, . . . . .	27,448,071

Mineral products of the Upper Peninsula:

Manufactured and pig-iron, net tons, . . . . .	121,872
Iron ore, net tons, . . . . .	7,909,250
Copper, net tons, . . . . .	116,872
Silver ore and bullion, net tons, . . . . .	280

The canals were open during the season of 1896 231 days. In the traffic up and down there were:

Freight barges, . . . . .	110
Fast passenger steamers, . . . . .	10
Freight steamers, . . . . .	875
Sailing vessels, . . . . .	390

The numbers are probably understated. The tonnage value of this marine property may approximate:

For sailing vessels, . . . . .	\$ 195,500
Fast passenger steamers, . . . . .	5,000,000
Freight steamers, . . . . .	21,875,000
Barges towed by steamers, . . . . .	55,000
Capital invested in marine, . . . . .	\$27,125,500

Approximate gross earnings:

From freights, . . . . .	\$10,000,000
“ passengers, . . . . .	556,000
Total gross earnings, . . . . .	\$10,556,000

Movements of shipping capital and gross earnings, . . . \$37,681,500

There is, however, no uncertainty about the figures given below of the values of the products passing through the canals during the season of 1896. Sault Saint Mary is a port of entry, and the U. S. customs rules require attested statements of values of products moving in and out.

Value of flour, . . . . .	\$33,500,000
“ wheat, . . . . .	31,000,000
“ other grain, . . . . .	4,100,000
“ unclassified freight, . . . . .	30,000,000
“ coal, . . . . .	7,000,000
“ manufactured iron, . . . . .	3,500,000
“ pig-iron, . . . . .	350,000

For strategic more than for commercial considerations, the Government of Canada has completed a ship-canal on the Canadian side of the Sault ; so that from both sides of the wild cataract on whose American shore the Jesuit Fathers Jogues and Raymbault had planted the cross on Michigan soil in 1642, and where, 200 years later, Bishop Baraga spent twelve years of his episcopate, the children of the Chippewas may gaze in wonder at the gates fashioned by the hands of white men, and which are moved by steam, and which control the waters of Lake Superior.

RICHARD R. ELLIOTT.

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Value of iron ore, . . . . .	21,000,000
“ silver ore and bullion, . . . . .	10,000
“ lumber, . . . . .	8,000,000
“ building stone, . . . . .	240,000
“ salt, . . . . .	200,000
“ copper, . . . . .	23,000,000
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Total value of freights moved, . . . . .	\$161,900,000
Add commercial marine, . . . . .	27,125,500
Gross earnings, . . . . .	10,556,000
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Total, . . . . .	\$199,581,500

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Aggregate capital represented in one season's operation and traffic through the Lake Superior Ship-Canals at Sault Saint Mary.

During the decade ending December, 1896, there passed through the American Canal at the Sault over 100,000,000 registered tons of steam and sailing vessels; 52,600,000 barrels of flour; 340,000,000 bushels of wheat; 50,000,000 bushels of corn and other grain. From the mines there were shipped: 850,000 net tons of pig and manufactured iron; 48,000,000 tons of iron ore; 700,000 tons of ingot copper. And from the forests: 4,700,000,000 B. M. feet of lumber.

In addition, there were coal, salt, silver, and 4,200,000 net tons of unclassified freight. For these statistics we are indebted, first, to Hon. Peter White, Marquette; to George A. Newit, Esq., Commissioner of Mining Statistics; and Charles S. Osborn, Esq., Sault St. Mary.

## CATHOLIC SPAIN—ITS POLITICS AND LIBERALISM.

THERE has been a menace in the air recently of diplomatic troubles between Spain and the United States. The circumstances of Spanish rule in Cuba had excited humanitarian sentiments to a becoming degree of agitation; and perhaps some prospects, which flattered a covetous sense, appealed to feelings rather of self-interest than of humanity. Prompt intervention was demanded. The great American Union was to recognize the insurgents, liberate the island; and what half a dozen great European powers are now doing in the little port of the little island of Crete, in the Mediterranean, the republican power of the American continent was to have done around the rich island of Cuba, in the Gulf of Mexico. But while the European ships are now thundering about Crete in the interest of Turkey, more careful reflection seems thus far to have hindered the Federal authorities from doing around Cuba against the interests of Spain.

The merits of the diplomatic question need not concern us here. As to the public opinion, which has been exploited so much, we may give due credit to the enlightened public, either for knowing what it is about, or at least for following instincts which are sufficiently true in their trend and ultimate direction. The instincts, indeed, which have sprung forward to affront Catholic Spain seem to have been much truer than any principle or policy that could be invoked for justifying our interference between that mother country and her American colony.

Is it not, for instance, a first principle and a settled policy with the free citizens of the republic to live and let live, and scrupulously to mind one's own business? Is it not also a principle, raised to the dignity of being called a doctrine, that in the whole of the new world, throughout the length and breadth of America, north and south, no foreign power shall ever interfere with the established order of things; and Europe is not to disturb, by ever so slight a movement, the balance and poise of affairs which belong to America?

It is in view of such a policy, so clearly and repeatedly stated by responsible authorities of the United States, that we may explain the state of exasperation with which high-minded Spaniards have regarded the behavior of Americans in the Cuban question. They may be excused for inferring, from such a well-known American doctrine, that people who profess it and propound it should act upon it, and keep their hands off affairs which



do not belong to them, nor make difficult and impracticable the political relations of a mother country with her colony.

The policy, then, in the Cuban agitation would seem to be at fault. But the instincts which threatened to override the policy appeared to be quite true. And the feelings of Spaniards were not soothed by suspecting the real motives of the inconsistency. A desire to tear away the last shred of her American possessions from Spain, because Spain is always and everywhere identified with Catholicity, would seem to be a motive not at all foreign to that public, which could sympathize so noisily with the tearing away of educational rights from the Catholics of Manitoba, which has always applauded the tearing away of the temporal power from the Pope, which could never see any cause for resentment when a Captain Lugard was perpetrating his atrocities upon the Catholic missions in Uganda, and which, in fine, could never discover at any time a reason for humanitarian distress if Roman Catholics were the victims; while the sources of compassion are demonstratively inexhaustible and the acuteness of humanitarian vision is miraculously indefectible in spying out and describing and weeping over every evil of the known world, in Armenia or in Crete, in Dahomy or in Siam—anywhere, in short, if only Roman Catholics are not in question.

We do not say that this is a correct view of the issues involved in the Cuban trouble. But as we wish to look at Spanish affairs from a Spanish side, we must be true to our subject and look at them also under Spanish colors.

### I.

To present the picture, then, under Spanish colors, the first tint we must apply is this: That the people of a free republic appear to stand forth under such a light of intolerance and meddlesomeness as to excite odium by the very mention of their name. It has been advisable that a stranger in Spain should be introduced not as American. Strangers might be presented to people in the peninsula as English, French, German, as anything; but the name American should be suppressed. This seemed to us like a complete upsetting of all traditions which are thought to be associated with the free citizens of a great republic. Young people, at all events, are led to believe in the United States that, while with them, as with the republicans of old Rome, the name of a monarchy, of a king or queen, may well arouse their just sentiments of aversion, yea of horror, they may take it for granted that the mere thought and mention of their own liberty and enlightenment, that the aroma which is diffused around their own toleration and broad-mindedness, will command at once a tribute of respect all the

world over, and, if anywhere, certainly among the humble subjects of a monarchy. Recently it has not been thus in Spain, which is very strictly a monarchy; and an American could perceive there that, to his own sense likewise, the fragrance of the republic was not overpoweringly sweet—that is to say, in Spain.

The next trait in the picture is this, that, if we speak of the Spanish people at large, we must not imagine them to regard the Cuban question, or the Cuban war, with any sentiments of self-congratulation, or even of the commonest satisfaction. The Liberal Government, which is responsible for the actual course of events and for all that went before, is no object of gratified contemplation to the people at large. They consider that Cuba has been badly governed; that the Liberal proconsuls, sent out by the Liberal Government, have been doing what such proconsuls have always been noted for, as far back as the time of Tiberius and beyond; that they have simply been sucking the life-blood out of the country, and gorging themselves, while the golden opportunity smiled. It seems to them that if the propensities and appetites of the dominant liberalism have been so uncontrollable at home, what range of credence might not be allowed to the capacities and exploits of those appetites abroad? And, if it is found written in the record of nineteenth-century liberalism, as showing its prowess in the peninsula itself and quite within the memory of man, that it has robbed and appropriated, and murdered and massacred, and displayed other such plumage of its native amenities from the time of Queen Christina to quite a recent date, well it need not be thought incredible that, in the warm climate of Cuba, it should have exhibited some of its warmest tropical colors, and perhaps with a wantonness of luxury. Finally, it is altogether in keeping with this, and with the rest of a Liberal Government's history, that the interested parties who ply the political trade, having filled their pockets and glutted their appetites, should make the hapless nation pay for the limitless consequences of incompetency, duplicity, dishonesty and treachery.

But it is a bold line that is traced in the picture by the foreign element of interference on the part of the United States. Let family quarrels be. They should be kept in the family. The havoc they may occasion is not a charter for strangers to interpose. Besides this plain dictate of common decency, there were other circumstances which, to the minds of the chivalrous Spanish nation, made the interference of Americans particularly odious—as well the active co-operation of citizens with the insurgents, as the menace of diplomatic intervention on the part of the Government. It would appear that the Spaniards never did consider the Cuban difficulty as one of serious importance in itself. So we



have heard it affirmed. It was merely a question of time to smooth away the causes of complaint on the side of the colony ; just a little more wisdom in the home government, a little more liberality and a good deal less of liberalism, with some other such provisions, and affairs should have righted themselves. And, even if there were nothing short of bloodshed which could introduce wisdom into the heads of such a Government, still it was not Cuba itself that ever caused apprehension in the mother country. The ground of fear lay outside of the island—in the big republic adjoining. And further, it is said, a certain stand of dignified firmness in face of the Federal authorities had, on a former occasion, dispelled the cloud which was gathering in that quarter. Was the dominant liberalism so wanting in every quality that it could not even muster up a trifle of national dignity and speak to an intrusive neighbor in a manner becoming a nation ?

People believe that there was never more reason to fear the loss of Cuba than there was to entertain fears about the Philippines. Yet the Philippine war has been summarily dealt with ; and the distinguished general who has conducted that war has lent the weight of his authority to the just criticism regarding the United States. Declining to accept a commission to Cuba, he has given it privately, as a reason for his refusal, that he looked upon the case as hopeless ; that, while in the Philippines there were the British interests in India to second Spain, it was quite otherwise in Cuba, where the sympathies, if not the interests, of the United States were steadily operating against Spain. And, in such case, the spirit of insurrection becomes too deeply rooted, and the distance of the colony from home is too great, for effective measures of repression and pacification.

One further circumstance occurs to mention in explanation of the Spanish attitude towards the Cuban question. It will serve to complete the picture from the side of the Spanish people. It is the belief in an undercurrent of Freemason duplicity and perfidy, which, while pretending to administer the affairs of State and direct the operations against the insurgents, has been all the time fostering the game, replenishing the pockets of individuals with the commercial profits of the transactions involved, and, above all, practising the most sacred fidelity to the principles of Freemason sectarianism. This fidelity to Freemason principles means simply an unlimited traffic in every other principle of honor and fidelity, both to duty and country, if only a point can be won against religion. A colony, however valuable to a mother country, has a right to be cut adrift and sent to seek its fortune under another sky of progress and civilization, if thereby its religion, its morality and ecclesiastical condition can be brought under control ; which can-



not be done to any degree of satisfaction as long as the colony is bound over to a country altogether too Catholic, as long as it is hampered by constitutional guarantees in favor of Catholic principles and Catholic life, and can never be enfranchised from Catholicity until it is also delivered from Spain.

Duplicity of this kind puts no bar to the profession of patriotism, enlightenment, progress, on the part of such liberal-minded politicians. The example of Italy and France, along with Spain, is eloquent in showing that the most noisy patriotism consists in putting anti-religious perfidy first, individual and private plunder second, and respect for the country, or regard for its flag, in quite a subordinate place. The noisier the shouts of patriots, and the more violent the flaunting of the flag, the more reason there is to suspect some double game going on all the while.

There seems to be no doubt whatever, according to Spanish conviction, that Cuban insurgents and Philippine revolutionists have been under the control and leadership of Freemason sectaries. It has been understood, likewise, that military operations have been shackled, and the war prolonged, owing to manœuvres going on at headquarters in Madrid. The only point which would seem to admit of elucidation on this head is to determine the proportion of the parties in collusion, how many of these leaders, purveyors, guides and counsellors are distributed about the seat of war, and how many are about the chambers in the Spanish capital.

## II.

These few traits of the picture, representing the Spanish side of the Cuban question, portray to the life another feature of Spanish affairs, altogether irrespective of the trouble in the colony. It is the strange confusion of interests which embroils the political condition of Spain. There is on one side a Catholic people intensely Catholic, the vast body of the nation. There is on the other side a political nucleus, making a show of constitutional government, and apparently conducting the nation on constitutional lines. Besides, there is a Catholic family, which seems to be a devout one, in quiet possession of the throne. Now, these three elements do not agree. Their tempers are somewhat incompatible.

Their respective attitudes towards anything like business may be described as active, passive and neuter. What we should expect to be the most active element of all is that which is neuter—the great body of the nation, the good Catholics, who only put up with the Government, who dislike it, distrust it, and, in the light of their own faith and practice, despise the Government, and all who belong to it. This dislike for the governing policy seems to fall back, in no small degree, on the reigning family, which found

its claims to reign seriously contested by Catholics in the Carlist civil war. The issue of the war, which left the ardent Catholic adherents of Don Carlos defeated and routed, could not but draw closer the bonds of union between the Alphonsist dynasty, thus consolidated on the throne, and the dominant liberalism which had employed the national arms to support it. And now the throne and liberalism may well be considered identified in all their bearings.

In face of such a government, the nation at large is a neuter, unsympathetic factor of political life. There are reasons, too, of a more general significance, which explain the same phenomenon in other countries besides Spain, and which we had occasion to refer to recently when treating in this REVIEW of political liberties in Italy.<sup>1</sup> We will mention distinctly here only such as we heard expressly assigned by competent authority in Madrid: First, political elections are a mere name; they are a system of open corruption, and good Catholics take no interest in the disreputable business; secondly, public life and government in the country is only a system of robbery and the gathering in of spoils. To these two reasons we cannot forbear adding another, which was so conspicuous in the case of Italy, that any method of government which is foisted upon a people without regard to its tastes, tendencies and natural manner of development, becomes inevitably a system of oppression devised by the craft of some association, and instead of being a government by the people and for the people, as constitutions profess to be, it is an administration by a sect and for a sect, and at the expense of the people. Not that Spain is averse to representative forms of government. Before the British Parliament sat, Spaniards were administering their own affairs in popular assemblies. But such assemblies were the outcome of popular initiative, and were supported by popular energy—a description which certain modern constitutions do not answer at all. The result is neutrality, except in one respect, that the people are bound to pay the bills, not only financial, but also those which are contracted at the expense of national morality, intelligence and good sense. The wise governors do it all, and the nation, which, in other respects, is extremely neutral, becomes here lamentably passive and extraordinarily patient.

The really passive element seems to be the monarchy, or rather the reigning family. It is Catholic and devout in its ways and customs. Its traditional obligations, in the exhibition of faith, devotion and charity, are simply delightful. They are the expression of Catholicity, conceived by a long line of Catholic monarchs,

<sup>1</sup> AMERICAN CATHOLIC QUARTERLY REVIEW, July, 1896: "Italy and the Ruins of Political Liberty."



and gladly and cordially perpetuated by successive generations of devout kings and queens, whose instincts of faith have been little less than sublime. It would refresh our eyes, ears and hearts to be witnesses of some small portion of all that wealth of Christian devotion, which the reigning house in Spain expends personally and regularly on the divine service, and also in the service of kindness, condescension and charity.

But, when there is question of bridling the liberal policy of ministers, or else letting things go their way on the path of modern progress and religious indifferentism, all that we need say about the reigning family is this: The other branch, which was considered more loyal, that house of Don Carlos, for which so many fought and bled in the mountains of Biscay, is pronounced by thoughtful people to be just as bad, on the score of liberalism, as the Alphonso branch which maintained its possession of the throne. From this we infer that both sections of the family have found themselves equally helpless in the face of an aggressive liberalism, and to save themselves, perhaps to save the monarchy at all for the nation, they have pared down their principles to terms of negotiation with the sect which bestrides the nation. And thus the throne becomes a passive element in the government.

The active element is not hard to describe. A word suffices, and every one feels competent to fill up the rest of the description for himself. It consists of the politicians, who manage the show of elections, who buy and sell, walk into power, change hands and walk out, are more or less decorous in sight of the public, but for the rest govern the public from behind screens, in halls or lodges apart. The wings of opposing parties are both of them conservative. The Spaniards must have a monarchy, just as they will be Catholic. The radical party, or republicans, take a hand in affairs when they get a chance, and then they shoot and kill at large, especially religious and priests. When their heyday passes they hide in their holes again. And Castellar beguiles his weary time of leisure by writing wisdom for American reviews, till some brief spell of sunshine shall break again, as this Cuban trouble seemed happily to prognosticate, and then the republicans would have been free once more for their work on the priests and nuns.

But really we consider it a hopeless task to try to understand any genuine Spanish question unless we first take the measure of that article which is called Liberalism in Spain. To our dull sense this is a very intangible matter. We wonder whether even an Italian or a Frenchman finds it easy to grasp the idea of Liberalism in the peninsula. It means at bottom a disorder in the conception of what has always formed the dearest, strongest power with the Spanish nation—its faith, its religion, its God. It is a



wrenching of the moral and political organism which alters the attitude of individuals and of the nation towards purity of worship, wholesomeness of education, towards spotlessness of morality and honor, both public and private. It is a blank in the national portrait, a gloom over the picture, where there should be the bright sunray of religion to light up the features, and quite a heaven of the supernatural to set off the landscape. The Spanish nation become liberalistic is no longer the Catholic Spain of history. We might as well think of Ireland, under the colors of Protestantism or of religious indifferentism—and what a notion we should have of the fair Catholic isle!—as dream of Spain reposing finally and contentedly in the arms of Liberalism.

Hence the question arises, What is this Liberalism? To answer this question we must first take a look at the physiognomy of the people.

### III.

Around the frieze of the *Lonja*, the famous public hall of Saragossa, which was once the capital of the ancient kingdom of Aragon, we read a long and elegant inscription, which begins with the words: "In the year of the birth of our Lord Jesus Christ, 1551," and closes with the prayer: "May God hold this lodge and this city in the palm of His hand, that justice, peace and good government may ever be fulfilled herein." This appeal to God in prayer, this profession of faith in the reality of God's supernatural providence, has been as much a vibrating instinct in the public life of the Spanish people as it is in the daily thoughts and aspirations of their spotless domestic life. At the feet of Our Lady, in her magnificent basilica of the pillar, you may see the throng of men and women and children prostrate on the pavement, a stream of devotion ever passing before her there, and people in Saragossa could not think of retiring to rest at night if they had not paid their duty of affection to her during the day. In the churches of every city, at almost any hour till noon, you may find the faithful hearing Masses at one altar or another, just as in the numberless churches of Rome, but in a style and manner of devotion which Spain may claim as altogether her own. It is not supported by benches nor reclining over chairs that they pay the tribute of their personal worship to the God of the Holy Eucharist. The men, wrapped in their ever-graceful cloaks, the women, with none of the vagaries of the hat or the bonnet to crown them, but in their simple veils, are prostrate on the pavement of stone, concrete, marble or mosaic; and there without support, erect, without change of attitude, except when they rise for the Gospel, they exhibit the noble spectacle of Christian prayer or meditation. As in the life of religious communities, the church, the chapel and the altar are the

centre, the hearth and the meaning of their existence; so with the Spanish family, municipality, army and royalty, the services of divine worship and of personal devotion seem to be still, as in the ages of faith, the origin, the centre and the term of all other movements. Whoever is familiar in literature with the Catholic life of the ages of faith, will have no difficulty in realizing what atmosphere he is breathing in, when the simplicity and naturalness of this piety diffuse their warmth about him. The obstructions and constructions devised by modern comfort are wanting. The splendor and magnificence of God's temples are overwhelming. And, in its simple richness, the fountain of supernatural piety is ever flowing and springing up, and circulating in its limpid streams through all the garden of a Christian life. It is not strange that the verdure should be fresh and the violets blow.

Here we are in midwinter. Rain, rain, nothing but rain! The great palace of the Escorial, enclosing its monastic cloister, is wrapped in a floating gauze of mist, which divides as the rain relaxes and closes as the rain thickens over the stupendous pile. Mountain torrents are wild on the bleak highlands, and in the distance silver streaks of foaming water line every slope of the wooded hills. We wonder, when royalty placed its palace here and brought religious contemplation to share the halls, did it conceive of earth as a footstool of God, and the throne as a stepping-stone to heaven?

A tantalizing streak of bright sky, away in the direction where the Atlantic ought to be, opens to the imagination the lashing of the sea in all its fury there, and one shivers again with new associations in the bleak, bleak waste. The clouds break over our heads, the rain suspends, and with the sunshine comes a whistling and a roaring of the wind. And it snows. Ice under our feet, snowflakes playing around, the sunshine fleeting like a vision, and the tumbling waters heard rushing in all directions. Goodness, what is life up here? And we are told that religious never use a fire in these parts; that, in Avila there, which is lying on the slope of its lofty plateau, and is thronged with monasteries and convents, as in the days of St. Teresa, no one in the cloister knows aught of those obvious comforts, without which a newer Christianity would be like to die, forthwith and forever. How characteristic of the ascetic Christianity of our forefathers! And princes and great monarchs seem to have been largely imbued with it, and lived in such discomfort, proud in the consciousness of their Christian manhood, as simple folks could not tolerate now under the new dispensation.

It was a rainy evening in the streets of Madrid, and it was already dark. We had taken refuge like others in a street-car. All at once there was a commotion among the passengers; they rose,



turned, and looked in one direction. The car stopped—such an occurrence as would suggest to an American mind the idea of an accident. But the men had taken off their hats; a bell was ringing, a little, tinkling bell; lights were passing by, the lights of torch-bearers. It was the Blessed Sacrament, carried to the sick by a priest. He himself was conveyed through the rain in a carriage.

If royalty met the priest with the Blessed Sacrament, the king or queen would descend, and, resigning the carriage to him, would bear him company on foot to the bedside of the sick person. If he passed by soldiers' quarters, the trumpet would sound, the guard salute, and two soldiers file out under arms as an escort, and after the ministration return with him to his parish church. On the feast of Corpus Christi it is the general army regulation that the regiments line the streets, and, as the celebrating priest reaches the colors of each detachment, the standard-bearer throws the flag upon the ground before the celebrant, who then, standing upon the colors, turns and blesses the regiment with the Sacred Host, and passes on to do the same to the next regiment in the same form.

But we must not be led off into the charming incidents of Catholic faith and devotion with which Spanish life is full. We are merely selecting some incidents, to fix the imagination, for the purpose of understanding what such a people would mean by liberalism. We omit, then, the many signs and scenes of Christian hospitality and dignified cordiality which will meet the eyes anywhere; the many indications of filial reverence and affection, not chilled into a freezing reserve, because the son meets his father in public, and is garbed in the dashing uniform of a cavalry cadet. If it is a result of their isolation from the bustle and hurry of the modern world that the people of the peninsula live still amid the fragrance of all those family and Christian virtues which belong to ages of faith and were thought to be dead long ago, it is, indeed, a happy isolation, and is really the franchise of universal friendship, where one is more at home with all his compatriots in a great nation than modern life would allow him to be with his neighbors in the same street or in the same square. There is no reason for timidity; none why any person should stand off. The coldness, the implied rebuff before you venture to approach or before you venture to speak: Touch me not! Speak not to me! the positive hostilities ever permanent, and created by the mere presence of sectarianism, of infidelity and of paganism all about you—all these improvements of civil life, quite peculiar to our advanced civilization, will be found wanting there, where neither cultured paganism exists nor infidelity would ever think of opening its mouth; where, if a chance sectarian minister wends his erring



way, he shrieks back in agony to his own country, as the spirit in the Gospel cried out in despair when he came near to Christ.

Every one here is a Catholic. Freemasons cannot afford to die without the Sacraments. It may have done well enough to elude the obligations of conscience and faith while making merry during life, but it will not do at all to run risks after death. No one dies unshriven and impenitent; no one sleeps the drunken, polite sleep of drugs and narcotics, or goes into eternity like a dog—gently, peacefully off, charmingly intoxicated. The glorification after death, with the exposition of the hero's relics, the flowers and the wreaths, and all the other civilized lies of an advanced state of social decomposition, seem to be lacking as yet in the charmingly simple, true and Christian realities of a people living still in the full sunlight of supernatural faith. And, if we admit that conformity to such a standard of religious propriety may be sometimes, or even often, prompted by human respect, and by the desire to stand well in public opinion, yet we must also admit that great is the power of faith in a nation of our days, when to stand well with the world one must even be a hypocrite and stand as a good Catholic!

The modern world, too, exists in Spain; and we may as well take one short peep at it, before we leave these scenes, and come to our thesis about Liberalism.

There is a spot, 3600 feet high, in the centre of the old kingdom of Catalonia, whence a couple of the other old kingdoms of the peninsula may be viewed as with the glance of a bird's eye. It is the great mass of conglomerate called the mountain of Montserrat, rising abruptly from the banks of the river, which has just passed through Manresa, which winds round this mole, and flows down to the Mediterranean by Barcelona. This is the mountain famous for its sanctuary of the Blessed Virgin and its monastery, ensconced in a crevice of the rocks, half-way up the hill. From the top of its peaks one views the range of snow-clad Pyrenees, where at their highest level they divide Upper Aragon from the valley of the Garonne, and we fancied we could trace them in their course far away to the west, to where they shielded also the valley of the Gave, with Lourdes and its sanctuary nestling at their feet. Eastward and southward the shining Mediterranean runs away into the silvery clouds that trim the horizon. To the west, Aragon reaches down southward to the old kingdom of Valencia. And Catalonia itself goes rolling away from all its boundaries, with its undulating hills and valleys, to the long line of seashore, with Barcelona set like an historic gem in the centre. It is there that one may find the world of which we wish to speak.

But, before going down to that lower world, it is worth while just to breathe a moment the air of this upper world. From this high

point, the hills beneath, which allow the rivers to pass between them and wash their feet, sink into little ripples of land, like the traces which receding waves leave of their presence on the sands of the shore. The rivers themselves have sunk to the dimensions of streaks, as if they, too, had been left behind, and were dribbling away to overtake the retiring tide. Everything is so distinct in the wintry sunshine that the net-work of hills over the country and kingdom around, raised only as relieving terraces on the surface of the land, suggests the tracery of a fine lace imprinted on the vine-covered soil. While the good monastic brother shows us from lofty pinnacles the kingdoms of old Spain, he shows us with much greater effusion something of the glories of the Virgin of Montserrat; something of the happiness which is the portion of her service; how he himself had voyaged over seas, in years gone by—he was still a young man, under fifty—and how he had been in many harbors, and had even seen the great port of New York; but at last he had found a port to his liking, and there was no berth on land or sea like the cradle of devotion at Montserrat.

We had reason to look upon this as something like manly devotion. Here he was serving two strangers. During five hours and a half did he wander around peaks and over them, down through gorges and up the face of precipices; and all that morning no morsel had passed his lips; nor could anything induce him to dispense with his monastic fast. Nor was it Lent; it was before Twelfth Night, in the merry time of Christmas. And he was quite joyous. Pointing to a hill, which looked like a stone's throw off, beyond and beneath the monastery, he recounted with complacency how it was there, under the shadow of Montserrat, that the invading French had met with their first reverse.

Here was indeed a world to live in—one which, to be brief and precise, we might simply call a Spanish world. In other days it was common all over Christendom. Now, when Christendom is reduced to almost the confines of Spain, it is distinctly Spanish. Away on a mountain, with devotion and stillness for your daily food, with fast and contemplation, and a heart lighter than any pilgrims brought, or even carried away with them! A monastery, and a sanctuary, where in the cold winter no ray of a warm fire greeted your senses, and where the passage you traversed by the monks' choir, or the window you looked through in your room, was a perforation in a wall eight feet thick! Under the smile of the Virgin of Montserrat, the little surpliced choristers came forward in the stillness of the evening to join in the closing chants of the monks' office; and their lights seemed scarce to pierce the darkness, as their voices thrilled through the vaults of the basilica; and one lived out of the modern world, yea, a thousand miles



away. The good brother said indeed that, when pilgrims came and had spent two or three days there, they referred to their return journey as "going back to the world."

So, since there is no help for it, let us go back to the world—even down to Barcelona. It is modern indeed—an old city, once the competitor of Madrid for the honor of becoming capital of the great Spanish monarchy—but thriving now, flourishing and modern. Great ships in the port, and great wagons in the streets, and a modern triumphal arch, and parks, and what not! Thirty thousand French residents settled there—no augury for piety, that! And a university, too—about as bad as the foreign colony and the roving maritime population! We were set on our guard over and over again not to regard Barcelona as typical of Spain.

Well, what did we find, after all? Such an organization of practical Catholicity and such a system of manly piety that we doubt whether the devout female sex maintains there its general pre-eminence, in face of the business men and university students, and the professional men, both of law and of medicine. There is a St. Vincent de Paul's Association for the leisured classes of both sexes, and each is about 400 members strong, active, assiduous and systematic. There is a Congregation of Charity in each of the parishes to meet the cases of need, when there is no question of providing for the sick, and when, consequently, the St. Vincent de Paul members do not intervene. Besides all this, there is a most remarkable organization of men to be seen here which perhaps has not its like anywhere—a Congregation of the Blessed Virgin and St. Aloysius, or what we call simply a Sodality, consisting of 1139 members, university students and professors, business and professional men. Besides attending to their own devout and spiritual life, these members branch out into a complete system of all the works of charity and zeal which are the proper development of such a society or sodality as theirs. There are not only regularly organized sections for the propagation of various devotions, but also for the advancement of Sunday Communion, for active work among the laboring classes on Sundays, for imparting and fostering catechetical instruction in the bosom of families. There is a large section, consisting of thirteen bands of catechists, who teach children in one or two churches of the city, and the lowest attendance of children during the past year was 440, the highest 720, in the series of forty-two Sundays, when catechism was taught. There is a section, again, of sodalists, 340 in number, who visit a great hospital every Sunday and some twenty other feasts; 11,796 visits were thus paid by these gentlemen to individual sick persons in that one hospital of Santa Cruz during one year. Then a body of twenty are in the service of



another hospital; and outside of all these there are the sections for intellectual work, those which are called academies, conducted by members and for members, and each of them, like the sections for works of piety, organized with its own officers and rules. There are thus academies of law, philosophy, medicine, sciences, literature, historical criticism, Catalonian literature, music, fine arts, the German and English languages. The presidents of these sections are professors of the university, or men eminent in their respective branches, while the members are chiefly the university and professional students. But the basis of all these subsidiary organizations is exclusively the life of Christian piety and devotion, under the patronage of the Immaculate Virgin and St. Aloysius Gonzaga; and this qualification is so inexorably insisted on, that for deficiencies on this score a steady elimination of members is carried into effect each twelve months. Thus for the year previous to the last 180 names were dropped from the roll of members.

Now we consider that, when men or women will lend their time and be lavish of their personal service in works of faith and high devotion, there is nothing they will not do. The giving of money and means is not the test of solid devotion or lively faith. In America we know, and Fr. Faber formulated the same complaint about England, people are only too glad to give money in order to be expected to give neither time nor service—a good use, no doubt, of the mammon of iniquity, to bestow it on the things of God, but not so good an intention, that of getting dispensed from doing something better.

The fundamental idea of this sodality is thus stated for the members, that “what is wanted in the modern world is a body of saints, saints who live in the world, who may communicate by the heroism of their own zeal and abnegation some life and warmth to a society moribund with the disease of Liberalism, and who may purify a corrupt atmosphere with the generous influences of their own efforts and example.”

Such, then, is the material of active Christian life which we met with in Barcelona. But Barcelona is not typical of Spain, we were told. Barcelona has too many foreign elements in it; it has a floating maritime population in it; it has anarchists, who threw dynamite bombs at the last solemn procession of Corpus Christi, just when the governor and magistrates were walking past in the ranks. Barcelona is very rich, and there are other wicked things about it. We will not defend Barcelona against Spaniards; they ought to know. But we can understand the wonder of ecclesiastical authorities in other countries, and even of Nuncios sent from Rome, when, in the face of such Christian life, they are desired

to understand that things are going on very badly in Spain ; that, if a remedy be not applied, the affairs of religion and the Church will reach the very worst state, and so forth. One might be permitted to arch his eyebrows and repeat the exclamation of the journalist (probably a wicked Orangeman) who was permitted to see the reception given a high Roman Catholic dignitary in the city of Belfast. It was during Lent, on a fast-day, and after describing the menu the writer exclaimed : " Pray, if this is a fast, what is a feast ? "

And when a late Nuncio celebrated a *Messe de campagne*, or military Mass, before 50,000 of the troops, and was served and supported by generals, marshals, cabinet ministers, royalty, we may comprehend how, completely carried away by his feelings as he was on the occasion, he may have wonderingly reflected : If all this is such wicked Liberalism, where can faith, devotion and virtue be ?

#### IV.

But there we have the watchword of those Christian heroes of Barcelona, that they are to communicate some life and warmth " to a society moribund with the disease of Liberalism." And now that we have taken a passing look at the physiognomy of Spanish life, we may find it possible to define this Liberalism, which is called a disease, and a fatal disease, since society is said to be moribund with it. People do not die of a headache or a vertigo, of a maimed arm or a limping foot. There must be some attack on the vitals of society if Liberalism is making the noble Christianity of Spain enter on a path of sorrow to the grave.

We must notice that it is in the nature of a fatal disease to be deadly in all its stages—not only at its termination, when it actually kills, but at its beginning and at the middle of its course, when it ushers the subject into the narrow path, when it places the patient on the inevitable decline. It is more logical to stop the disease at the beginning than to arrest it at some aggravated stage. And in this respect we must pay the Catholics of Spain the well-deserved tribute of saying that they are the most logical people at present in Europe. You will find the disease elsewhere in an acute stage ; elsewhere again in the malignant form ; in other places it has already done its work, and the subject has passed out of the social world as a live Catholic nation. In other places, again, this disease has no place whatever ; people left the range of its action and infection when they passed out of Catholic Christendom several centuries ago. In Spain, which divides with Belgium the honor of being the last surviving nation of Catholic Christendom and of the ages of faith, the issue is, " Stop the beginnings," *Principiis obsta*.

Thus then, to define terms, all that falls to-day under the head



of society, based on the Revolution, is outside of the question of Liberalism. And almost all Protestant nations, as they are found in life and action to-day, are practically based on the Revolution. This term Revolution signifies the atheistic principles on which the great upheaval at the end of last century took place. It signifies civilization without religion, still more civilization without a church, which is nothing else but religion organically constituted in concrete form. The Revolution means Naturalism, or social and political principles which will have nothing at all to do with supernatural faith or teachings, with supernatural moral rules or guides, in any concern of public life. Brought down into private life, where really they take their rise, the principles of the Revolution mean the Autonomy of Reason, or the independence of each private man and his conscience with regard to all authority outside of himself. It has no use for God or a divine society under God. This is the range of what is conveyed by the term "Principles of the Revolution," or simply "The Revolution." And these phrases may now be observed in use among American writers, as derived from European parlance. Liberalism has nothing to do with such a world of life and action.

Liberalism begins within those social lines where the Christian organization of society has not been absolutely lost. This Christian organization of society, otherwise called Christendom, meant that the Church maintained her attitude towards the body politic of a Christian nation, just as when she had contributed to form the nation. The life, the action, the movements, the aspirations of the body politic were under the guidance of Christian principles as declared by the Church, and the nation was instinct with the religious and moral life communicated by the immediate and direct action of the Church. The State was the body, the Church the soul, and both together formed a Christian society. Protestant nations which abandoned the faith retained the forms and outlines of such a composite society, but only as a corpse may appear like to the living man that was, when the soul is gone forever. Various Catholic nations kept the reality, of which the great conspicuous instance to-day is Spain.

Now the general idea of the modern disease which can prey upon such a Christian organization of the body politic may be given in some such terms as these: that it is a set of principles or tenets forming a politico-religious system, according to which the State is independent of the Church and of religion; that, given the two bound up still in one organism, the State is free and regardless of the teaching, direction, morality, life of the Church.

Such independence may naturally be threefold. The State, or civil body politic, may declare itself so independent as to make



the Church simply a dependant. It makes a bureau of religion and its ministers, as it does of the departments of war or the navy. Its formula is "*Ecclesia in Statu.*" It is the liberalism which, if carried out, means pure schism, as in Russia, or pure Protestantism, as in England or Prussia. It is what the Protestant cantons have tried on the Catholic cantons of Switzerland. It is the same which Bismarck tried with the noble Catholic warriors of Germany, and he went to Canossa.

A second degree of Liberalism, more mitigated in its form, is that which considers it possible for Church and State to move quite freely and quite independently of one another, though bound up in one social organism by many essential ties. Its formula is: "*A Free Church in a Free State.*" Of course it does not correspond to its formula; it never will and never can. It requires dupes to believe the knaves who bandy such a formula about. There were plenty of such dupes in Italy when Count Cavour mobilized the troops, which his formula was intended to disguise. He knew well enough what he meant. He died pressing the hand of the priest who stood by and repeating his creed: "*A Free Church in a Free State.*" The dupes themselves have learnt since what he meant.

There is a third form of Liberalism, consisting in a stage of the disease much less advanced than either of the former, and its classic ground at present is Spain, for that is the classic ground of Catholicity pure and undefiled. There, as we observed before, every one must stand well as a Catholic, in order to stand on his feet at all. There radicals themselves must pose as Catholics, or they will find themselves nowhere at the polls. There a couple of chambers, stocked with Liberals and Freemasons, could never think of approaching a measure, however dear to them, if the body of bishops were united in sentiment against it. The disease, in such circumstances, can circulate only in its most intangible and subtle forms. And there is no formula for it, though it has quite a number of precious maxims.

It may be supposed to speak in this wise: The State, we admit, is by its nature subordinate to the Church, as the body is to the soul. But consider that in its purely civil sphere the State is and always was independent. It minds the police, and applies the laws, and in many other ways it has always been independent of the Church. In our times the condition of men's minds has so changed that it is prudent not to proclaim too much the dependence of the State upon the Church in any respect. On the contrary, in view of modern progress and advanced civilization, it is proper to enlarge our views with respect to greater freedom of action on the part of the State. Lo! all the world has freedom of

the press. All the world gives freedom to all kinds of worship. Education is a very proper arm for the culture of the people in constitutional life and principles. Why should the Church interfere?

This is eloquently plaintive. It should be noticed, however, that the "interference" of the Church consists simply in requiring that Christian education be given, and by competent persons—persons competent on the score of their Catholicity. It consists in requiring that the constitution be observed, according to which there is only one religion recognized, and that the Catholic religion. It consists in requiring similarly that pestilential publications be not permitted, in defiance of law, of precedent, and of all antecedents. But, pleads this Liberalism: "Modern progress, if you please! Civilization, for goodness' sake!"

Observe, it adduces no motives from the side of dire necessity. There is no question of tolerating a necessary evil. Its wantonness shows itself in operating without necessity, in violating actual conditions. It inserts the thin end of the wedge, to contrive a new condition of things, where it can and how it can. It moves forward that column, so famous in all modern tactics, the column of "accomplished facts," and when, without authorization in either national constitution or precedent, without brief or charter, it has posted accomplished facts all round about—as in a press let loose to print all kinds of error and vileness, in Protestant temples opened, or Masonic lodges recognized, in education put into the unshackled hands of laymen or of professors far advanced as "strong minds"—then the accomplished facts will have accomplished a new order of conditions, and the new conditions will render necessary what there was no earthly necessity for at the beginning, and what every reason of law, justice and fairness forbade from the start.

This is that form of the disease known as "Catholic Liberalism," or "Liberal Catholicism."

The press, we know, is always one of the first powers brought into the service of modern ideas. It makes possible all kinds of law and legislation, for it creates what is called public opinion. And who is there that does not read the press and enter into that helpless mass of an intellectual proletariat which contributes its softened brains to swell public opinion? Hence a press, in the hands of liberals, produces every shade and variety of liberalistic notions among the good Catholics of Spain. These people may be your best friends, and you do not know what to do with them. They may be in responsible posts, and you cannot touch them. They are at the foot of the altar; they confess and they communicate, and the poison is circulating all the while in their veins;



and, repeating Freemason slang, they say, with inimitable innocence: "O, yes! The curé should mind his sacristy and his candles, and leave us to manage our own affairs outside." This class of people is incorrigible; they are too innocent to be corrected.

A couple of examples—less innocent, but more conspicuous. A month ago, on the 6th of February, a man died at Turin who had always been a Catholic; he confessed, he communicated regularly. As far as appears, he had always done so; and he received the Sacraments duly on his death-bed. But he had an idea in his head—one imbibed, no doubt, in the earlier days of Italian liberalism, when things looked so plausible and so true, and the dupes believed them all—that the Pope had no right to a temporal domain. So this good Catholic accepts the commission to bombard the Pope in Rome, leads his army thither, bombards the city, takes it, and goes on a good Catholic as before—and dies so! That was Raphael Cadorna, commander of the gallant army which "liberated" Rome from the Pope. Who can ever correct such a class of men, or smooth again a brain which a crooked press has ravelled up in a man's head? But the Lord is merciful—more so than we should be.

Another specimen of a liberal Catholic. Just the other day, the Duke of Orleans, representative of the French Catholic monarchy, was gracious enough to decline standing for the candidature of Brest, with a view to filling the post lately occupied by Monsignore d'Hulst. He declined, because the place was desired for the Abbé Gayraud, who is a Catholic republican in the sense which the Holy Father has advocated. The Duke said nice things of the French episcopate when paying this act of deference to their interests. But he took care to throw out an ugly remark: "If it is the monarchical tradition," he said, "to oppose resolutely the tendencies of the Church towards political power, it is also the tradition to support religious liberties with due regard and protection." Here is the ravelled brain again. If the French monarchy had ever been built up as a solid Christian power, it had been owing to the co-operation and fostering influences of the Catholic episcopate; and there has scarcely been an instance of invasion into a forbidden territory, as between Church and State in a Catholic society, to compare with that of the Bourbon monarchy on the sacred rights of the Church, for instance, in the case of the Gallican articles. But all this historical truth is lost under a slang phrase of Liberalism, "the tendencies of the Church towards obtaining political power."

And now, with regard to Spain, it is certainly a feast of faith and devotion which greets the sense in that Christian land; but it may also be a fast. For, like the meal at Belfast, which the



Orangeman criticized, and which could also be a fast if it was only a single meal that day instead of three ; so all the riches of Spanish piety may still be lacking in something, if we consider, not what is, but what should be there. It may be worse than a fast, if what is wanting is not a mere privation, but means a substitution of poison instead of food, of disease instead of health. And if the disease is in its nature fatal, we come to the explanation of those words in the programme of the Christian men at Barcelona : "A society moribund with the disease of Liberalism."<sup>1</sup>

## V.

Having looked at Spain as it is, we had hoped to take a view of it in its glorious Catholic past. We should have done so by taking up the reflex view presented in the pages of such writers as Prescott and Irving. But space fails us, and we can only indicate the line of thought.

Going back from present times, beyond the date of the great Revolution, we find two chief divisions of Spanish history. One is that reaching from the golden times of Ferdinand and Isabella down to the troubles of the Revolution, which entailed soon afterwards the loss of the Spanish Empire in South America, and left the legacy of a prodigious series of revolutions down there ever since. It was in this period that the new world was discovered, colonized, civilized and made Christian. The other division of history was earlier, and was signalized by a national life of intense religious faith ; of continuous struggles against the power of the infidels ; of suffering, heroic endurance and chivalric ardor, which proved more than a match in the course of long centuries for the prowess of the Arabic invaders.

For the knowledge which the American public has about Spanish history, it is chiefly under obligations to the two authors whom we have mentioned. We have no doubt that both of them contributed to enlarge the mind of the non-Catholic world, and to enable Protestants to understand something of the nobility, chivalry and other national qualities of a characteristically Catholic people. They did by means of history what Walter Scott is credited with having done in the region of romance. The novelist, who took the Middle Ages for the subject of many of his stories, opened the eyes of a modern generation to circumstances of history which they had never known of before ; and the Catholic Church gained by the process ; for the Middle Ages were all Catholic. So, with a degree of accuracy more or less on a par

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<sup>1</sup> Compare the two volumes by P. V. (Villada, S.J.) : *Casus Conscientiæ his præsertim temporibus accommodati. De Liberalismo* : Bruxellis, Vromant, 1885.

with that of the Scotch novelist, the two American historians impressed the English-speaking world with some idea of the beauty and purity to be found in a religion whereof the virtue, honor, and nobility of their subject were at least an appendage. The genuine enthusiasm which we witnessed a few years ago in the United States, when all classes of persons joined in reverencing the memory and character of Queen Isabella and of Christopher Columbus, seems to have been partly a result of the familiarity with those great personages, acquired by Americans in the classic pages of Irving and Prescott. And, in the centennial celebration, deference was shown to the most conspicuously Catholic objects, to altars, crucifixes, chapels, and even to the reproduction of a monastery. The emblems of devotion were not spared on the monumental postage-stamps, by which a Federal department conveyed an expression of its sentiments on every letter and package issued from America to the four quarters of the globe.

And yet alas! What does the world know of Spain from Mr. Prescott? He has given us the body without the soul. The complexion is utterly wanting to the features, for the soul is not there to suffuse them with color. And he has added traits of positive ugliness—not indeed foreign to a corpse, which alone he had before him to depict. And what does the world know of Spain from Mr. Irving? He has given us a caricature.

True to the style of gifts in which he excelled, Washington Irving wrote of Spain as he wrote of Knickerbocker history, in the terms and with the appreciation of a litterateur and a wit. It was largely fun; and, to give himself full play, he professed to derive his materials for the "Conquest of Granada" from an unknown manuscript of an unknown author, from the "manuscript chronicle of Fray Antonio Agapida." It is not necessary to say more, except perhaps to add, what his French translator remarks, on noting this *jeu d'esprit*: that the author had employed this device, "in order to put his work into a picturesque form and style, and to mix up therein certain superstitious ideas in keeping with the time when this war took place, and which, without this device, he should have been forced to dispense with, owing to the gravity of historical narration."<sup>1</sup> In other words, it is no history at all, but a "grandfather's tale" for children who are Protestants, from a grandpa who is a Protestant, too.

As to Mr. Prescott, we will animadvert upon three points, not because they are the only subjects of criticism, but because they serve very well to give us a reflex view of Spanish history. One is the origin of the brilliant civilization of Spain. Another, its monas-

<sup>1</sup> *Histoire de la Conquête de Grenade, etc.* Traduite de l'Anglais par J. Cohen; Louvain, 1830. Note to Introduction.



ticism or ecclesiasticism. A third, the cruelties practiced in South America.

This historian considers that "the civilization of Spain, as, indeed, of Europe also, was largely due, in the latter part of the Middle Ages, to the presence and intellectual activity of the Arab kingdom in the Spanish peninsula. The Saracens, he says, came like a torrent, just at the time when the last vestiges alone remained of ancient civilization. They swept away all that remained of it; but they brought a fertilizing germ, which, as the waters retired, imparted a new life and animation to the country. And the intellectual development which marked subsequent ages in Europe was due to the spirit first imbibed in the Arabic schools of Spain, and then brought away by faithful disciples to other parts of Europe.<sup>1</sup> The chapter in which he makes such slashing assertions bids fair to rank with the essays of the omniscient and infallible Macaulay.

We will not examine such a theory on its merits. We content ourselves with setting aside of such wild statements two passages from Protestant historians, men a little more careful and erudite than Prescott, and contemporaries of his. M. Guizot, speaking of the Catholic Church, and in particular of the Church in Spain, presents us with a very large picture, and considerably different. He says: "She had in a manner assailed barbarism at all points, to civilize by subduing it. In Spain it was the Church itself that commenced the revival of civilization. There, instead of the old German assemblies, the assembly which takes the helm is the Council of Toledo, and, though distinguished laymen assisted at it, the bishops were the ruling spirit. Open the Code of the Visigoths. It is not a barbarian code. It was manifestly digested by the philosophers of the day, by the clergy."<sup>2</sup> "The Church," he says elsewhere, "had agitated all the great questions which concern man; she was solicitous about all the problems of his nature, about all the chances of his destiny. Hence her influence on modern civilization has been immense, greater, perhaps, than has ever been imagined by her most ardent adversaries or her most serious advocates. Absorbed either in defending or in assaulting her, they have considered her only from a polemical point of view, and they have failed, I am convinced, to judge her with fairness and to take her full dimensions."<sup>3</sup> We do not pause to note the assumption here of this Protestant savant, who is pedantic enough to imagine that he knows more about the Catholic Church than

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<sup>1</sup> *History of Ferdinand and Isabella*, ch. viii., "The Arabs in Spain."

<sup>2</sup> Guizot, *Histoire Générale de la Civilisation en Europe*, 3me, leçon.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, 5me leçon.



her own doctors. We are only matching the French historian of European civilization with the American historian of Spain.

Similarly, an Englishman, no friend of Catholicity, will tell us what the Church of the Dark Ages—observe the Dark Ages—accomplished for the civilization of later times. Mr. Hallam asks the question: "If it be demanded by what cause it happened that a few sparks of ancient learning survived throughout this long winter (of barbaric invasions), we can only ascribe their preservation to the establishment of Christianity. Religion alone made a bridge, as it were, across the chaos, and has linked the two periods of ancient and modern civilization. Without this connecting principle Europe might, indeed, have awakened to intellectual pursuits, and the genius of recent times needed not to be invigorated by the imitation of antiquity. But the memory of Greece and Rome would have been feebly preserved by tradition, and the monuments of those nations might have excited, on the return of civilization, that vague sentiment of speculation and wonder with which we now contemplate Persepolis or the Pyramids. It is not, however, from religion simply that we derive this advantage, but from religion as it was modified in the Dark Ages;"<sup>1</sup> that is to say, from the monasticism and ecclesiasticism proper to the Middle Ages.

Here comes in the second point, which we notice in this Protestant philosophy of Spanish history; it is the weakness of the Spanish nation towards priests and monks. Our American historians mention, either with pleasantry or with covert sneer, how the Spanish cavaliers, nobles, king or queen, no sooner came into possession of a place than they incontinently gave way to their ruling weakness and founded monasteries, built churches, equipped and endowed them. Yet, at the same time, these writers mention also that nobles, ecclesiastics, monks had a propensity for spending their great revenues, not on themselves, but on the poor and their tenants, and on the establishment of divers works of beneficence. This is clear all through history, and noted by all kinds of writers. But it is not, perhaps, so clear whether these American writers on Spain considered this, too, a weakness, and whether our modern civilized cruelties and pauperism suited their tastes better.

Oh, no! Here we reach the third point. What more harrowing than Mr. Prescott's description of Spanish cruelties in Peru, and the Spanish thirst for gold! The civilization of South America would seem to have consisted largely of mere bloodshed and cruelty for the sake of gold! But how does it come about

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<sup>1</sup> Hallam, *Europe During the Middle Ages*, ch. ix., part. i.

that to-day in Mexico there are ten or eleven millions of Indians to only some three millions of whites; and so, too, in other regions, quite in the same proportion? And in the United States where are they? Cain, where is thy brother Abel? O, Englishman of New England, yes, and Dutchman of New Amsterdam, so distinguished for your humanity that even the domesticated negro dare not sit in the same car with you, what has become of the poor savage Indians? Are eleven millions to be found to-day for any three millions of whites? or are barely two hundred and fifty thousand to be found in the civilization of seventy millions of whites? And, so lofty-minded as to despise the Spanish adventurer, who thirsted for gold in Peru and in Mexico, what has been the story of your California, and your magnanimity, magnificent only in the stupendous proportions of your avarice? And that mighty "force of character," which bears your conquering genius over the weaker races, till they are stamped out of existence—your "stronger race," as is pleasantly said, before which a feebler line vanishes as the "snow when March winds blow"—that "intellect" of Protestants, who, as a Scotchman said, "rank higher in the scale of intellect than Catholics," while "Catholics in the neighborhood of Protestants are more intellectual than those at a distance from them," what does it all come to, or rather what did it all come to in the New Englander before the Puritan himself disappeared as snow, when March winds blow? A Protestant Englishman answers the Scotchman: "*By intellect*," says William Corbett, "does not the Scotchman mean the capacity to make, not books and pictures (that is, the genius of literature and fine art), but checks, bills, bonds, exchequer-bills, inimitable notes and the like? Does he not mean loan-jobbing and stock-jobbing, insurance-bookings, annuities at 10 per cent., kite-flying and all the *intellectual* proceedings of Change Alley? . . . Ah, in that case, I confess that he is right. On this scale Protestants do rank high indeed. And I should think it next to impossible for a Catholic to live in their neighborhood without being much *more intellectual*; that is to say, much more of a Jewish knave, than if he lived at a distance from them."<sup>1</sup>

Faith and charity, says a Mexican writer, were the story of California till your Anglo-American hypocrites, panegyrists of labor and industry, economical through avarice, frugal through necessity, despisers of the gold they have, because they never have enough of it, espied California gold in the distance, a land wrested from the hand of the weak by the mightier hand of violence, and then behold them flying from fatherland, family, friends, behold

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<sup>1</sup> Cobbett's *History of the Reformation*, end of Letter I.

them plunging into all kinds of perils and of crimes, and dying content because they expire on a heap of gold! "And then do you not smile when they preach liberty, felicity for the whole world, believing themselves invested with the divine mission of propagating civilization all over the earth? But let us leave it to Divine Providence to make retribution for the good and the evil, which every one has wrought in this life."<sup>1</sup>

THOS. HUGHES, S.J.

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### SOME REFLECTIONS ON EDMUND BURKE'S CENTENARY.

**I**N striking a balance against Ireland recently, some critic discovered that that afflicted island never produced a Shakespeare. It is as true of England to say that she never produced a Burke. And in looking around for some equal for Burke, after his death, a critic of some note places him, as regards imaginative powers, on a level with Shakespeare. Dr. Johnson, who was his uncompromising foe in politics, entertained as high an opinion of his oratory. One of his acquaintances asked him if Burke did not remind him of Tullius Cicero. "No, sir," was the great man's reply, "but Cicero reminds me of Burke."

This year is the centenary of Edmund Burke's demise, and the event is commemorated in Ireland in a public fashion. It is time to reverse the judgment of Goldsmith's epigram. Though Edmund Burke belongs to Ireland by nativity and genius, he belongs to mankind by such ties as sympathy with aspirations of enlightened liberty and profound political wisdom always furnish. His arraignment of adventurer rule in India is a legacy to freedom for all time and all peoples. For Americans his plea for Conciliation constitutes a claim which nothing can ever cancel. And for Catholicism his memory must always be held in reverence because of his disinterested and priceless services.

Brute courage is the property of the million; how very few know what extraordinary strength of soul is demanded of the man who feels impelled by duty to stand up alone in an age of bitter prejudice and speak in behalf of justice and moderation to the

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<sup>1</sup> *Biblioteca Nacional y Extranjera*, "Historia de la Antigua ó Baja California, del Padre F. J. Clavijero," etc. Mejico: 1852. Editor's Preface.



powerless and those whom oppression has stung into resistance! It is most difficult for us, living in a more tolerant day, to form even an approximate notion of the enmities which Burke aroused, when he dared to speak in defence of the American colonists' action, or rather in apology for their presumption, and at another time in favor of a relaxation of the Draconic legislation which made a man's religion the test of his freedom or his legal outlawry. In Burke's day, to be a Catholic in England was synonymous with being a Jacobite, and being a Jacobite with something like a son of Belial. An Irish Papist especially was an object of aversion as much as a Fiji cannibal. It was only a couple of generations, indeed, from the time when it was a matter of serious belief in England that Irishmen belonged to an inferior natural order of which the caudal appendage of the ape was a distinguishing sign.

Not as yet, it should be remembered, had any lesson of adversity taught Great Britain that there was any distinction between colonists and slaves. Hitherto her rule over her colonies had been unquestioned despotism. Not for a moment was it supposed that the provisions of Magna Charta or the Act of Settlement had any force or application to the condition of the colonies, or that those offshoots existed for anything but the glory and benefit of the mother country. As for the feeling toward Papists in general, it may be to some extent estimated by such fanatical outbreaks as the No-Popery riots linked with the name of Lord George Gordon. Burke himself was in some danger from the violence of the fanatical rioters, and his house was placed under military protection. And it is useful to remember that the constituency which he for some time represented, the city of Bristol, has long borne an evil reputation as a hotbed of religious bigotry as well as narrow commercial jealousy. It is not quite half a century since it was showing an example to the Know-nothings of the United States by burning down convents and sacking churches, as well as shooting men and women for the crime of being Papists. It was little wonder that such a constituency failed to relish the action of its representative when he ventured to advocate a relaxation of the commercial fetters which English jealousy had coiled around the limbs of Irish trade. Bristol and Liverpool were in those days the two ports which reflected the commercial spirit of the England of the day. The crushing out of commercial rivalry by fair means or foul, and the development of the slave trade, were the two principles by which they lived and moved and had their being. Slavery and smuggling were the methods by which their merchants in time became millionaires.

By writers of the present day Edmund Burke is classified as a

Conservative. The term will not fit. He was a foe to innovation in constitutional methods, certainly, but he was no less a foe to what was unconstitutional in governmental methods and departmental procedure. This is not the spirit of latter-day Conservatism. To perpetuate every abuse and shield every official guilty of despotism or corruption is conceived to be the duty of a Conservative statesman or loyal party-man of the present generation. This is the spirit in which the affairs of Ireland and India have been administered by every Conservative government within living memory.

The truth about Burke's politics seems to be that he experienced during his public life that unconscious metamorphosis in opinion which frequently results from contact with the realities instead of the theories of the struggle of social development. His principles might have been always the same; the mistakes he made during the vicissitudes of politics seem to have arisen in the endeavor to make them apply to different peoples. The temperaments of races, the prejudices, the habits of thought, the traditions of government, and a host of other considerations have to be taken into account by the philosopher who would strive to lay down an ethical code for a country foreign to his own.

Inconsistency in the advocacy of political reform has been the most serious charge advanced against this great philosopher. That large-minded policy which he advised for the treatment of the revolting American colonies never once entered into his views when his mental vision was turned toward insurgent France. He had no tears of compassion for the miseries of the French people; his monarchical sympathies were so ebullient that they completely blurred his vision, on all other subjects usually so keen and clear. This is one of the almost unaccountable aberrations of a divinely-gifted intellect. In the American quarrel all his aspirations lay on the side of the struggling democracy; in the long and splendid crusade against adventurer rule in India it was the sufferings of the people which seemed to him as the woes of Hecuba. Hence his insensibility and obtuseness to the wretchedness of a peasantry only a few hours' sail from his own shore, and whose condition was perfectly familiar to many of his most intimate friends, if not to himself, cannot but fill us with amazement. But what amazes us still more is the gift of prescience which seemed to have been his about the final outcome of the downward trend of France. His direful forebodings were fulfilled almost to the letter. If he had the prophet's foresight, it is astonishing that his fulminations were always addressed to the side which was powerless for anything save the awakening of that fatal sympathy whose force at length created a brood of sanguinary monsters, and, with the fury



of a liberated flood, swept throne and altar and immemorial institutions away in one awful wrack.

But it is not to estimate the failings, or the apparent failings, of any great man that people celebrate his centenary. We have to bear in mind the limitations of human nature, and, when dealing especially with characters like that of Burke, we must remember that if principle be their guiding star, as it undoubtedly was in his case, it might be pleaded that they did not really err, since error lies in intent rather than in the consequences of mistake. We see in his attitude toward the electors of Bristol that Burke preferred the dictates of his own judgment and conscience to the selfish wishes of any constituency, and so set up a model for parliamentary conduct which unhappily but too few have been found independent enough to follow. We must give him credit not only for integrity, but for enlightenment, in the profound and generous policy which he had the courage to advocate toward the American colonies as well as toward the Irish Roman Catholics. The bitter hostility which such sentiments evoked cannot at this distance of time be easily estimated. It is when we consider what course he adopted in regard to these, the most vital questions of his time, that we find the unfairness of the general estimate of his character. Expediency, the critics say, was his guiding star; whatever had been found practicable and useful in the past ought not to be departed from in the present. On the contrary, Goldsmith's verdict, that he was "too fond of the right to pursue the expedient" is found to be far nearer to the truth.

One of the main arguments against Burke's consistency is the different attitude he assumed toward Irish Catholics and English Dissenters. At an early period of his parliamentary career he had pleaded for a relaxation of the statutes which pressed hard on this large body; later on he stubbornly and strenuously opposed any such concession. The reason for this change of mind is to be found in the growth of radical ideas among the Dissenters themselves. In 1772, when they had his support, they sought from parliament relief merely as a passive and suffering element; in 1787, when he antagonized their demand for relief from the grievance of the Test Act, they were an aggressive organization, with a plan of action against the regular Church Establishment. Burke was a reverent supporter of that estate of the realm, for such the Establishment, secured as it was by the terms of the Act of Settlement, was in the most unqualified sense. Anything that savored of a design against the Constitution or the established order of things in England, which to his mind was the true ideal of orderly government, he looked upon with horror. It was the avowed intention of the Dissenters to play Guy Fawkes (according to the



panic-myth) with the English Church fabric. One of their ablest pamphleteers, Dr. Priestley, declared in a public print that they were "wisely placing, as it were, grain by grain, a train of gunpowder, to which the match would one day be laid to blow up the fabric of error, which could never again be raised upon the same foundation." John Morley, who dwells with astonishment upon this apparent case of political tergiversation in Burke's life, and as a thing inexplicable, seems to have overlooked these important facts. He makes no mention of Priestley's pamphlet, and says nothing of the aggressive designs of the Dissenters. On the other hand, he magnifies Burke's "aberration," as he terms it, by recalling how it was at Burke's own suggestion that Fox brought forward the bill for the relief of the Dissenters as a means of strengthening his (Fox's) position. The appearance of Priestley's pamphlet (and Priestley was a personal friend of Burke's, and one on whose statements he relied) would certainly go far to explain this sudden volteface.

It is much more astonishing that Burke, with all the knowledge he possessed of the true position of affairs, did not insist that no relief should be granted the Dissenters in which the Irish Catholics did not share. Herein he would have found a true vantage-ground and placed the odium of refusing relief upon the shoulders of both political parties. His position as secretary to the Irish Chief Secretary under Lord Halifax's Viceroyalty, the personage known in history as "single-speech Hamilton," gave him an official intimacy with the social and political condition of the country which could not be otherwise obtained. In addition to the transaction of governmental business by correspondence with those connected with its administration, he had the advantage of personal observation while travelling through many districts of the island, and the interchange of views and experiences with men of position in many places. For the two years which he remained in this office he did much with voice and pen to dispel the cloud of rancor which hung over the English mind with regard to Ireland, as well as to thwart the truculent designs of those whose only panacea for the intolerable grievances of the Catholic population was the policy of "more stick." Any attempt to establish a parallel between the plight of the Irish Catholics in the eighteenth century and the position of the English Nonconformists would, except in point of common obnoxiousness to the English majority, be something analogous to a comparison between Dives and Lazarus.

It was Dr. Johnson, an English Tory of the Tories, who remarked that the cruelty meted out to the Irish population by his countrymen, once they got the upper hand in Ireland, was worse than the ten great persecutions of the Roman Empire. He was a

blunt man, and one not given to exaggeration. When Burke was in Ireland the country was at its lowest. There was more freedom and enlightenment in the most debased community of Russian serfs than in Ireland, outside the English "garrison." Mr. Froude hypocritically remarks that the absenteeism of her men of genius was a worse wrong to Ireland than the absenteeism of her landlords, and if Edmund Burke had remained in the country where Providence had placed him, he might have changed the current of its history. It is a peculiarity of writers like Froude to turn away from the facts of history in order to speculate upon what these might have been had things fallen out otherwise than as they did. It is easy to retort that men of genius were not wanting in the country, before Burke's time and after, who, with eloquence as great and earnestness still more proven, pleaded for justice for the afflicted country—even a modicum of justice—and pleaded in vain. Was Burke ever successful in any of his pleas for justice, on behalf of any one soever, in the British Parliament? At no time, in any great cause which ever stirred him to action. He aroused the sympathies of a few by his denunciations of Hastings and his understrappers, but, as for the great mass of his audience, they were of the stolid English kind—the intellect and conscience of beef and wine. These were the days when a man's status in good society was frequently determined—usually determined in the rural districts—by the number of bottles he was able to empty at an after-dinner carouse. It was before legislators drawn from this class that Burke, with fine indignation, often

". . . went on refining,  
And thought of convincing while they thought of dining."

Even so accomplished a man as Lord North, who, though an antagonist, had a warm admiration for Burke, was found so unmannerly as to fall asleep during one of his speeches, and gave the orator the opportunity to taunt him wittily with his ill manners. "I hope," he said, "government is not dead, but asleep. Brother Lazarus is not dead, but sleepeth." Sottishness in society and boorishness in the legislature were symptoms of the generally low tone of the period in public and private. There was a callousness to human suffering and an insensibility to just reproach which indicate a brutal and savage generation. We may learn how deep-seated was this savage feeling, and how reckless of outside public opinion it was, from the indifference with which Burke's splendid denunciation of the employment of the Indian tribes by the English government was received. The pictures which he painted of the horrors of war, as practiced by these ferocious auxiliaries, fell upon scoffing or indifferent ears. Another very sug-



gestive incident of the time is the fact that he used his great eloquence in vain in favor of a bill to prevent the plundering of ships, wrecked on the English coast, by the littoral population. It was universally known that in many places the people purposely decoyed ships to their ruin by false lights for the purpose of plunder; yet the Ministry dared not support the proposal to suppress this murderous custom, so strong was local feeling in favor of its continuance. There was no time at which there was a lower condition of public morality or a tenser one of religious bigotry, and yet there was never a brighter era in the English world of letters. This is the paradoxical situation which confronts us when we come to consider the ill-success of Edmund Burke as a political reformer or an opponent of despotic rule in Crown colonies.

Englishmen may describe the state of their country at this period as they may; the impartial historian must find on examination that it deserves no title but that of barbarous. Punishment of crime was ferocious; hanging was the penalty for trivial offences. The loss of ears, the pillory and the stocks were frequent penalties for lesser crimes. The prisons were reeking dens of abomination; men spent all their lives as prisoners for debt in the King's Bench and the Marshalsea prisons. In the army and navy the life was worse than in the Siberian mines. Men were flogged daily for the most trivial breaches of discipline; very many died from the merciless severity of this torture. The wooden ships of war, which Madame de Staël so beautifully describes as "floating cloisters," were filthy prisons swarming with vermin and fungus-grown from immemorial filth. Brutality of discipline was the rule in the military service as well as the naval. It is a singular fact that the great victories of Marlborough and Wellington were won with the help of soldiers paid at the rate of sixpence a day, flogged into fighting-machines by savage drill-masters, carrying on the march about a hundred pounds weight in "kit" and military weapons, squeezed into shape by heavy cross-belts with immense brass buckles, and half-garroted by a diabolical leather contrivance around the neck called a "stock," devised to compel them to keep their chins erect, to add to their martial air. The horrors of this glorious service were supposed to be compensated for by the prospect of indiscriminate massacre and loot and rape whenever the city of an enemy was taken by assault; and anyone who has read Napier's "*History of the Peninsular War*" will find that down to the beginning of the present century the British soldier differed not a particle from the Turk when resistance had aroused his savage instincts and the prospect of plunder and sensual gratification whetted his greed and animal desire. The spirit of the age, especially in England, was cruelty, callousness and in-



sensibility to human suffering. The masses of the people were steeped in ignorance and poverty, which in times of acute distress impelled them to frightful deeds of riot and arson, as in the case of the No-Popery riots in London, the Porteous riots in Edinburgh, and the Reform riots of a later date in Manchester, Bristol and other places.

Burke was not quite insensible to these deplorable conditions, but he seems to have been more given to the study of the political situation than to the social miseries which environed him. And yet that he was a great humanitarian as well as a keen observer of abuses, his tremendous indictment of Warren Hastings and his myrmidons affords the highest proof. Perhaps it was owing to the absorbing character of his pursuit of this master-subject and the development of the French Revolution that he failed to note the ingrained miseries of the system under which the common people at home were struggling. Though he was not altogether insensible to them, as we find in more than one of his works, he firmly believed that no change in the political system at home was desirable, as the Constitution, if it were only observed in Parliament and the administration of the laws, was sufficient for the securing and preservation of all liberties and rights of the people at large.

Burke's great misfortune seems to have been that he lived in a wrong age. The three tremendous national tragedies in America, India and France were too strong for his sympathetic nature. He became absorbed in them so completely as to lose the sense of proportion between evils at home and evils abroad. The mad excesses of the French revolutionary freaks blinded him to the racialities of a system in Ireland which had reduced the people to a condition immeasurably more desperate than that of the French when they rose up against their oppressors. Burke was well aware of their condition; he often strove to direct the attention of the government to the necessity for redress; but he never threw himself into the subject with the same tremendous earnestness with which he attacked the iniquities of Hastings. It would not be correct to say that he viewed the sufferings of subject peoples with British eyes, for those eyes at that period were those of indifference, callousness and cruelty. But he regarded them as a good Englishman ought to regard them—a man who loved the substance of constitutional liberty and not mere platitudes about its excellences and its spirit. It was the inevitable consequence, no doubt, of his living in an English atmosphere for the greater part of his life. For the short time that he was connected with Irish affairs, as "help" to Mr. Hamilton, he certainly took up a most determined position in defence of the Irish peasantry; and

at different periods of his life he advocated the claims of the Catholics to religious freedom as strenuously as he ever advocated anything. But the theme never stirred him as did the thoughts on "A Regicide Peace."

The complexities of his mind are still further apparent when we consider the alarm with which he viewed any tendencies on the part of Ireland to resort to those measures of resistance in palliation of which he argued so eloquently in the case of the American colonists. Between oppression in Ireland and oppression in America the difference, in reality, was only one of degree and geographical location. Unjust taxation and restricted commerce were the material injustices sought to be inflicted and maintained in either case. The organization of the United Irishmen he regarded from the outset with keen distrust, although it was at the beginning a perfectly constitutional movement, and only became a secret society when the persistent refusal of redress of flagrant injustices convinced its members that nothing was to be got from the English Cabinet by argument and moral pressure. The demands of Grattan and the Volunteers he regarded with no less apprehension. "Will no one stop that madman, Grattan?" was his panic-cry when he read of the Convention of Dungannon and the resolutions on independence which were the outcome of that remarkable meeting.

Perhaps we may find some explanation of many of Burke's apparent inconsistencies with his own theories in the horror he had of mob rule. He had seen a great part of London burned down by a mob, and beheld scores of drunken wretches shot down in the streets after they had had their fill of murder and drink. He had seen how similar conduct in Edinburgh was encouraged and excused by the clergy and the respectable people of the Scotch capital on the ground that it was well to let Rome see how much in earnest the Scotch people were in their hatred of Popery. These things made him dread the idea of conceding anything to popular clamor in his later years. But when we remember that Henry Grattan was quite as ardent an admirer of the British Constitution as he himself was, we find it difficult to believe that Burke was more than a theorist when it came to a question of actual application of constitutional principles in the higher affairs of a nation. His anger over the concession of the Irish claim for free trade and legislative independence proves this; for the chief ground he alleged was the odium the Ministry incurred by yielding to energetic agitation what they had denied to peaceful remonstrance. It is difficult to believe that any sincere lover of his country could have preferred the appearance of constitutional etiquette to a reform of such magnitude in the relations of Ireland to England as



that involved in Grattan's Bill of Rights. Nor is it easier to understand how a man who had previously depicted the condition of the Irish Catholics in terms to rouse the commiseration and horror of mankind at large could describe England, as Burke did in opposing the separation of the Legislatures, as Ireland's "guardian angel."

Still, taken for all in all, we find much more consistency in Burke's public course than in that of any of the great statesmen of our own day. Take the cases of Mr. Gladstone and the late Lord Beaconsfield, for instance. In his early days Mr. Gladstone was a Conservative in politics, while Disraeli, his lifelong bitter rival, began his jaunty career as an out-and-out Radical; and both had exactly reversed their political positions when Disraeli's career came to a close. So, too, with Prince Bismarck. He began political life as a Radical, and when he retired from it he was a decidedly staunch Conservative. Fidelity to party has often made most public men of our day recant opinions or espouse principles formerly entertained, or denounced as pernicious; and so long as any of them can show reasonable grounds for such a change he can still preserve the respect of the community.

We have spoken of John Morley's "Life of Burke," or rather his biographical essay, for it claims to be no more. It is, perhaps, the work most popular with present-day students, and deservedly so for its fine, scholarly style. But no one can fail to be struck by the strong secularistic animus which pervades it. Mr. Morley's sympathies are clearly more with Rousseau and the men who wrote "Ecrasez l'Infame" on their banners than with the constitutional or monarchical party either in France or England. Naturally, he is guarded in his expression of this bias, but an isolated phrase or sentence here and there betrays it. The conflict of principles which was going on in his mind while he was writing the book may be judged from his reference to the campaign of James the Second in Ireland as "Tyrconnell's Rebellion," a very extraordinary inversion of the facts of history in regard to the Revolution of 1688, making the Irish, who unfortunately supported the lawful King, appear as the rebels, and inferentially the successful rebels the supporters of legitimacy. In other respects, Mr. Morley's work is disserviceable. His presentation of Burke's personality is too many-sided. He lauds him as the greatest genius of modern times, and he condemns him in another group of paragraphs as a rash and inconsiderate blunderer, carried along in a fanatical course by the fury of his own blind passion. In fact, it seems, on a calm consideration of the whole portrait, that the writer had seriously taken for his cue the first two lines of Goldsmith's mocking "epitaph," and really regarded Burke as a man



"Whose genius was such  
That no one could praise it or blame it too much."

It is, therefore, exceedingly useful for the student who desires to get a more faithful picture to take up one of the homelier sketches of Burke's own day, such as Bisset's, wherein sentences are not constructed with a view to antithetical effect, but rather a desire to the recording of bare facts, leaving the reader to deduce their meaning or moral according to his fancy or his judicial temperament. Here, too, we get some knowledge of Burke's real environment, and find a clue to many things which modern biographies render enigmatical or misleading. We are enabled, for instance, to judge of the intensity of the virus of religious hatred which raged in the days of Burke, and the enormous courage it required in any public man in England to advocate justice for the despised and detested Catholics. One of the most insidious things against which he had to contend was the secret whisper that was sent around that he was, in reality, a Catholic and had been educated at St. Omer's. Bisset is at great pains to show that such was not the case, and gives many interesting minutiae regarding his school-days at Abraham Shackleton's seminary at Ballitore, in County Carlow. Mr. Shackleton was a Quaker, and, we may perhaps assume, as liberal in his religious belief as most members of that respectable body usually were; but we cannot accept Mr. Morley's conclusion that it was from him Edmund Burke derived that magnanimity and kindness of character which marked him all through life. These qualities are natural and need no preceptor, though they may be cultivated and increased by practical example and judicious direction. The more rational explanation of Burke's liberality is to be found, it might be suggested, in his early training at home. His mother was a devout Catholic, and his father, though a Protestant, a man of very liberal principles. We know how large a share the mother's teaching and example have in moulding a man's disposition and belief, and we may be perfectly sure that it was the knowledge of the influence for virtue of the Catholic religion which was before Burke's eyes constantly for the first twelve years of his life that turned his sympathies toward Catholicism and made him resent the injustice of the interdicts and restrictions placed upon it. His manly indignation, furthermore, was stirred by the systematic policy of calumny and mendacity adopted toward the Catholic people of Ireland. One of the most common forms of misrepresentation was the description of the rising of 1641 as a religious movement having the massacre of Protestants as its main object. This transparent misrepresentation was embodied in Hume's His-

tory of England, and when Burke met the infidel author he challenged him upon the subject, and defended the Irish very warmly against the baseless charge.

But, leaving speculation aside, if we desire to find reasons for Burke's partiality toward the Catholics, we have only to consider his own marked mental and moral attributes. His sense of justice revolted against the oppression of any one individual, not to say of any one class, by another. He rarely, in all his letters or speeches on the subject, pleaded for a relaxation of the penal laws on the ground of mere policy or expediency; he argued for it on the highest moral and constitutional considerations. Especially happy was he in the argument he drew from the case of Canada and the Catholic Church established there by the French. "All our English Protestant countries revolted," he pointed out. "They joined themselves to France, and it so happened that Popish Canada was the only place which preserved its fidelity, the only place in which France got no footing, the only peopled colony which now remains to Great Britain. Vain are all the prognostics taken from ideas and passions which survive the state of things which give rise to them. . . . We had no dread for the Protestant Church which we settled there, because we permitted the French Catholics, in the fullest latitude of the description, to be free subjects. They are good subjects, I have no doubt; but I will not allow that any Canadian Catholics are better men or better citizens than the Irish of the same communion."

These sentences are particularly appropriate and applicable, after the lapse of a century, and in a condition of things that had no existence when they were penned. They have an undeniable bearing on the discussions of our own day, and more especially in the United States, where groundless misstatements about the loyalty of Catholics, under certain political conditions, have been sedulously disseminated. If the Canadian Catholics had been ostracized and wronged as the Irish were, their loyalty might not have been proof against the temptation to shake off the oppressor; and this is where we find the true criterion of a valid authority as between the ruling power and the people. The binding principle between the two is that of justice and the sanctity of public law, and when these are trampled underfoot systematically and deliberately for a lengthened period, the principle of resistance becomes a moral duty in the interests of all mankind.

If we sometimes find Burke using arguments that seem to appeal more to principles of expediency than equity, in favor of fair treatment for Catholics, we must remember that his logic was addressed to the enemies of the toleration for which he pleaded. Thus he is found strongly insisting that the preservation of Catholicity is



essential to the well-being of Europe, on the ground of its being one of the four great religious divisions of the world, and the evil effects which any disturbance of it as an instrument for orderly habit must have upon the remainder of society. If he had been at liberty to declare his sentiments more frankly, we might, perhaps, have heard a different line of argument from his lips; for it can hardly be that one who was so keenly sensible of the interior virtue of great things did not fully perceive the wonderful moral beauty of the spiritual side of the Catholic Church as well as the grandeur of its long career as a moulder of the varied civilizations of the old world. He was appealing to an audience upon whose ears such rhetoric must have fallen flat. His chapters on the training of the Catholic priesthood show that he had a clear perception of the higher rôle of a celibate clergy than that of his own church; but he did not put his thought into direct words. He sought, rather, to effect his purpose indirectly by pointing out the great difference between the Latin priesthood and that of the Greek rite, in which the clergy, being occupied with marital cares, occupy so much lower a plane in the eyes of the people. The full force of this contrast can be easily felt even without any attempt to read between the lines.

As Burke abhorred atheism, so he has left the English Church, by implication, a legacy of disapproval by his strong declarations on the subject of its recognition of divorce. He is unstinted in his praise of the Roman Catholic Church for its law and practice on this vital subject; and the fact that the Anglican bishops form an important element in the legislative machinery which moulded the divorce court into a permanent English institution is proof that his frequently expressed admiration for the Anglican Church as a great moral and Christianizing agency was one of his grand mistakes.

If the measure of true genius be the admiration of the few higher-minded, undiminished by lapse of time or mutation in theories of philosophy, then Edmund Burke stands at the head of our modern thinkers. But if the practical acceptance or rejection of his maxims and counsels be the criterion, he must be regarded as one crying in the wilderness. His denunciations of the frightful misrule of India met with no effective response until the horrors of the Indian mutiny in 1857 put an end to the oppression of the East India Company; while the awful recurring famines which desolate that gorgeous but unhappy land prove that the change substantially means nothing more than a shifting of responsibility. The only difference is that torture as an agency for the collection of taxes is abandoned by the ruling power; but the condition of the plundered millions is one long agony, with periodical whole-



sale slaughter from hunger as an intermission from the slower method. His pleadings for the enfranchisement of Irish Catholics awoke no response until the Catholics, under O'Connell, rose in their might and thundered at the gates of the English Parliament. And how ineffective his advocacy of the methods of wise conciliation for the American colonists was when perversity and injustice ruled both Cabinet and Parliament in England, we need not pause to wonder at. In all these things he was a failure, but the failures have been so splendid in their impressiveness, as great lessons for all time, that we do not regret that he was a man before his age, and a moralist too lofty for the selfish and mercantile understanding of the audience to which his monitions were addressed.

Edmund Burke cannot be regarded as what is called a typical Celt; but he must be taken as an example of the richness of variety which the generous soil of Ireland is capable of producing. His intellect and imagination were of the deep sea, rather than the rushing river, and the living products of it as infinite and diversified as the multitudinous genera of the ocean. In his philosophic mind he resembled Berkeley in some degree; while in the warmth and tenderness of his sympathies he was hardly the inferior of that disinterested but rather eccentric genius. A man whom one great modern authority declares fit to rank with Shakespeare, and a still greater one of a past age believed to be the superior of Cicero, is a figure which certainly sheds lustre on the country of his nativity. The purity and nobility of his private life lifted him, too, head and shoulders above the herd of prominent men in the still rough and not too squeamish age in which he flourished. In this he was truly typical of his country.

JOHN J. O'SHEA.

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DR. F. H. BRADLEY'S APPEARANCE AND REALITY  
—PRIMARY AND SECONDARY QUALITIES.

DR. BRADLEY is a metaphysician of so much distinction that his views demand careful consideration from Catholics. They do so no less on account of the truths which he defends than on account of the errors into which he has been led in common with so many other worthy men of the English Schools of Metaphysics. But most of all do his tenets and his teachings need careful consideration and criticism from English-speaking Catholics, because, in the absence of such criticism, and of every sign of esteem and appreciation on our part, we run the risk of being denied any hearing for whatever we may wish to advance on the ground of our apparent ignorance of a writer whose following, if not very numerous, is certainly a choice and distinguished following.

His last published and remarkable volume, the title of which heads this article, would demand at least as large a volume as his own, for its adequate criticism.

Our only purpose here is the very modest one of criticising his three initial chapters. Therein he at once takes up such a position that, if he cannot defend it against an assailant, will enable opponents of his who have once captured it, to disperse Dr. Bradley's metaphysical forces and put them to utter rout.

The object of his book is to show that ordinary modes of regarding the Universe—that of Catholic philosophy among the number—are delusions. He declares that the world, so understood, contradicts itself, and is therefore appearance only, and not reality—non-self-contradiction being his test of reality. His first chapter affirms that the primary qualities of objects are as much mere appearance as, in his opinion, are their secondary qualities.

His first words are :

"The fact of illusion and error is in various ways forced early upon the mind ; and the ideas, by which we try to understand the Universe, may be considered as attempts to set right our failure. In this division of my work I shall criticise some of these, and shall endeavor to show that they have not reached their object. I shall point out that the world, as so understood, contradicts itself, and is therefore appearance, and not reality."

He begins (as we have said) by criticising the proposal to make things intelligible by the distinction between primary and second-

ary qualities, because this proposal is sure to reappear, and is, he says, "in the main so easily disposed of."

The primary qualities are, he tells us, spatial, and the residue secondary, and the proposed solution (which he opposes) takes "the former as reality, and everything else somehow as derivative, and as more or less justifiable appearance."

He gives as "the foundation" of this proposed solution the following principle:

"We assume that a thing must be self-consistent and self-dependent. It either has a quality or has not got it. And if it has it, it cannot have it only sometimes, and merely in this or that relation."

That anything which exists cannot at the same time have such contradictory qualities as render existence absolutely impossible is, of course, a mere truism. But it may have qualities which are so far inconsistent that they render its continued existence ultimately impossible, and such qualities are possessed by the living bodies of men and animals.

That anything whatever (except of course God) is self-dependent is a falsism. Nothing is known to us which has not objective relations, the existence of which are absolutely necessary for its being. This is true of every mineral and non-organic substance as well as of every living creature.

It is true, indeed, of every quality that either it exists or else that it does not exist, but it is not true to say that every quality a body can have, it has always, and in every relation. Of course qualities which are essential to the existence of any kind of body or substance must be ever present, however completely hidden and unperceived they may now and again be. But there are many accidental qualities which may often be truly absent, as at other times truly present.

\* The quality of actually producing a glistening in human eyes, for example, which a diamond necklace possesses, is only possessed by it sometimes—when it is taken out of its case in the presence of light, and of a person, or persons, who can see it. It is merely in such relations that the quality of "actually producing a glistening in human eyes" is possessed by it. Nevertheless, that the essentially objective quality which renders it capable of producing that glistening, actually persists, we, of course, do not deny.

Mr. Bradley says<sup>1</sup> that his principle (above quoted) "is the condemnation of secondary qualities." If we are right, however, his principle is not even true. It remains to be seen whether it is, anyhow, a rational condemnation of such qualities.

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<sup>1</sup> P. 12.



He says it matters very little how, in detail, this principle is worked with, and he works with it thus :

"A thing is colored, but not colored in the same way to every eye; and except to some eye it seems not colored at all."

Granting the first assertion, we demur to the second. Let a piece of *lapis lazuli* be enclosed in a dark room in which there is no living creature. Can we say that, under such conditions, it "seems not colored at all?" Certainly no man can perceive it either "colored" or "not colored;" and of course he can be sure that no "sensation of blue," such as he, or another, would have experienced, could they have seen it, can possibly exist. But that is a very different thing from saying that the piece of *lapis lazuli* "seems not colored at all." The *senses* can under such circumstances give no information whatever, but what *reason*, at least, "seems" to affirm is that the fact of not being seen, or looked at, can make no essential difference to the hidden piece of *lapis lazuli* but that every property it had, the possession of which caused an eye to see blue, remains with it still. Of course the accidental quality of "being in the act of producing a feeling of blue," as in the previous instance of the diamond necklace, will be absent when no eye sees it, but that is a very different thing from seeming "not to be colored at all." Let us suppose a lighted candle was left shut up in an empty room into which no eye looked. Is there the slightest reason for not believing that it would persist unchanged with all its properties about it, between the time the door was shut and that at which it was reopened and the lighted candle found to be still burning? That it would do so is as certain as that its incidental quality of giving light to a spectator would cease when it became shut up in the empty room. And both the piece of *lapis lazuli* and the candle must have objective properties corresponding with human feelings of "blue" and "brightness;" for if the latter depended on the observer only, why should he not cause other and very different things to appear blue and bright? I say, then, the *lapis lazuli* is colored in both cases, and is in both cases objectively blue, *i.e.*, possesses a property or properties fitted to produce in a normally constituted human being a sensation and perception of blue, and of no other color. This is not Mill's mere "permanent possibility of sensation"; but a real objective quality acting on the living human body as a cause of definite sensitive effects.

"And the eye—relation to which appears somehow to make the quality—does that," he asks again, "itself possess color? Clearly not so, unless there is another eye which sees it."

But the eye does possess color, or other colors, whether seen or not—like the *lapis lazuli* shut up in the dark, but its possession of color does not in the least prevent its being actually an achromatic instrument of vision, and one which does not allow its own colors to obscure and transform the object it sees.

"Nothing therefore," he concludes, "is really colored; color seems only to belong to what itself is colorless."

On the contrary, as we are inclined to believe, everything is colored, though it may be that our sensations give us but a very faint and inadequate conception of the splendor and beauty of objective color as it might be, and may be, apprehended by other beings.<sup>1</sup> This, of course, is but a private persuasion. It is one, however, which it is impossible to prove untrue.

That the color of external objects is only perceived by what does not perceive directly its own color is but a necessary consequence of the eye being an achromatic instrument. Were it not so, every object seen would be blurred or disguised, as by looking through a figured or colored glass.

Dr. Bradley next refers to cold and heat, and by a similar argument, which may be similarly met, tries to show their unreality, contending that the skin is without them, as the eye is without color. But as the eye has color, so has the skin a definite heat; while the fact that an object of one absolute degree of temperature may here seem to us to be cold, and there be felt as warm, or first one and then the other, constitutes no tittle of evidence against that objectivity of heat which physical science affirms and acts in accordance with that affirmation.

Once more he objects:

"Sounds, not heard, are hardly real, while what *hears them is the ear*,<sup>2</sup> itself not audible, nor even always in the enjoyment of sound."

But is the cry of the bat, which A, B and C can hear, to be thought "unreal" because D is deaf to it? As to "what hears them" (*i.e.*, sounds), who can tell?

It is *we* who hear them by the aid of ears and brain. The action of both must concur, and what can be less evident than that (as Dr. Bradley implies) the brain is excluded from energizing in the act of hearing?

Next, as to smell and taste, he asks:

"If a thing tastes only in the mouth, is taste its quality? Has it smell where there is no nose?"

<sup>1</sup> See *On Truth*, p. 127.

<sup>2</sup> The italics are ours.

We reply, again, not the quality as *felt*, but the quality as *known* to the intellect to be objective (through the medium of perceived sensations) exists. Of course, the tongue does not taste itself any more than the eye sees the colors of its own tissues, or than the ear hears its own acts of audition.

As to what is "pleasant and disgusting," and as to how they can be "in the object," Beauty (like goodness and truth) is both objective and subjective<sup>1</sup>—it is not only in the mind but also in the thing the mind perceives—as, in our opinion, an intrinsic quality of an object whereby that object approximates to perfection according to the kind and sort of thing it is.

We therefore altogether deny "that things have secondary qualities only for an organ."

It is true that we may, by rare exception and under some abnormal conditions, "have the sensation without the object, and the object without the sensation;" but that does not in the least show that the sensation is not the result of the corresponding objective quality of the object, and no reasonable person can think the sensation to be a "quality" of the object, though the aptitude for producing it is.

Mr. Bradley, of course, himself accepts the truth of these contentions against the objectivity of secondary qualities, but he here treats them as part of the argument of those who say that though secondary qualities are but appearance, yet add<sup>2</sup> that "the extended only is real," and "itself has no quality but extension."

Before, however, proceeding to attack the assertion of the reality of the extended, he puts forward (for the purpose of refutation) an imagined defence of secondary qualities (something on our own lines), as follows:

"All the arguments do but show defect in, or interference with, the organ of perception. . . . The qualities are constant in the things themselves, and if they fail to impart themselves, or impart themselves wrongly, that is always due to something outside their nature. If we could perceive them, they are there."

This defence seems to him "hardly tenable," because, "if the qualities impart themselves never except under conditions, how in the end are we to say what they are when unconditioned?" But the "qualities" never exist "unconditioned." The antithesis is between "under conditions of one sort" and "under conditions of another sort"; and if our sensations are only evoked under the first set of conditions, how can we pretend to say what their results would be under an absolutely unexperienced second set of conditions? But because we may not be able to tell what those results might be, that fact in no way invalidates our perception

<sup>1</sup> See *On Truth*, p. 257.

<sup>2</sup> P. 13.



that there *are* objective qualities which the first set of conditions reveals the existence of to us through the sensations they give rise to. The fact that these qualities are always made known to us through related sensations which are only known as "appearing," does not in the least show that we know these qualities are only appearances, though, as we all agree, we know them only *through* sensations which present themselves in "consentience" or in consciousness.

That a taste, or smell, may be partly pleasant and partly disgusting<sup>2</sup> is nothing wonderful as the result of previous sensuous associations of different kinds. Such feelings have no necessarily corresponding objective characteristics. We all know that tastes differ,<sup>3</sup> and no one is so foolish as to suppose that if the flavor of cinnamon is disgusting to him (as it happens to be to us) it must also be disgusting to other people.

Therefore we altogether deny that the defence of secondary qualities has broken down.

Dr. Bradley then proceeds to examine the question, Are secondary qualities but the appearance of the primary qualities, and are these latter "the reality?" He raises four objections against their reality.

As the first of these objections he asks:<sup>4</sup>

"How, in the nature of the extended, the qualities stand to the relations which have to hold between them?"

But in order to affirm with certainty that the extended exists (that in its parts are external to each other), it is by no means necessary to pretend to know its "nature" and how the "qualities" and "relations" stand to each other. The absolute, essential nature of bodies—corporeal substance in itself—certainly is not known, nor do we believe it ever will be. "Qualities" and "relations," as such, are, of course, mere "abstractions," though they have a foundation in the several realities of which they are predicated. The difficulties here raised by Dr. Bradley are mainly verbal, and result from the impossibility of using language not based on the imagination, and the correlative impossibility of our imagining anything which has not (as a whole or in its parts) been the subject of sensuous experience.

Dr. Bradley's expressions "stand" and "to hold between" have, of course, plainly sensuous implications which tend utterly to mislead. They suggest "qualities" existing, as if they were a "series of posts," with "chains of relations" holding between them.

<sup>1</sup> As to this term, see *On Truth*, p. 183.

<sup>2</sup> P. 14.

<sup>3</sup> See *On Truth*, p. 260, and *Essays and Criticisms*.

<sup>4</sup> Pp. 14, 15, and also p. 38.

But objective "relations" and objective "qualities" are not like chains or posts or any other material things, but are often necessarily and absolutely unimaginable by us. Our impotence to imagine them, however, is not the slightest bar to our apprehending them by the intellect, while if we *could* imagine them, our very power so to do would, *ipso facto*, prove that we were under the grossest error concerning them.

Dr. Bradley's second objection is that—

"the relation of the primary qualities to the secondary—in which class feeling and thought have presumably to be placed—seem wholly unintelligible. For nothing is actually removed from existence by being labelled 'appearance.'"

Put the word "unimaginable" for "unintelligible," and we freely grant the truth of the first sentence just quoted. Each of us has an extended body with feelings and thoughts, the whole constituting, during life, an absolute indivisible unity, though embracing many relations. But what man convinced of this would pretend (if out of Bedlam) to be able to correctly imagine such relations? The avowal of the impotence of the imagination, however, need not be accompanied by the faintest doubt about their existence and reality. And though "appearances" have a certain reality as such, there are various orders of reality, and the reality of appearances is very different from the reality of an oak tree, a coat, or of the individual who may wear it.

Dr. Bradley further says:<sup>1</sup>

"Appearance must belong, and yet cannot belong, to the extended."

But why must it so belong, and why cannot it in another way belong thereto? The double operation is, for us, by no means evident. That everything extended is apparent is hardly less false than the assertion that nothing extended can be apparent.

Again we read:

"Appearance is neither able to fall somewhere apart, since there is no other real place; nor ought it, since, if so, the relation would vanish and appearance would cease to be derivative."

Dr. Bradley is exceedingly apt to make use of such very material images as "falling outside" and "somewhere apart," etc. But such images are exceedingly misleading, and, we venture to think, mislead Dr. Bradley himself. Still, as in the above-quoted words, he is representing the views of a supposed assertor of the *exclusive* reality of primary qualities, we will let his statement pass.

Once more he observes:

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<sup>1</sup> P. 15.

"But on the other side, if it belongs in any sense to the reality, how can it be shown not to infect that with its own unreal character?"

But appearance may (and we believe does) belong to the reality in so far as the reality has qualities which occasion us to apprehend such appearance, and this in no way even tends to cast doubt upon the reality itself.

He goes on :

"Or we may urge that matter must cease to be itself, if qualified essentially by all that is secondary. But taken otherwise, it has become itself but one out of two elements, and is not the reality."

We are afraid that we do not understand Dr. Bradley in this sentence. It is, of course, quite plain that each parcel of matter cannot be essentially qualified by *all* that is secondary (*e.g.*, be black and not black, noisy and silent, sapid and tasteless) at the same time. What need can there be to suppose it so qualified in order to affirm the objectivity of something extended ?

But surely it is conceivable, for it was for ages so taught and believed, and by very many it is still believed, that matter, *materia prima*, has no qualities in itself, but may successively receive a variety of very different ones. If Dr. Bradley by the expression "taken otherwise" means devoid of all qualities, he may be quite right, for such matter would be *materia prima*, often termed a *quasi-nihil*. If, however, by "taken otherwise" he means (as he would seem to express) *not* qualified essentially by all that is secondary, that is just what every body and substance that we know of is, and being so, *is* a reality.

His third contention is that the reasoning which (according to him) shows secondary qualities not to be real, equally serves to show that primary qualities are not real either.

He says :

"The extended comes to us only by relation to an organ ; the thing is perceived by us through an affection of our body, and never without that."

But why in the world should we not apprehend extension through our organs, and what doubt does such a means of apprehending it cast upon the truth of the apprehension ? Why, also, should we be uncertain as to truths of our perception of the extension (*e.g.*, of our own body) if we can only perceive it by the action of one part on another ? Are we to reject everything as uncertain at which we arrive by the use of our organs, and to consider as certain only that at which we have no means of arriving whatever ? He says :<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> P. 15.



"That we have no miraculous intuition of our body, as spatial reality is perfectly certain."

The word "miraculous" is needless and should be eliminated, as its only use can be to excite an irrational prejudice. Nobody pretends that we have a miraculous intuition of any kind.

But *quod gratis asseritur gratis negatur*, and we do not hesitate to affirm that our intuition of our body as a substantial reality is perfectly certain.

Of course as we cannot think till we have begun to feel, our intuition of the body's extension is not gained without experience. But the ordinary experience of life makes that intuition clear and distinct at a very early date.

Dr. Bradley imagines a defence of extension against himself, thus :<sup>1</sup>

"We might reply that the extended thing is a fact real of itself, and that only its relation to our percipience is variable."

But this defence he attacks as follows :

"If a thing is known to have a quality only under a certain condition, there is no process of reasoning from this which will justify the conclusion that the thing, if unconditioned, is still the same. This seems quite certain."

Again we must correct the expression "unconditioned." Once more the antithesis is between "some conditions" and "other conditions;" and so corrected the assertion is plainly erroneous. We have only known the sun in so far as it is above the horizon. But that does not prevent one being certain that we could, were we supplied with the means, also see it on the opposite side of the heavens.

Dr. Bradley further says :

"If we have no other source of information, if the quality in question is non-existent for us except in one relation, then for us to assert its reality away from that relation is more than unwarranted."

But we always have more than one source of information about the qualities of objects. We have (1) consentience and (2) the self-conscious intellect. To take the simplest case; the perception of the odor of a rose. We have our sense of smell and its product, the sensation of the rose. But we have also the intellect which reveals to us that sensation as being due to an objective quality possessed by that flower.

There is thus a certain *vraisemblance* in Dr. Bradley's remark, that if we validly apprehend extended bodies we—

"must somehow get to the existence of primary qualities in a way which avoids their relation to an organ."

The real meaning of this appears to be that we must not only *feel* but also *know*, and this we also loudly assert. The complexus of bodily sensations united with the imagination of past sensuous associated experiences, suffices for our sense-apprehension of the extended, and thus the active intellect raises to a direct and immediate perception thereof.

His next argument is that:

"Without secondary quality, extension is not conceivable, and no one can bring it, as existing before the mind if he keeps it quite pure."

To attempt to do so, he says, is to take a ghost for a solid reality.

But here we have again a result of the error of limiting the power of the intellect to the imaginative faculty. Of course we cannot think of anything extended without imagining secondary quality because we have never once in our lives experienced anything extended without secondary quality.

He next says<sup>1</sup> that the doctrine he opposes—

"of course, holds that the extended can be natural, entirely apart from every other quality. But extension is never so given. If it is visual, it must be colored, and if it is natural, or acquired in the various other ways which may fall under the head of the 'muscular sense'—then it is never free from sensations, coming from the skin, or the joints, or the muscles, or as some would like to add, from a central source."

Now to us it is certainly not evident that the extended can be actual entirely apart from any other quality, neither is it evident that it cannot so be actual. But this, of course, does not even tend to invalidate the reality of the extended. Of course it is never so given; of course it is given in company with sensations, for we can perceive nothing save *through* their aid. It is also most true, indeed we have always asserted, that no one can think of extension save by the aid of a mental image of something extended. Dr. Bradley says, "without thinking at the same time of a 'what' that is extended," and this with particular differences "up and down" also included.

After observing that some psychologists urge that primary qualities are derived from secondary, which he (Dr. Bradley) "could not quite say," he adds, "Extension cannot be presented or thought of, except as one with quality that is secondary." This assertion is manifestly false. We cannot think of extension without the help of the sensuous images, but thus aided, we *can*

think of it as apart from secondary quality. For if we could not do so, we could not discuss the question whether or not it can so exist, neither could we have declared, as we have done, that to us it is not evident that it can do so. Neither could Dr. Bradley write upon the question as he does. Surely he would not contend that he writes about a question concerning which he is utterly unable to think.

"Extension" is an abstraction, as also is "quality," whether primary or secondary; but like them, with a foundation in actually existing concrete things.

Dr. Bradley, again, imagines a reply to himself to the effect that "secondary qualities" are "results from the primary." But this is by no means our explanation. We have no pretension to explain *how* anything extended exists, or how it possesses in the concrete what we describe by the abstract term "secondary qualities." But *ignorantia modi non tollit certitudinem facti*.

It is certainly true that if in scientific work we find it convenient to disregard certain aspects of things and go on thence to infer that the residue regarded is an independent, real thing, apart from what we have disregarded, such an inference would indeed be "barbarous metaphysics." No doubt, also, if we became convinced that there was nothing real and objective in secondary qualities, such scepticism might weaken our intellectual perception of the extended as such; but the reality of the latter is not an inference but an intellectual intuition acquired through the ministry of sense. Thus, Dr. Bradley, unless we are strangely mistaken, has neither succeeded in showing that primary qualities stand on the same footing as secondary ones, nor that the latter are appearances only and not known to us as so many external realities. But if neither primary nor secondary qualities are mere appearances, he is mistaken with respect to his inquiry into the initial stages of mere delusion. Now, a mistake so fundamental is surely enough to deprive of certitude all Dr. Bradley's subsequent reasonings.

Before proceeding to consider Dr. Bradley's second chapter, it may be well to note how idealism must be the irresistible result of a refusal to Reason of its natural rights.

The man who knows nothing of metaphysics sees a tree, a dog, or a stone, and declares he sees them. If asked how he knows he does see them, he replies he sees them, and, if he likes, can feel them. An idealist tells him he can really know nothing but his sensations and groups of imaginations of passed sensations, and that his tree, dog and stone are each but complex groups of sensations and imaginations, together with perceptions of such groups, which are all nothing but so many psychical states. Try as he may, he cannot see, feel, or in any way become cognizant of any-



thing save some feelings or psychical states. So says the idealist; and many a plain man may be thereby converted to idealism, or may at least be puzzled and find no answer. But a man of sturdy good sense and some acuteness may, however, reply to the idealist thus: You may talk for ever, but I know that the tree, dog and stone are in themselves something over and above and apart from any psychical states of mine or of yours, though the three objects are made present to both our minds thereby.

And the sturdy-minded man is right; for he unconsciously recognizes what the idealist ignores, namely, the intuitive action of the intellect. "Feelings" vivid and faint, however complexly grouped, can know nothing; it is only by the intellect a man can know that he even has feelings, and that very intellect which tells him he has "feelings" tells him also of the presence of the tree, the dog and the stone, and also of his own body, as real, objective, and not merely psychical. To regard the "feelings" experienced as more certain or real than the perception of objects is, indeed, to put the cart before the horse. Objects are perceived and apprehended first and directly; the feelings through which we perceive them we can only recognize afterwards, indirectly (with more or less troublesome effort) through reflexion.

We do not, of course, wish to imply that "Idealists" are habitually occupied about their "feelings" more than other people, or that they fail to recognize things perceived as perceived. Nevertheless they declare that the things so perceived are psychical states—are mental—and so sacrifice the primary declaration of their reason to secondary inferences.

If a man will persist in regarding his sensations instead of his intellect as supreme, and in disregarding the direct declarations of the latter, he is thereby forced to construct, if he would systematize his knowledge, some artificial world of feelings, and the various systems of idealism are the inevitable results. They result necessarily from ignoring what our reason tells us about the external world, and only accepting as positive the materials whereby our reason is enabled to perceive anything. Their idealistic conceptions are like the movements which a blind man, only guided by his stick, has to make, as contrasted with the free and unconstrained progression of him who has his eyes open and uses them, which are like the conceptions of a non-idealist.

We are so organized that our reason has first to be awakened through the incidence of sensations, while all our intellectual acts have to be aided by sensuous imaginations. The result is that he who neglects to note that they cannot (however useful or indispensable) be *known* without the use of the intellect, unconsciously destroys the basis of every system he would rear on a

basis of feelings, for those feelings cannot be known save by that very power which apprehends objectivities beyond sensation and the realities of the external world; and if he regards its declarations as to these to be untrustworthy, what reason has he to trust its declarations as to the nature of his psychical states? That he has what he believes to be such is, of course, absolutely unquestionable, but that they are feelings or psychical states and nothing more he can never by any possibility know. All beyond what he knows as his present feelings must be for him an impenetrable mystery, while the fact that he "knows it," and knows it not through feeling but through the declarations of his intellect, ought to make him recognize the fact of the inexpressible inferiority of all sensations and sense-impressions to that power through which he knows that he has them. It is as difficult, mysterious, and wonderful to know a "sense-impress" as to know any object of the external world which our intellect can perceive through its presence.

But in fact, though such object can be perceived with absolute certainty, all that is *most* certain is made up of what the senses can never take cognizance of or be impressed by.

That we do no injustice to Dr. Bradley in asserting that for him everything is mental, the following words<sup>1</sup> prove: "We can discover nothing that is not either feeling or thought, or will or emotion, or something else of the kind. We can find nothing but this, and to have an idea of anything else is plainly impossible." This he assumes as a main principle clearly established, and his only effort is to develop it and free it from obscurities<sup>2</sup>—an effort vain indeed.

We may study Dr. Bradley's second and third chapters together, for they are expositions of one conception, or rather, we fear, of one misconception. They together constitute a marvellous and very interesting manifestation of the hopeless confusion and irrationality, as it seems to us, which necessarily results from treating mental states as the be all and end all of existence.

One very curious feature the reader may remark in Dr. Bradley's idealism, and that is his fundamental materialism and utter subjection to the very crudest sensuous images, taken as valid representations and tests of intellectual conceptions.

His second chapter (p. 19) is entitled "*Substantive and Adjective*," while his third (p. 25) is headed "*Relation and Quality*."

He begins his curiously gratuitous puzzle by observing: "We find the world's contents grouped into things and their qualities;" adding: "I must briefly point out the failure of this method, if regarded as a serious attempt at reality."

<sup>1</sup> P. 522.

<sup>2</sup> P. 523.



He selects as a familiar instance of a thing and its qualities a lump of sugar, whereof white, hard and sweet are properties or adjectives which qualify it.

Out of this simple idea or perception he then proceeds to evolve most amazing puzzles. To begin with, he says: "The sugar, we say, *is* all that; but what the *is* can really mean seems doubtful. A thing is not one of its qualities, if you take that quality by itself; if 'sweet' were the same as 'simply sweet,' the thing would clearly be not sweet."

We are by no means sure that every reader of this will at once "clearly" see what Dr. Bradley means by the last part of the above sentence. Its meaning we take to be as follows: A thing "simply sweet" would be nothing but sweet, it would have no quality but sweetness. Now, the lump of sugar has other qualities, and therefore cannot be "simply sweet." If, therefore, sweet were identical with "simply sweet," as it cannot be this (*i.e.*, simply sweet), it cannot be that the latter is identical with, namely, sweet. After this example of Dr. Bradley's love of verbal paradox, and noting, in passing, the impossibility of anything being "simply sweet," let us consider the initial puzzle of his sentence—the puzzle, namely, that the sugar *is* white, hard and sweet.

It is certainly true that a thing is neither one of its qualities nor all its qualities combined, and yet it is true that this lump of sugar *is in reality* white, as well as sweet and hard also.

Not, of course, that the concrete substance sugar is the same thing as the abstraction white, but that the substance *really is in itself* of such a nature, objectively and in the concrete, as to produce in us real, concrete feelings, which we denote by the abstract terms white, sweet, and hard.

It is quite true, as Dr. Bradley remarks, that the sugar cannot be all its properties taken severally. As he also most rightly says, "Sugar is obviously not mere whiteness, mere hardness, and mere sweetness, for its reality lies somehow in its unity."

There is, of course, the very essence of the sugar, its corporeal, material substance. To this, however, Dr. Bradley, equally, of course, remains altogether blind. Thus he continues: "If we inquire what there can be in the thing besides its several qualities, we are baffled once more. We can discover no real unity existing outside these qualities, or, again, existing within them."

None, proverbially, are so blind as those who will not see; and Dr. Bradley persists in keeping his intellectual eyes closed with a firm will.

Though we can discover no reality existing "outside" or "inside" (the reader should note these material images), the qualities, the normal human intellect can, without any difficulty, discover



and apprehend a substantial objective reality, which is one with its various objective qualities, the subjective effects of which are corresponding qualities of the mind affected by them.

When the essence, the whole substantial reality, is ideally removed (as our author removes it) from our object—a lump of sugar, or an idealist philosopher—it is easy to play fast and loose, or make ducks and drakes, ideally, of unfortunate “qualities” and “relations” which cannot pretend to any self-subsistence in themselves, and seem thus cast loose to be the sport of any wind of doctrine, and even blown into “cocked-hats,” so that they would not know themselves had they any mind wherewith to know anything.

Our author next proposes (with a view to showing its futility) to arrive at some satisfactory solution by the interposition of relations.

As to sweet, white and hard, he says (p. 20): “We certainly do not predicate one of the other, for, if we attempt to identify them, they at once resist.” But in truth they do nothing of the kind, nor anything at all, but remain purely quiescent, as becomes mere abstractions, whose business is not “to do” but “to be done with” by human intelligence, which recognizes them for what they are, and clearly sees that, in forming the abstract idea “white,” it has acted in one way, and in forming the abstractions “sweet” and “hard” it has acted in two other ways—as a collector who collects fish, insects and plants acts differently with each. The difference of action, however, which attends the actions of the abstractor or collector are differences caused by the objective natures of the kinds of qualities abstracted, and of three kinds of objects collected. The three acts of abstraction in themselves and the three acts of collection in themselves are severally similar, and the abstractor knows that the three objects of his process of abstraction are distinct and different in themselves, as the collector knows his fishes are not insects, nor his insects plants.

But Dr. Bradley asks (ironically) why should sugar “be more than its properties in relation? When ‘white,’ ‘hard’ and ‘sweet,’ and the rest coexist in a certain way, that is surely the secret of the thing. The qualities are and were in relation.”

Supposing, then, that a relation is to be asserted in a case. “The quality A is in relation with another quality, B. But what are we to understand here by *is*? We do not mean that in relation with B is A, and yet we assert that A *is* in relation with B.”

Surely we have here a most notable instance of perversity as to a mere word, the word “is,” which Dr. Bradley (making a difficulty where there really is none) affects not to see is used in two utterly different senses in his suggestions. In one sense it is used to predicate identity, as when we say A is A; in the other case

it affirms not at all identity, but the mere existence of a circumstance or condition.

Thus, when we say (as above quoted), "one quality A is in relation with another quality, B," what we are to understand by "is" is the affirmation of a circumstance or condition affecting both A and B. No man in his senses could suppose that "is," as here used, signifies either that "'in relation with B'" (words which are gibberish and denote nothing) "is identical with A," or that "A is identical with 'in relation with B,'" which Dr. Bradley puts forward as results of regarding qualities as existing in relation or of asserting a relation of each of the qualities, sweet, white and hard.

Then he continues: "In the same way C is called 'before D,' and E is spoken of as *being* 'to the right of F.' We say all this, but from the interpretation, then 'before D' *is* C, and 'to the right of F' is E, we recoil in horror." Here we have a confusion between (1) "is" as predicating existence, (2) "is" as affirming first an antecedent condition in time, and (3) "is" as asserting a particular position in space. The inverted commas and the order of the words are wrongly placed, and so necessarily convey a false signification. They should be thus: C "is before" D, and E "is to the right of" F. This simple change caused Dr. Bradley's verbal paradoxes to vanish like so many enchantments conjured up by a logomachian magician.

He next proposes to substitute "has" for "is," and to assert the relation not of one term but of two, as "a sort of attribute which adheres or belongs" to the things related.

Then he presents us once more with a profound puzzle out of nothing, saying: "If you mean that A and B, taken each severally, even 'have' this relation, you are asserting what is false. But if you mean that A and B in such a relation are so related, you appear to mean nothing."

Let us suppose that two persons belong to the same family, being descendants of the same great-grandfather. Each of them, taken severally, "has" this relationship, and to so affirm is not false. Of course if the phrase "taken severally" is used to mean that the existence of one of the pair is absolutely unknown, then, of course, X, who only knows of one, cannot assert, with subjective truth, the relationship of one person to another of whose existence X knows absolutely nothing. But that would not destroy the *objective* truth of such a statement made by a man who foolishly or unconsciously asserts it. On the other hand, to say that two family relations, A and B, are related in blood does not "mean nothing," but is tautology.

Dr. Bradley continues (p. 21) as follows: "But let us attempt



another exit from this bewildering circle. Let us abstain from making the relation an attribute of the related, and let us make it more or less independent."

The "bewildering circle" is of Dr. Bradley's own creation, and bewilders and encircles no one but those who adopt his "bewildering" philosophy. His hypothetical suggestion of regarding a relation as something distinct from the things related involves, as it must, and as he shows it does, a *regressus ad infinitum*. For if a relation between two things were independently real and distinct and separate from both these, two other relations would be required to connect that relation with the things related (one for each), and so on forever.

He next says (pp. 21-22): "The attempt to resolve the thing into properties, each a real thing, taken somehow together with independent relations, has proved an obvious failure. 'A relation,' if it is to be real, must be so somehow at the expense of the terms, or, at least, must be something which appears in them or to which they belong."

But a relation is in no way "at the expense of the terms." The relation of consanguinity between two brothers is an abstract idea, which idea while present in a mind is a subjective fact as real as any brickbat, while the abstraction refers to a real objective fact concerning each of the brothers, and concerning both of them, and also their parents, which objective fact is the foundation of the abstract idea.

Similarly a spatial relation, or a relation of time between two objects or events, are of course each of them *as* relations abstract ideas (as no one knows better than Dr. Bradley), but they are derived from objective facts of position or succession between such objects or events.

"A relation between *A* and *B*," he tells us, "implies really a substantial foundation between them." "A substantial foundation between them" is an odd way of expressing that one loaf of bread is two days older than another, though, of course, a series of real events took place between the completion of the process of baking each of the two loaves. He explains (or tries to) his meaning, saying: "This foundation, if we say that *A* is like *B*, is the identity *X*, which holds these differences together." But granting, for argument's sake, that "likeness" implies some fragmentary identity between two objects, how are they necessarily held together thereby? There is a certain "likeness" between the Arctic and the Antarctic regions, but it is not that which holds them together; and if the "likeness" which exists between certain comets holds them together, it must be said to hold them with a singularly untenacious and elastic grasp.



He next suggests an explanation which he also regards (and no wonder) as unsatisfactory. It is the suggestion that anything real which has different qualities, preserves them in existence by giving rise to relations between them. His words are (p. 22): "It seems as if a reality possessed differences, A and B, incompatible with one another, and also with itself. And so in order, without contradiction, to retain its various properties, this whole consents to wear the form of relations between them. And this is why qualities are found to be some incompatible and some compatible."

As to what is "contrary," he says it is where a thing fails to set up a relation between its properties. Thus, an odor is not contrary to a color because a relation can be established between them, but two colors are contrary because no relation can be established between them.

Yet we still have our shot-silks after all, while the relations which exist between colors and smells are not very evident.

However, we may abstain from further criticism here, since Dr. Bradley himself tells us (p. 23): "The whole device is a mere makeshift. It consists in saying to the outside world, 'I am the owner of these my adjectives;' and to the properties, 'I am but a relation which leaves you your liberty.' And to itself and for itself it is the futile pretence to have both characters at once."

Not consenting to recognize an object as naturally apprehended, its properties inevitably seem to him to "fall apart from the thing and away from one another," while "no unity is possible save through the old undivided substance." This substance he objects to, because, he says, it "admits of no distinctions."

Yet this seems to us to be a huge mistake. We have, of course, no perception of corporeal substance in itself, but distinctions between concrete substances of different kinds and between different properties of the same concrete substance are quite clearly apprehensible by us through the combined action of our reason and our senses.

Dr. Bradley concludes his second chapter by bringing forward another possible suggestion, the suggestion, namely, that the thing perceived itself is a unity, and its aspects "of adjective and substantive" are only subjective points of view. But to accept this would be to abandon the whole matter which Dr. Bradley's book is intended to investigate, namely, how, without error (p. 24), "we may think of reality." It also doubles the confusion by adding a positive assertion of mental incapacity to apprehend the real to previously noted difficulties.

His third chapter begins with a consideration of the respective natures of "quality" and "relation," and he affirms that anything,

the facts as to which are arranged into the two groups, "relations" and "qualities," is "not true reality, but is appearance."

The author avows that the object of his third chapter is to show that the very essence of the ideas "relation" and "quality" contradicts itself.

Dr. Bradley's test of reality is non-self-contradiction, as he conceives of it, and, of course, we fully agree with him, that what contradicts itself cannot be reality.

He tells us (p. 25) his conclusion will be that "relation presupposes quality, and quality relation."

His first contention is, that qualities are nothing without relations. He need surely contend but little on this head, if we were to grant his assumption that qualities and relations are nothing but feelings—nothing but psychical states. Were such the case, he would, indeed, be right in his contention, and our intellects would all exist in that state of hopeless muddle wherein he takes them to be.

He says (p. 26): "You can never find qualities without relations. Whenever you take them so, they are made so, and continue so, which itself implies relation." Of course, we cannot perceive a quality without an act of perception, and without distinguishing it from what has not that quality and, very often, from other qualities also, and all this most truly implies relations between that quality and our mind and between our ideas of what has and what has not such quality. We cannot, of course, think without thinking, or think of A and B without A and B coming into relation in our mind. All this is surely nothing but the most obvious of truisms.

He admits the existence of unrelated qualities in the form of mere feelings with several aspects, merely felt and not perceived by him who feels. But these, he affirms (p. 27), are not qualities at all, save to an outside observer, and for such an observer they must be also relations, or he could not cognize them as *aspects*.

For us, of course, such mere feelings, even when perceived by no outside observer any more than by the subject of them, are none the less true objective qualities of the psychical being which feels them, and they have also objective relations with whatever causes or conditions their existence.

Dr. Bradley next suggests an answer to his own paradox, to the effect that though there may be a relation between qualities, and any mind which perceives them, yet this "relation does not really belong to reality"; it only exists for us, and is a condition of our knowledge. But the distinction between quality and relation is none the less based upon differences in the only real thing, which differences persist when we are no longer apprehending that



thing. This answer is fundamentally similar to our own, and we regard it as sound and valid.

Dr. Bradley repudiates it as follows : "Such an answer depends on the separation of product from process, and this separation seems indefensible. The qualities, as distinct, are always made so by an action which is admitted to imply relation."

But we, of course, altogether deny that qualities are products of our mental activity, or of any imaginable mental activity, with the exception of those mental qualities which have been elaborated by the mental labor of those who possess them.

The quality of rotundity which exists in a child's marble exists independently of (as before said) any imaginable mind.

But of course you cannot separate product from process if there is no product which is not mental and the outcome of a mental process. Such qualities when recognized as distinct must of course be made so to the mind "by an action" which implies "relation."

Dr. Bradley considers the objection that the process may not, after all, be essential to the product, adding, "that is a conclusion to be proved, and it is monstrous to assume it." And most truly monstrous it would be had we no knowledge of qualities altogether independent of any imaginable mind.

"Not only" he further (p. 28) observes, "is the ignoring of the process a thing quite indefensible, but there is evidence that it gives falsehood. For the result bears internally the character of the process. The manyness of the qualities cannot, in short, be reconciled with their simplicity. Their plurality depends on relation, and without that relation, they are not distinct. But, if not distinct, then not different, and therefore not qualities."

This is of course most true, too; distinct qualities must be different, and if different, distinct, and if distinct, then related, and if related, then more than unity. This may seem mere trifling to our readers; but it is only by such a method that we can (so far as we see) bring home to them the fact that every system, such as that of Dr. Bradley, must be constructed of blended truisms and paradoxes, and nothing else.

But our author does not deny "that quality without difference is in every sense impossible." "Creatures might," he says, exist whose whole life for themselves consisted of "one unbroken simple feeling." But this he regards as irrelevant, since "a universe confined to our feelings would not only not be qualities, but it would fail even to be one quality, as different from others and as distinct from relations." Such would most certainly be the case could such an utter absurdity be for a moment deemed to be even a possibility.



Dr. Bradley next says (p. 29), "that any separateness implies separation, and so relation, and is therefore, when made absolute, a self-discrepancy. For consider, the qualities A and B are to be different from each other; and if so, that difference must fall somewhere. If it falls in any degree or to any extent outside A and B, we have a relation at once. But, on the other hand, how can difference and otherness fall inside? If we have in A any such otherness, then inside A we must distinguish its own quality and its otherness. And, if so, then the unsolved problem breaks out inside each quality, and separates each into two qualities in relation. In brief, diversity without relation seems a word without meaning."

Very curious, we must once more remark, is this materialistic symbolism of a difference falling outside or inside as if it were a spent bullet. If as, as we shall shortly see, there may be differences which, seen in a certain sense, are unrelated; yet of course for Idealists, a difference cannot exist, cannot be thought of, without a relation. Thus Dr. Bradley naturally asks: "Is it possible to think of distinct characters without some relation between them, either explicit, or else unconsciously supplied by the mind that tries only to apprehend? Have qualities without relation any meaning for thought? For myself, I am sure that they have none;" and so are we sure also.

Having thus come to the conclusion that qualities taken *without relations*, have no intelligible meaning, Dr. Bradley proceeds to the second part of his contention (p. 30, No. 2) which is that they are equally devoid of intelligible meaning when taken *with relation*.

He says, truly enough, that qualities cannot "be wholly resolved into relations," and declares that any such assertion as that "relations can somehow make the terms which are related," is to him (as it is also to us) "quite unintelligible." So far as I can see, relations must depend upon terms, just as much as terms upon relations.

To us the existence of quality and relation presents no difficulty. Let us take the simple example of broiled ham and our sensitive body. The ham has a certain objective quality, and we possess another and very different one (namely, an objective organization capable of giving rise, under circumstances, to different gustatory feelings), while a very evident relation exists between the two. But that relation neither adds to, divides, nor embarrasses our perception of either of the two qualities themselves. Each exists in its own objective independence, while the relation, to borrow Dr. Bradley's language, "falls outside the former and inside the latter," for the taste perceived in no way affects the objective quality re-

ferred to of the ham tasted, while nothing can be more sure than that it affects us. Similarly, the two objective qualities of the sun and earth, which result in the annual revolution of the latter round the former, in no way depend on the latter relation for their existence.

Dr. Bradley says (p. 31), that since the qualities must both *be* and be *related*, a diversity arises "which falls inside each quality." Each quality "has a double character, as both supporting and as being made by the relation;" the same must be affirmed of each part of that double character, and so on *ad infinitum*. "Hence the quality must exchange its unity for an internal relation. But, thus set free, the diverse aspects, because each something in relation must each be something also beyond [*sic*]. This diversity is fatal to the internal unity of each, and it demands a new relation, and so without limit. In short, qualities in a relation have turned out as unintelligible as even qualities without one. The problem from both sides has baffled us."

Surely, such a result might suffice to prove to most sane thinkers that the system which inevitably leads to such a result must be a false one.

He then (p. 32, No. 3) proceeds to show that, similarly, "relations" are unintelligible, either with or without their qualities.

Since relations for him are thoughts, while nothing is more, relations are, as we before remarked,<sup>1</sup> as substantial and solid in his system as the iron links of any chain; but we gladly quote his declaration (in defiance of other irrational systems), that relations without things related are for him nothing. He says: "For myself, a relation which somehow precipitates terms which were not there before, or a relation which compel us somehow without terms, and with no differences beyond the mere ends of a line of connection, is really a phrase without meaning."

Endless and hopeless, indeed, is the confusion which attends "relations" according to Bradley's system. A relation cannot be the mere adjective of either of two related terms or of both taken apart, for then it could not connect, while, if it belongs to both, he asks, "What keeps them apart?" And such a question may consistently enough be asked of a world of mere thoughts, but in a world of realities, such as we know to exist, a relation may very well belong to two related things which are otherwise kept very distinctly apart. On the other hand, if relations are nothing but thoughts the confusion becomes really inextricable. If the relation is nothing to the qualities they thereby cease to be related, and so (as before shown) cease to be qualities. But if the relation is to be something to these qualities, then we require a new connecting

<sup>1</sup> See *Ante*, p. 9.



relation, and as so, *ad infinitum*, as he showed before in another connection.<sup>1</sup> He says (p. 33): "The links are united by a link, and this bond of union is a link which also has two ends; and these require each a fresh link to connect them with the old. . . . If you take the connection as a solid thing, you have got to show, and you cannot show, how the other solids are joined to it. And, if you take it as a kind of medium, or unsubstantial atmosphere, it is a connection no longer."

Very curious, once more, is this extremely material imagery and the notion that a relation can be more satisfactory when imaged forth as a solid than when imaged as a gaseous substance!

As our author says, it would be profitless to proceed farther with these arguments, though to have proceeded so far, has been, we think, necessary in order to give the reader any clear idea of Dr. Bradley's position.

The conclusion he arrives at is that a mode of thought which makes use of such conceptions as relations and their terms, or qualities, necessarily affords us only what is mere appearance and not truth.

He recognizes the natural impulse and the unaccountableness of our regarding the universe as made up of parts having various qualities and relations. Through sane metaphysics this impulse is seen to be rational and is justified satisfactorily by its results. But such cannot be the case for one who regards the universe as an all-embracing absolute, which is experience, or something whereof thought may at least be considered as a symbol.

Pathetic are the words wherein in his "Logic" he expresses the conclusions at which he had then arrived. They are (in his Preface, p. vii.): "On all questions, if you push me far enough, at present I end in doubts and perplexities. And on this account, at least, no lover of metaphysics will judge me hardly, perhaps . . . if I saw further I should be simpler."

His present work, "Appearance and Reality," is devoted to the task of representing that there is but one reality, the absolute, whereof whatever exists, and is apprehensible by us, is but a mode, and that it is impossible to establish any real distinction, whether of quality, relation, or anything else. That such distinctions really and objectively exist is for some philosophy absolutely certain and evident, but for Dr. Bradley<sup>2</sup> the acceptance of such evidence only shows that our intellect has been condemned to confusion and bankruptcy, and that "the reality has been left outside uncomprehended."

Our brief review may, we think, suffice to introduce our readers to Dr. Bradley's style and system, because he himself expressly

<sup>1</sup> Pp. 21, 22.

<sup>2</sup> P. 34.



declares that his third chapter, if its principles have been grasped, serves as a complete introduction to his whole work. That work, however, is replete with curious problems concerning thought and reality, error and evil, body and soul, and, above all, about the Absolute. With the Absolute, evil is declared to be in no sense incompatible, while goodness "is a one-sided, inconsistent aspect of perfection." The Absolute both is and is not good, while as to its happiness we are told it somehow possesses and enjoys that balance of pleasure and pain which exists in the universe and may be pleasant. To some of these questions as treated by Dr. Bradley we may hereafter return, should such a return be found hereafter desirable.

ST. GEORGE MIVART.

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### ST. CYPRIAN AND THE HOLY SEE.

CYPRIAN: HIS LIFE, HIS TIMES, HIS WORK. By *Edward White Benson, D.D., D.C.L.*, sometime Archbishop of Canterbury. London and New York: Macmillan & Co.

S. CYPRIANI, OPERA OMNIA. W. Hartel. Vienna: 1868-1871.

TREATISES OF ST. CYPRIAN. Oxford Translation. Oxford: 1839.

ENDING his labor of thirty years, on Sunday, March 22, 1896, the late Archbishop wrote, "I pray God bless this Cyprian to the good of His Church. If He bless it not, I have spent half my life in building hay and stubble, and the fire must consume it. But please God, may it last." Pathetic words, to receive a certain melancholy tinge from the event of that other Sunday, when he who set them down, falling forward in his seat at Hawarden while the service was going quietly through its appointed course, left his place and his argument to a new generation. There are not many things that last in this world; and by the nature of the case polemical writings, though ever so famous for a while, are liable to be forgotten as fresh points of dispute or argument rise into prominence with the change of seasons. If such volumes are studied long after the day when they come forth—as Bossuet's "Variations," or Butler's "Analogy," or Newman's "Development of Christian Doctrine,"—the reason will be

found in their successful dealing with a view or a principle which has given to their details the momentum as well as the interest of a living thing. In all the instances that may be quoted of controversial treatises lasting down to our time, it is the philosophy as applied to facts and moulding them into an intelligible system that survives. The light in them brought to a focus, the lucid condensation, and the victorious consistency, by which ten thousand scattered elements are built up into a whole, have this great advantage over special pleading, though plausible, and rhetoric however skilful, and the fencer's sword-play which dazzles rather than wounds its adversary. If Archbishop Benson has explained St. Cyprian to us, he will last. But if he did not explain him even to himself—what then? A theory was wanted to clear up the phenomena which constitute in the middle of the third century the relations of Carthage to Rome, and of the African Primate to Pope Stephen. Let us see whether in this new account of the matter we have such an explanation as can satisfy our demands.

To begin with, it is by no means easy reading. The Archbishop, long a school-master and immersed in Thucydides, had come to disdain the obvious; he would not indulge us with "the customary periphrases," and so, without necessity, his style is obscure. Sometimes it has more than a touch of George Meredith; it is abrupt and humorous, affected in its turns, not persuasive, quaint and almost Evangelical; it fails to carry us along, and when a summary of doctrine is attempted we cannot be sure that we understand what is written. There was certainly no need of an embarrassed or cryptic manner in dealing with St. Cyprian. His own natural eloquence would have set an example which the biographer might have done well to follow. In disputation the epigrams of Tertullian may sear and sting; in sketching that strange Numidian world his colors lay ready to the painter's hand, although little used by him. But what is Thucydides doing here? It would have been more to the purpose had St. Augustine, St. Leo, and the Fathers of the Church, afforded, in a volume so ecclesiastical, the standard of language and of reasoning. But now we are hinting at a grave defect which strikes one almost as soon as one has opened these pages.

The Archbishop does not write like a divine or a philosopher. His theory of Church government, if he has one, is in the clouds; and his grasp of dogmatic theology, unless the present writing does him an injustice, can never have been firm. It is an excellent thing to know the topography of Mauritania, to have seen with one's own eyes the mountain-throne of Cirta—incomparable for sublimity; to be well up in the antiquities of Carthage, and to have tasted the Tunisian air; but all this serves only as a frame to



those who ask for the picture ; and the picture must be historical, Christian, Catholic, or it will not be a true one. Was there not a Catholic Church in the third century, with its world-wide tradition, its East and West, its usages, customs, rules? And can we not learn what these came to in practice from the fourth, which appealed to them as of ancient standing? Or if it be affirmed that after Nicæa corruption came in like a flood, upon whom does the burden of proof rest? Not surely on those who maintain that there is a Divine principle of consistency in the Church, and that to innovate against the Creed is heresy, but upon every one who, declining what is manifest in the age of St. Leo and at the Council of Chalcedon, should be able to trace the line where Papal usurpation began and as such was resisted. To attempt this, however, implies a philosophical largeness of view which shall take in the whole Christian development, nor isolate any of its phenomena under pretence of explaining them by themselves. What the antiquarian would not dream of, must be forbidden to the divine. Nevertheless, Dr. Benson has isolated his Cyprian, and so has failed to account for him.

This proceeding is all the more singular that in method he believed himself to be walking in the steps of Bishop Lightfoot—a man so cautious, but with so well-trained an eye, as to have triumphed gloriously over the scepticism that would have dissolved Ignatius of Antioch and his epistles into mere forgery. Since the appearance of those admirable volumes in 1885, this long-cherished enterprise on the part of unbelievers has been made forever impossible. We can now rely upon the seven shorter Greek epistles as a luminous chapter of history, taking us back to the years of Trajan. But Bishop Lightfoot, in marshalling his proofs, ranged over the entire field of evidence ; whereas Dr. Benson, who must have known, as we all do, the arguments for Papal jurisdiction drawn from the writings or the acts of Pope Julius, Pope Damasus, Pope Innocent I., Pope Celestine, and Pope Leo the Great ; and from the contemporary witness of Saints like Augustine, Jerome, Optatus, Prosper, as well as from the behavior of Eastern Councils and Eastern Bishops, leaves all this below the horizon or behind the curtain, as though Cyprian were a law to the Church, and tradition had no purchase upon him. That is what we mean when we refuse to the Archbishop credit as a theologian. If he had explicitly assumed from Dr. Lightfoot the evidence for Episcopacy, and gone on to deal, in as candid a fashion, with the evidence for the Papacy, we should not quarrel with his method though we might demur to his conclusions. It is certainly in favor of the Catholic doctrine that we do not ground it upon a solitary text of Scripture, nor yet upon some few incidents of Church history, but



upon an induction of all the facts, corresponding like fulfilled prophecy with a system the outline of which we draw from both Testaments, the New and the Old. Against this combination of supernatural principles, promises and events, stretching over the course of ages, and resulting in a living unconquerable Christianity, the hope of mankind, what would it avail though Cyprian had misinterpreted his own axioms, or had fallen into error upon a subject not fully brought out in his time? Will those who agree with Archbishop Benson mete the same measure to the Ante-Nicene Fathers, accused of ambiguity or misunderstanding as regards the Blessed Trinity itself and our Lord's Eternal Sonship? And if they dare not, will they be still so partisan in their dealing as to divide Cyprian from the Senate of the Fathers and let him stand alone, a rebel to tradition and the first sketch of an heresiarch? Either he was at one with that tradition, or his evidence is powerless against it. We can, however, by taking the whole case into our view, so fairly interpret him that his noble argument "*De Unitate Ecclesiæ*" shall become the very cornerstone of the Roman power. Thus, at all events, it was understood half a century ago by Professor Ramsey—himself neither an Anglican nor an Ultramontane—when he wrote: "This remarkable treatise is of the utmost importance to the student of ecclesiastical history, since here we first find the doctrine of Catholicism and of the typical character of St. Peter developed in that form which was afterwards assumed by the bishops of Rome as the basis of Papal Supremacy."<sup>1</sup>

It is the undying merit of this great convert, bishop, saint, and martyr, to have left us, in a small but most eloquent volume, the Catholic view of the Episcopate. And in doing so, he has by anticipation provided against that scandal of our times, the multiplication of sects according to men's private judgment. Yet no one must imagine, though some hasty German critics like Ritschl would fain charge him with it, that Cyprian was an innovator; that he found a presbyterian constitution of the Church, and to enhance his own authority, reformed it, partly by acts of violence and still more by unwarrantable reasonings, into a despotic oligarchy. The Primate of Carthage owned a master and obeyed a tradition. That master was the brilliant, the severe, the clear-sighted Tertullian, who had broken in to the service of Christian dogma the proudest language ever heard on the lips of man. "*Da mihi Magistrum*," would his disciple exclaim, as St. Jerome tells us, when he turned, day after day, to those pamphlets studded with happy formulas which the schools have since made our common inheritance. But the wonder in this fiery genius, this Ter-

<sup>1</sup> Smith's *Dict. of Biogr.*, "Cyprian," vol. ii., p. 914.

tullian,—original beyond any Latin except Seneca,—was that he maintained the Catholic Tradition, as by its unity and priority of descent shutting out of court all heresies, and forbidding them an appeal whether to reason or to Scripture against that which had been delivered. Such was the rule of “prescription,” from which, by a short and clear pedigree, we come down to St. Cyprian and his standard treatise. Between these two men a “consanguinity of doctrine” is as certain as history can make it. Do we look in the first for the “typical character of St. Peter?” We shall find it in the bold and pregnant sentence, “If thou think Heaven still closed, remember that the Lord hath here [in this world] left its keys to Peter, and through him to the Church.”<sup>1</sup> But the fanatic has become a Montanist. He shall none the less be compelled to bear his witness, scornfully yet all the more significantly, to the line of evolution in Church government. “I hear,” he exclaims with a sarcastic laugh, “that an edict, yea, a peremptory one, hath been put out; the Supreme Pontiff, forsooth, that is to say, the bishop of bishops, declares”<sup>2</sup> that he will admit certain penitents to reconciliation. It is a gibe in Luther’s style; and its terms sound much too Roman to admit of their being applied, as Dr. Benson rather hesitatingly supposes, to a provincial Bishop like him of Carthage. If it was not aimed at Pope Callistus, then its object was Pope Zephyrinus. Had Cyprian read the words? It is highly probable; and he may have had them in mind at a later and less happy time, when his devotion to the Visible Unity of the Church—for on this point we are all at one—had hurried him into a grievous mistake, and put variance between him and the Holy See. “None of us,” he then said at the famous council—we borrow Jeremy Taylor’s rendering—“makes himself a bishop of bishops, or, by tyrannical power, drives his colleagues to a necessity of obedience; since every bishop, according to the licence of his own liberty and power, hath his own choice, and cannot be judged by another; nor yet himself judge another; but let us all expect the judgment of our Lord Jesus Christ, who only and alone hath the power of setting us in the government of his Church, and judging of what we do.”<sup>3</sup>

These words we quote now in full because they furnish the *locus classicus* in Cyprian on which our Anglican friends, down to the late Archbishop, have constantly relied, as proving the Pope a usurper and the primitive bishops independent of Rome. We shall have no great difficulty in showing, as we go forward, that they prove nothing, for they prove too much. The utmost that can be

<sup>1</sup> Tert., *Adv. Gnost. Scorpiace*, x.

<sup>2</sup> *De Pudicitia*, c. 1.

<sup>3</sup> *Dissuasive from Popery*, i. Sec. x. Heber’s Ed., vol. x., 181. Migne Tert., iii., 1053.



said, if we take them at this exorbitant value, is that they would leave St. Cyprian, so far as language may do so, in the same boat with Tertullian; they are an evidence that Rome might have been resisted in the third century by men who had taken up a false doctrine, as she was resisted in the sixteenth. But for impartial students it is the claim of the Pope to issue a "peremptory decree," and to "drive his colleagues to a necessity of obedience"—we will pass over the harsh terms as exaggerated—it is the fact of the Roman authority exercised, if also resisted, that is so telling. An outburst of bitterness on the lips of opponents does but add to its force. How great must that authority have been which a writer of supreme ability like Tertullian could answer only with a sneer! How important a factor in the final judgment touching rebaptism, when it proved more than a match for one whose virtue and wisdom, whose lasting renown and acceptance in so many churches, lead us again and again to compare the Bishop of Carthage with the Eagle of Meaux! Bossuet, likewise, dreading some greater evil, called in question certain of the Papal prerogatives; yet he celebrated the Chair of Peter as the centre of unity, and he was well-read in patristic evidence that for Cyprian did not exist. Is it impossible that the African Saint should, under circumstances not wholly dissimilar, have fallen a victim to confusion as little justified by his own principles?<sup>1</sup>

At the end of a long peace, persecution had suddenly come upon the Church, and apostates went in crowds to the Pagan altars. But they were not true heathens, only cowards who drew back from stripes and torments; when the lightning ceased to flash, they recanted their recantation, sought their brethren with tears, and asked for admission once more to the Holy Eucharist. What should be done in regard to these lapsed but now repentant? The question was new and opinion divided. Cyprian, at first inclined to severity, followed the more generous and humane example set him by Rome, which was then widowed of its pastor, but had an excellent clergy, who were trained in its spirit of moderation, known throughout the Church since the days of Clement. The Puritans—so call by anticipation a party which would have broken the Lord's net and narrowed Christendom until it became a school of self-righteousness—held and acted on the contrary view. In Africa, Felicissimus; at Rome, Novatus; both men whose antecedents, perhaps, disqualified them for so ostentatious a virtue,

<sup>1</sup> It may be well to append the chief dates which belong to this story. A.D. 246, Conversion of Cyprian; 248, Bishop of Carthage; 250, Decian Persecution; 251, Novatian Anti-pope at Rome; Treatise "De Unitate," "De Lapsis"; 255, First Council touching Rebaptism; 257, Valerian persecutes; Trial of Cyprian; 258, Sept. 14th, his martyrdom.



would rather break the unity of the brethren and restore on a larger scale Tertullian's fanaticism than practice forbearance towards the fallen. But the Bishop of Carthage had himself, in obedience to a heavenly vision, gone aside from the headsman's cord and hatchet. Tertullian would have thought him little better than one of the lapsed. He did as Rome had done. Then his rebellious subject, Felicissimus, began the schism, that through a hundred miserable disputes and vicissitudes was by and by to grow out into the viperous brood of Donatists, Circumcellions and Phrygian-like sectaries, who should lay Africa at the feet of the Vandals. Novatian became anti-Pope in Rome (251), and Cornelius, the true Bishop, was assailed with fiercest calumnies. As Dr. Benson writes, "The position of Novatian was the problem of the hour. Heresy had hitherto been manifold and fantastic, but schism—meaning secession upon questions not originally doctrinal—had been almost unknown. Now, however, beginning from the central see, the Church reeled with the new possibility of being cleft in twain upon an inquiry as to whether she possessed disciplinary power for the reconciliation of her own penitents." We must not overlook earlier disputes on "questions not originally doctrinal"; the celebration of Easter, which led to Pope Victor's energetic threatenings, and to the interposition with him of Irenæus, did not touch dogma in the first instance; and Montanism began as a protest against the larger view of penitence. But such was the occasion—a double schism impending at Rome and Carthage—that made, some statement of the duty of submission imperative. The "*sacramentum unitatis*" was in danger; and with it the "*testimonium veritatis*," which it had always hitherto preserved, in spite of heresies "manifold and fantastic."

Again, we say, was there not a received doctrine upon which Cyprian must build a foundation, old as Christianity? Open Tertullian once more and read his positive and negative test, sufficient by itself to dispose of the rebellious. "It becometh at once manifest"—thus he rules in "*De Præscriptione*"—"that all doctrine which agreeth with these Apostolic churches, the wombs and originals of the faith, must be accounted true, as without doubt containing that which the churches have received from the Apostles, the Apostles from Christ, Christ from God. . . . We have communion with the Apostolic churches, because we have no doctrine differing from them. This is evidence of truth." But he had already told us that the truth is held in unity. "These churches, so many and so great, are but that one primitive church from the Apostles. . . . Thus all are the primitive and all Apostolical, while all are one. The communication of peace, the title of brotherhood, and the token of hospitality, prove this unity, and

these rights no other principle directeth than the unity of the tradition of the same mystery."<sup>1</sup>

And so Irenæus, the witness *omni exceptione major*, for Asia, Rome, and the churches of Gaul: "This message and this faith, which the Church has received, as I have said, though disseminated through the whole world, she diligently guards, as dwelling in one house; and believes as uniformly as though she had but one soul and one heart. . . . There is no difference of faith or tradition, whether in the churches of Germany, or in Spain, or in Gaul, or in the East, or in Egypt, or in Africa, or in the more central parts of the world."<sup>2</sup> Now add the early and majestic teaching of Ignatius the Martyr: "Jesus Christ is the mind of the Father," he says, "the Bishops appointed even to the utmost bounds of the earth are after the mind of Jesus Christ, wherefore it will become you to concur in the mind of your Bishop."<sup>3</sup> When Cyprian had these and the like testimonies before him, and the troubled times brought out by contrast how good and how necessary it was for brethren to dwell together in unity, no more than a ray of genius lighting up the whole was requisite so that he should conceive and express the immortal sentence, "*Episcopatus unus est cujus a singulis in solidum pars tenetur.*"

This idea and vision of Church unity, set forth in language of supreme gracefulness, which haunted Cyprian from the moment he was made a bishop until he laid down his life for his sheep, this it is which exalts him as a Father of the Church "in cathedra seniorum." But when he spoke of the Church he meant, as Dr. Benson proves beyond a doubt, not only "the congregation of the Diocese," but "the whole body of the faithful;" moreover, he had in view doctrine no less than discipline, for he teaches us that "there is one God, and one Christ, and one His Church, and one faith, and a people joined in the solid union of one body by the glue of concord. Unity cannot be broken . . . whatsoever hath departed from the womb, apart can neither live nor hope, it hath lost the substance of salvation."<sup>4</sup> All these unities, then, are one and the same unity; the Church, the faith, the Christian people are taken up into the bosom of our Lord and the oneness of the Godhead by a union which can never be dissolved. Furthermore, it is something visible and historical, not a Platonic idea but an institution spread over the face of the world. Or, to quote the Archbishop's paraphrase, "this tangible bond of the Church's unity is her one united Episcopate," without which from the first preaching of St. Peter and the Apostles she has never subsisted.

In modern, or in Aristotelian language, all this might be taken

<sup>1</sup> Tert., *De Præscr.*, 6, xxi., Oxf. Trans.

<sup>2</sup> Iren. *Hæres.*, i., 10.

<sup>3</sup> Ignat., *Ad Ephes.*, 3, 4.

<sup>4</sup> *De Unitate*, c. 23.



as describing the Christian world to be one single polity, an organism the parts of which were bound together from within by some principle of life and government. Were the parts autonomous and independent of one another? Impossible. Again, to quote Archbishop Benson, "Agreement is the medium of that unity. Sections from the living organism must lose vitality;" or, in the stronger words which Cyprian wrote some years before this manifesto, "In the old Law, he who would not obey the priest was slain with the temporal sword. To be cast out of the Church now is to be slain with the spiritual sword. For outside the Church they cannot live, inasmuch as the House of God is one, and no one can be safe but in the Church."<sup>1</sup> Agreement had its sanction or guarantee, which was nothing less than excommunication—a weapon to be wielded only in the last extremity, but far more dreadful than any earthly sword, and one which could be lifted up not by the Bishop alone against rebellious laymen or presbyters, but by a synod of Bishops against the individual holder of a See who had broken the unity of faith or discipline. And, if Pope Victor was not going beyond his prerogative—which Irenæus never charged him with doing—the Bishop of Rome could wield that sword against a whole province, in matters "less than doctrinal," though affecting the peace of Christians and when there was question of distinguishing the New Covenant from moribund Judaism.

None who are acquainted with the incidents to which we are now alluding will, we think, deny that they bear this general appearance. At all events, it is certain that the individual Bishop was liable to be tried, judged, and sentenced at the hands of his brother Bishops, and that he, like the meanest of his flock, might be delivered up to Satan for chastisement. Was that a coercive power? Physical, it never pretended to be; but a power it was, derived not from voluntary agreement but from the nature and necessity of the Christian organism. Cyprian, by a wealth of metaphors and with reasoning abundant, has insisted on the penalty—no smaller one than spiritual death—which separation from the Catholic social union involved. And any Bishop, for reasons shown, could be separated, cut off, cast out, slain with the sword of eternal interdict. The Primate of Carthage himself would help to put the law in force against Marcian, Bishop of Arles, upon an occasion to which I shall return immediately. These things are allowed on all hands. How then, we ask at the present stage, could Cyprian, after he had established the unity of faith and order in the Episcopate as a body, maintain, as Jeremy Taylor gives the words, that "every bishop, according to the licence of his own

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<sup>1</sup> *Cyp. Ep.*, 4, Benson, pp. 185, 189.



liberty and power, hath his own choice, and cannot be judged by another ; nor yet himself judge another " ? We ask the question, indeed ; but Dr. Benson will not assist us to an answer. Let the reader judge.

Cyprian, as we have seen, lays down in his treatise the general principles of Church government, and must have done so, or he would have written nothing to the purpose. And that those principles were especially directed to keeping the faith pure and undefiled, in Bishops as in laymen, is clear from history and from the nature of the case. Incredible, however, as it may seem, the Archbishop by way of summing up the whole position tells us that " the college of Bishops, then, is the very form and substance of the inherited free government, advising by resolution, commanding by mutual consent, yet not even when unanimous constraining a single dissentient bishop." And again : " A bishop could not then resist their united voice without hardihood, but if he did, he was unassailable unless viciousness or false doctrine were patent in his life or teaching. In that case the allegiance of his flock was to be withdrawn." Once more, " Purity of conduct was essential to the continuance of any one of them in his authority. No minority among them could be overborne by a majority, in a matter of administration, even though it were so grave a question as that of Rebaptism. If all but one voted one way, that one could not be overruled in the direction of his diocese."<sup>1</sup>

What a confusion and entanglement are here ? Could a Daniel come to judgment unwind the web of these sentences which affirm, deny, except, and lapse into moral platitudes—"without hardihood," for instance,—when we are looking for a code of laws and rules of procedure ? Has any Pope condemned Cyprian for saying that " in the administration of the Church (*i.e.*, of his own diocese) every several prelate has the free discretion of his own will—having to account to the Lord for his action ?" We trow not. Suppose, however, that his administration leads him into heresy or troubles the received discipline, is he still exempt from censure by his colleagues ? And if not, how far may that censure proceed ? " Purity of conduct was essential to [his] continuance in authority." By all means ; but who was to take evidence and to judge if he fell from it ? Were viciousness or false doctrine patent in the bishop, " the allegiance of his flock was to be withdrawn." And were *they* to be his judges ? St. Cyprian has not told us so, nor St. Ignatius, when he bids us conform to the mind of our bishop as being the mind of Jesus Christ. Who, then, should instruct the congregation of their duty when the bishop was to be judged a heretic ? Who should cast him out ? These questions are not

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<sup>1</sup> Benson, pp. 191, 195, 194.

decided *ex professo* in the treatise "De Unitate," for the saintly writer was not contemplating them; but he has laid down clear principles, and, what is more, he acted upon them, the case occurring; principles which amount to this, that the "mutual consent," which Dr. Benson reduces to a sort of Episcopal "contrat social"—a pact founded simply on "moral force," to use his own term—is a divine power, judicial and executive. That power does not, of course, wield the weapons of this world; but still it possesses a sanction which is no less independent of mere "consent" than it has proved to be effectual; the right of excommunication lodged in the Bishops, as a body governing together the whole Catholic Church. That the first of these Bishops should be the Bishop of Rome, with prerogatives inherent in him and special, makes no difference whatever to the attributes of the One Episcopate viewed in its action upon individual members. It is a true government, not a compact which anyone may set at naught when he pleases, only to incur a reputation for hardihood. "When a bishop had been appointed to a See, he was, so long as he remained in faith and charity," says Dr. Benson again, "the visible pillar, foundation, and indeed the embodiment of his Church." So it is still, but let the proviso be observed, he must "remain in faith and charity," else he is cast out as an abominable branch. And who is it that casts him out? The Church, by her judgment and authority vested in the Episcopate. So much is evident, turn which way we will during the period of a confessedly undivided Christendom.

And evident it was to the Primate of Carthage as to us. "No bishop can be judged of another, nor himself judge another." What, then, of the Bishop of Arles? Marcian did not belong to Africa; with him and his doings Cyprian, as an individual prelate, had not the slightest concern. Yet when the Arlesian took, as it appeared, Novatian into favor, and thus became an abettor of schism or heresy, do we find St. Cyprian declaring what Dr. Benson declares, viz., "That Body"—the Episcopate—"might not rule any one bishop?"<sup>1</sup> Far from it. Faustinus of Lyons "laid the facts before Cyprian, and together with his fellow-bishops represented the case to Stephen," thus our author begins. Then he continues: "Stephen was silent, . . . and Cyprian attributed this *laissez passer* policy to carelessness. Faustinus complained of Stephen in a second letter to Cyprian, and Cyprian took upon himself to address Stephen in strong terms as to his duty." Duty? What had anyone but Marcian to do with Marcian's diocese, the congregation thereof excepted? Nor could these presume to judge their bishop, according as we have heard, "let us all expect

<sup>1</sup> Benson, p. 197.

the judgment of our Lord Jesus Christ, who only and alone hath the power of setting us in the government of His church, and judging what we do." Nevertheless, Cyprian "urges Stephen to write 'a very full letter'"—*plenissimas litteras*—"to the Gallic Bishops. What he recommends him to advise is 'that *they*,' the bishops, should no longer allow Marcian to trample upon our (Episcopal) College. . . . As the African bishops excommunicated Novatian, so let the Gallic bishops excommunicate Marcian. By his excommunication the See would be at once vacant. So far is clear. Cyprian proceeds, 'Let letters be despatched from you into the Province and to the laity who stand faithful at Arles, whereby, Marcian having been excommunicated, another may be appointed in his room, and the flock of Christ may be gathered together.'"<sup>1</sup>

Here is a commentary on the "De Unitate" and the duties and prerogatives of the One Episcopate, which leaves no margin of doubt as to the degree of independence possessed by a single bishop. Marcian, it is true, had already broken off communion with his brethren of Gaul; but, until they proceeded to unchurch him, he was Bishop of Arles. When they had cut him off, he was bishop no longer. The right of electing another in his stead, which some Catholic apologists would assign to Pope Stephen by a natural but not necessary interpretation of Cyprian's language, does not come into the question. It would pass to those who had it by law and precedent. The remarkable point overlooked by Dr. Benson is, that other Bishops did judge and had the duty of judging; that their judgment carried with it the force of a decree of deposition, and that Marcian was required to submit to "Our College," whose privilege it was "*de majestate ac dignitate ecclesiæ judicare*." That we venture to believe passes a sponge over all Dr. Benson has written about the incompetence which could not restrain a "single dissentient bishop;" about "commanding by mutual consent" and "moral force;" and about "men whose divine commission was simply to use this and express this," viz., a "moral or spiritual judgment," but "without removing any from our commission whose judgment differs from our own." The last phrase belongs to St. Cyprian, who could never have used it in a question of faith, or even where dogma was but implicitly concerned, as in Novatian, without stultifying his own principles, and pleading guilty of usurpation when he and his fellow-bishops interdicted and deposed the Bishop of Arles.

Now, at length, the way is clear to discussing that question which Dr. Benson has had in view all along, but the bearings of which in his confused and eccentric treatment of Cyrian "De

<sup>1</sup> Benson, pp. 317, 318.



Unitate" are quite drawn aside, or even turned altogether awry. Our first duty was to understand that a bishop, though exercising jurisdiction by divine right, never at any time was regarded as independent of the Church as a whole. He must find and keep his place in the Catholic polity. No other safeguard was there against heresy and unbelief. That doctrine of the "*Ecclesia una, cujus unitas scindi non potest*," received its great development in the second century, as a necessary bulwark when the serried phalanx of Gnostic theories came up to assault the Christian. But even so early it was found the shortest and simplest way to appeal to Rome—to the Church of Rome which was summed up, or embodied, in the Bishop of Rome, whose succession from St. Peter could be stated, bishop after bishop, down to the current period. Hegesippus, Irenæus, Hippolytus employ this method of refuting all heresies, and in doing so Irenæus, for one, makes use of terms which, often as they have been quoted, are still most impressive. He "speaks of Rome," says Cardinal Newman, "as 'the greatest Church, the most ancient, the most conspicuous, and founded and established by Peter and Paul,' appeals to its tradition, not in contrast indeed, but in preference to that of other churches, and declares that 'to this Church, every Church, that is, the faithful from every side must resort,' or 'agree with it, propter potiozem principatatem.'" And Tertullian says of it, "O Church, happy in its position, into which the Apostles poured out, together with their blood, their whole doctrine."<sup>1</sup> To St. Cyprian the Roman Church was "the place" and "the chair of Peter," to which Fabian or Cornelius had succeeded. "*Navigare audent*," he says of his rebellious subjects, "*ad Petri sedem et ad ecclesiam principalem, unde unitas sacerdotalis exorta est*." So majestic an expression of the Fathers' judgment concerning Rome have these last words appeared to be that they are inscribed, as pilgrims know, in golden arabesque beneath the dome of St. Peter's. Antiquity confesses in them that the Episcopate took its rise from the Prince of the Apostles, in whose place the Popes have succeeded. Do we need a principle and source of unity for the Bishops who are "appointed even to the utmost bounds of the earth"? It is here, "*ad limina Apostolorum*." Thus our harmony is complete; the people are one with their bishops, the bishops with St. Peter, who abides in his See, according as his namesake, St. Peter Chrysologus, wrote in the fifth century, "and provides the truth to them that ask of him." History and theory bear witness to one another. In a polity which must be ecumenical how shall the members not fall away to tribal or national divisions? how remain Catholic, that is to say, many in one and one in many? What is

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<sup>1</sup> *Development*, ed. 1878, p. 157.

the safeguard of the "doctrina veritatis"? St. Augustine answers, "Posuit Dominus in Cathedra unitatis," and no one can dispute against us that the greatest of the Fathers meant any other chair than the Roman when he uttered these words.

"Ecclesia principalis." That term so staggers or perplexes Archbishop Benson that he knows not how he shall render it into English. Often he keeps the Latin; once he renders it by "the primal church," but there he is plainly inadequate. We have suggested elsewhere, as avoiding discussion, yet as a translation which implies whatever the words contain in them, "the primatial Church." We Catholics, given the Roman Primacy according to the Fathers, shall be quite content; we ask so much, and we ask no more. But it must be the Primacy which they acknowledge, taken in its full development along the path of the centuries, from Ignatius who addresses the Roman Church as "pre-eminent in position as in love,"<sup>1</sup> to Cyril of Alexandria, who styles Pope Celestine "Archbishop of the world," and to the Council of Chalcedon, which offered Pope Leo the title of "Universal Bishop," described him as "Keeper of the Lord's Vineyard," and declared that "Peter had spoken by his mouth." The whole doctrine is gathered up almost with the terseness of a creed by St. Optatus, himself an African, writing before the close of the fourth century. "You cannot deny," he says to Parmenian the Donatist, "that in the city of Rome, on Peter first hath an Episcopal See been conferred, in which Peter sat, the head of all the Apostles, . . . in which one See unity might be preserved by all, lest the other Apostles should support their respective sees; in order that he might be at once a schismatic and a sinner, who against that one see placed a second."<sup>2</sup>

What, now, does Dr. Benson say, not to these testimonies, which, by some oversight, he has not inserted in his volume, but to the bare doctrine of a Primacy, too manifest in Cyprian for any one to overlook it? "Principalis Ecclesia it was," he tells us, for "it had a lofty, undeniable primacy among all churches which believed it to be the Foundation of St. Peter (was there a church anywhere that did not believe it?) and to have in it St. Peter's *Cathedra*, ascended by his successors. Certainly not less veneration could attach to it than to the Alexandria of St. Mark, or the Ephesus of St. John—say even more—but was it of a different kind or order?" And in an important note he adds, "The term Principalis Ecclesia, ἡ ἡγεμονικὴ, was the best and most exact possible to make plain to the constitutional subjects of the Roman Empire what was the position claimed by the Roman Church among Churches. First and highest in a great Republic of Churches,

<sup>1</sup> Lightfoot, *Ignatius*, ii. 187.

<sup>2</sup> *Opt.*, ii. 3, and vide *Development*, p. 160.



securing administrative unity and freedom, possessing a general pre-eminence as distinct from a special function, a constitutional pre-eminence as opposed to despotic rule. . . . In the case of the see its *principatus* was undoubted. The prerogatives, of which the sum was autocracy, were never conferred on it, and at first not only not claimed, but repudiated by it. The assumption of them came later, but with that assumption came wide and deep disregard for the *principatus* itself."<sup>1</sup>

Reflections crowd upon us while reading these passages, so vague in their phrasing, so defiant yet so embarrassed in their denial to the Holy See of a power which it exercised as early as an Ecumenical Church is visible, when it was not hampered or kept down by persecution from growing to its full stature, and from acting as a society, every part of which was amenable to authority at the centre. It is Pope Julius, in the age of Constantine (342), who declares, according to St. Athanasius, that the Eusebian heretics, in assembling a Council without his leave, "had acted against the Canons because they had not called him to the Council, the Ecclesiastical Canon commanding that the churches ought not to make canons beside the will of the Bishop of Rome." Could Leo XIII. say more? Was such a Papal veto nothing but "a general pre-eminence as distinct from a special function"? Yet Julius tells the Easterns, "what we have received from the Blessed Apostle Peter, that I signify to you; and I should not have written this, as deeming that these things are manifest unto all men, had not these proceedings so disturbed us." At Chalcedon—and I presume that towards the fourth Ecumenical Council no Anglican Archbishop will take up the rôle of a schismatic—at Chalcedon, therefore, Dioscorus, Patriarch of Alexandria, was deposed, on the ground of his having "presumed to hold a council without the authority of the Apostolic See, which had never been done, nor was lawful to do."<sup>2</sup> Shall we protest straightway against the excesses of "autocracy" and "despotic rule"? or must we not rather acknowledge in such repeated acts of supreme jurisdiction, extending over the fourth and fifth centuries, dealing with assemblies of Oriental bishops, and not sparing the See of Alexandria, though founded by an Evangelist who was St. Peter's disciple, and went by the name of his son—acknowledge, I say, with Pope Julius, the "traditions of the Fathers," which have so directed, and look upon any violation of them in this point as "another form of procedure" and a "novel practice?" In what single instance did the Pope refuse to intervene as being only a nominal Primate, upon whom the "place of Peter" had conferred no power of action? It is to be supposed that Dr. Benson had some particular instance before

<sup>1</sup> Benson, pp. 192, 538.

<sup>2</sup> Vide *Development*, pp. 159, 160, 308.



him when he launched out into this sweeping negative ; but I am quite unable so much as to conjecture what it was. On the other hand, St. Clement's language to the Corinthians, though probably in the lifetime of St. John, is distinguished for a grave authority—Irenæus, in the Latin, calls his Epistle "potentissimas litteras"—no less than for a sense of order and moderation, which critics as little favorable to the Papal claims as Dr. Lightfoot, affirm to be truly Roman. "Authority, indeed," says Lightfoot, "is claimed for the utterances of the letter in no faltering tone, but it is the authority of the brotherhood declaring the mind of Christ by the Spirit, not the authority of one man, whether bishop or pope. The individual is studiously suppressed. This, however, was apparently the practice of the Roman Church for some generations, the letter of bishop Soter to Corinth (c. A.D. 170) being apparently cast in the same mould. It seems to have been retained still later, when Victor wrote at the end of the century."<sup>1</sup> Calling to mind Cyprian's dictum, "the Bishop is in the Church and the Church in the Bishop," we have no difficulty in comprehending that modest yet imperial style. It was befitting "the successor of the Fisherman and disciple of the Cross," to whom long afterwards St. Jerome appealed as supreme judge of controversy. But if, at the very time when Soter was employing it, and Victor was on the point of putting down with a high hand Polycrates of Ephesus, we find Polycarp's disciple, Irenæus, asserting that the faithful on all sides must agree with the Church of Rome embodied in the line of its bishops, ought we not to conclude that "Clement the Doctor," and those who succeeded him, were in possession of a quality given to them by St. Peter, to which not Ephesus, nor Alexandria, nor yet Antioch, might lay claim ?

As for Cyprian, it never entered into his design to draw forth in particular the relations, whether of one Bishop to an Ecumenical Synod, nor of all the Bishops to the See of Rome. But as he knew that there must be a united Episcopate, division from which was spiritual death, so he had learned that its unity proceeded from St. Peter, to whom Christ had spoken as to one upon whom He would build His Church, and had bestowed on him the keys of Heaven. "On one He builds His Church, and though to all the Apostles after His Resurrection He gives equal power and saith, 'As the Father hath sent me, so I send you,' . . . yet, that He might manifest unity, He hath disposed the origin of the same unity, beginning from one by His authority. That, certainly, the other Apostles were also which Peter was, endowed with a like share of dignity and power, but the beginning goes forth from unity that the Church of Christ may be shown as one. . . . This unity of

<sup>1</sup> Lightfoot, *Clement I.*, p. 352.

the Church, he that keepeth not, doth he believe himself to keep the faith? He that striveth against the Church and resisteth, doth he believe that he is in the Church?"<sup>1</sup>

Such is the memorable fourth chapter, without its interpolations, concerning which battle has been joined any time these three hundred years. Does it exclude, or does it allow of, the Roman Primacy which, as our quotations demonstrate, the Popes before and after Julius I. took to themselves? That in some deep Sacramental sense Peter was still living in his Rome, the continued references of Cyprian, as of the Fathers generally, compel us to understand. Else, why do they talk of the Chair of Peter in a way which we never find them adopting with regard to John, who had *his* chair at Ephesus, or to James, who was Bishop of Jerusalem? Thus, in his circular epistle (A.D. 250), the Carthaginian Saint teaches his flock that "There is one God, one Christ, one Church, and one Chair established upon Peter by the Lord's voice." To what purpose make mention of the "one Chair" if it was but a memory, while God and Christ and the Church are enduring realities? To Cornelius he writes, "Thy communion, that is to say, the unity as also the charity of the Catholic Church." To Antonianus he describes the See of Rome as "the place of Fabian . . . the place of Peter and the degree (or dignity) of the Sacerdotal Chair." Then it is all one whether we say Peter or Fabian, since the Chair of Episcopal unity is, in either case, the same. Again to Cornelius: "Peter, on whom the Church was built, one speaking for all and answering in the name (in voce) of the Church, saith, 'Lord, to whom do we go?'" Therefore, when the successor of the Apostle speaks, it is the Church's voice that we hear. To Florentius, again: "Peter speaks in that passage, teaching in the name of the Church." Let us not overlook the significance of the word "Cathedra," which everywhere implies dogmatic teaching, and how can we refuse to see in the succession of the Popes an authoritative power of interpreting the tradition, which, unless Irenæus was mistaken, had ever been preserved in the Roman Church? We have quoted the magisterial declaration, "Navigare audent ad Petri Cathedram et ad Ecclesiam principalem, unde unitas sacerdotalis exorta est." Add to it Cyprian to Firmilian, "the foundation of the One Church, which once was solidly established by Christ upon the rock; hence we may understand that to Peter alone Christ saith, 'Whatsoever thou shalt bind' . . . and again in the Gospel Christ breathed on the Apostles alone, saying, 'Receive the Holy Ghost.'"<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Cyp., *De Unitate*, 4; Benson, p. 551, has the Latin text. See Hartel, ii., xliii., *seq.*

<sup>2</sup> Vide Benson, pp. 198, 199.



What have we now as the sum of these things? That the unity of the Catholic Church is in the Episcopate; likewise that it comes from St. Peter's Chair; from his dogmatic confession, which is the very voice of the Lord's congregation, and his power of forgiving sins, a power first bestowed upon him, and afterwards upon the Apostles; that this Chair is perpetual, inasmuch as the Bishops of Rome succeed to it and are in the Apostle's room and stead, their communion being that unity and charity which make the people of God one organism, one divine and indefectible society; and that "the remission of sins" cannot be obtained outside the foundation thus established on Peter and perpetuated in him, in the Apostles, and in "the bishops who succeed to them by vicarious order." Last of all, that "these are the Romans whose faith was praised by the Apostle preaching, to whom unfaith (perfidia) can have no access."<sup>1</sup> From the first occupant of the Chair to him who sat in it when Cyprian addressed these sayings thither, we can trace a succession which implies an identity of teaching, a jurisdiction so great as to include the forgiveness of sins made over to one before it is shared among many, and a communion of the Catholic Church, to be separated from which is, even in a bishop, spiritual death and apostasy. But Firmilian, by an argument *ex absurdo*, in his most outrageous, if genuine epistle, shows us that the "*Cathedra Petri*" was at all times essential to orthodox unity. "This plain and manifest folly of Stephen," he exclaims, "that he, boasting as he does of the place of his bishopric, and contending that he holds the succession of Peter, on whom the foundations of the Church have been laid, is bringing in many other rocks, and setting up the new buildings of many churches, while by his authority he maintains that (a true) baptism is in them."<sup>2</sup> Thus, if the Pope were to allow such heretical innovation, Firmilian argues, he would shatter his own rock and destroy the one foundation in which he, above all the bishops of Christendom, glories—and may glory, we will add, since not even this headlong zealot can deny it to be his. Stephen, as in the place of Peter, is bound "with the rest, but according to his dignity, beyond the rest," says Vincent of Lerins, to defend the faith once for all delivered to the Saints. What Vincent affirms in language of affectionate loyalty, Firmilian, by his retort discourteous, implies and makes a weapon of it to strike Stephen in the face.

But we have no call, be it remembered, to demonstrate in Cyprian a full, explicit, and reasoned-out view of the Papal Supremacy. He was not discussing it, either when he published "*De Unitate*" or when his epistles were despatched to Rome. The sentences which we quote are incidental, by the way, and must be looked

<sup>1</sup> Cyp. Ep. 59 ad Corn.<sup>2</sup> Hartel, ii., 821.



upon as testifying to the common Catholic belief, extant long before he had come into the Church, and developing its significance according as events required, and as the ecumenical nature of Christianity was realized in assemblies of bishops or in decrees emanating from the Holy See. "Viewing the matter as one of moral evidence," we may say with Cardinal Newman, who is here laying down the philosophy of the subject at large, "we seem to see in the testimony of the fifth the very testimony which every preceding century gave, accidents excepted, such as the present loss of documents once extant, or the then existing misconceptions, which want of intercourse between the Churches occasioned. The fifth century acts as a comment on the obscure text of the centuries before it, and brings out a meaning which, with the help of that comment, any candid person sees really to belong to them."<sup>1</sup>

And thus, while from the Cyprianic exaltation of St. Peter's Chair, as that on which the Episcopate was set up in unity; and, again, from his deference to the Pope as holding it, and to the Romans as celebrated for their faith which no unfaith could sully; and yet, again, from his wrathful outburst against Stephen, saying that neither he, Cyprian, nor any other African, pretended to be "bishop of bishops"—while from these things and the like we conclude to a principle of authority in the Roman See that was making itself felt as supreme and final, we need not assert the clear consciousness of what St. Peter's abiding presence carried with it, even in so remarkable a mind as that to which we owe the treatise "*De Unitate*." There cannot fail to be in a writer at this stage one or other "obscure text," apparent difficulties due to his having a particular set of circumstances before him, or to the simple fact that he has made one statement, which is true so far as it goes, but not in express terms the second statement required to harmonize it with some other portions of the Catholic doctrine. If St. Cyprian describes all the Apostles as "*pari consortio præditi honoris et potestatis*," yet insists on it as a Scripture principle that our Lord "*solī Petro dixerit quæcunque ligaveris*," we may acknowledge, without being thereby convicted of partiality or imperfect critical powers, that these two aspects of a large system call for adjustment and explanation, though the writer has not given such. Bossuet, in a discourse on "Unity" no less eloquent than this earlier one, combines the whole into a lucid exposition: "Power bestowed on several carries restriction by being shared; whereas power given to one alone, over all persons and without exception, implies its plenitude. All receive the same power, but not to the same degree or the same extent. Jesus Christ begins

<sup>1</sup> *Discussions and Arguments*, p. 237.

with him who is first, and in this first He brings out the whole, that we may thence learn how the ecclesiastical authority, at first established in the person of one single man, has been spread abroad only on condition of its being ever referred to its principle of unity, and that all whosoever shall exercise it must keep inseparably united to the same chair."<sup>1</sup>

There is no difficulty in following this explanation, which has in its favor good sense, logic and history. It is a comment whereby Cyprian's text receives a plain Catholic meaning, not discordant with his various acknowledgments of the "Roman height"—to speak as St. Jerome does; and who will pretend that it robs the passage of significance? But if we reflect on the ordinary teaching of the schools, which attributes infallibility to each Apostle (though always in union with his colleagues), and which denies such to every several bishop, we shall perceive yet more clearly why Cyprian could have described them as "endowed with a like share of dignity and power." St. Peter's Chair, with its supreme and universal jurisdiction, was, however, to last until the end of time; the other Apostles left no separate chairs; their infallibility was personal to themselves; and the line of their succession merges into the one Episcopate.

When we have said this, Dr. Benson's solitary objection is answered. For what is left of his six hundred pages as an argument against Rome? The charge of interpolation, or of forgery, in regard to Cyprian's fourth chapter? We have omitted the interpolations; but St. Cyprian's idea of the "*Cathedra Una*" remains. To us, as theologians, it signifies not one straw that "*Father Gabriel the Penitentiary*" would not allow Manutius to print the text authenticated by twenty-seven MSS.; or that he insisted on another, dating indeed to the eleventh or the tenth century, and exhibiting both recensions side by side, but of little worth in itself, and now deservedly rejected by the best critics.<sup>2</sup> We are under no obligation to Father Gabriel; and just as little do we feel bound to applaud the impetuous Monseigneur Freppel, or even to follow that esteemed and amiable Father Hurter, in his retention of the more copious passage. How it came to be so interpolated is a story of marginal notes finding their way into a text, as they have done before and since. But if one of these notes, or paraphrases, did exist in a letter of Pope Pelagius II. (A.D. 583), we can well understand why a Roman Penitentiary, in the year 1563, was not disposed to give up so important a witness which went back to the age of St. Gregory the Great. Even Monseigneur Freppel may be allowed his opinion without suspecting him of unfairness. A *textus receptus* dies hard. But to talk of forgery

<sup>1</sup> *Sermon Sur l'Unité*, p. I.

<sup>2</sup> Benson, pp. 200-221, and Hartel, iii. Preface.



seems, we would say, excessive, when the Archbishop himself, who prefers that indictment, adds in the next sentence, "If any one asks, how copyists could so flagrantly go on giving a genuine and an interpolated text on the same page, we can only be thankful to the fatuous or cynical fidelity which wrote out what was before it."<sup>1</sup> Not in so simple a fashion, we think, do forgers go about their work. Let us be content to take the margin out of its usurped place, and to set down as amplification or comment those words which Pelagius II. thought to be the language of Cyprian, but which a wise apologist will lay no stress upon.

And what of the quarrel with Pope Stephen? After what we have shown, viz., that a bishop could be judged, and was judged, by his peers, the only formidable sentence in the whole dispute which seems to deny this, has lost its venom. Dr. Benson, too, means, if he has any definite meaning, that while "excommunication involving deposition" might be inflicted on a prelate who had fallen into heresy and schism, there was in the details of administration a certain freedom allowed to bishops which they guarded jealously. All the documents lead us to suppose that in maintaining the rebaptism of heretics Cyprian looked upon it as such a point of Church discipline; and the state of the tradition in Egypt and the East will support this contention. I cannot forbear remarking, indeed, how much more instructive are Dr. Pusey's eighteen pages on the subject than Archbishop Benson's great volume.<sup>2</sup> However, so it appears that there was a Roman tradition, and a less consistent Eastern usage; and that Cyprian was following the custom of Carthage, at least since Agrippinus. And, in every event, his plea for mere toleration of the custom which he upheld, and his anxiety in the cause of freedom, disposed effectively of the notion that one who had written a treatise like the "De Unitate" could hold rebaptism to be "articulus stantis vel cadentis Ecclesiæ." Had it been such, how tolerate dissidents and not bring down on them the thunders of the One Episcopate? This, too, will explain why, in resisting Stephen and murmuring against his "tyrannical power," Cyprian need not have deemed himself a rebel to the "Cathedra Una." Many a French bishop has disliked, we suppose, the introduction into his diocese of the Roman rite, and perhaps complained of the "necessity of obedience" in these lesser things, who would not dream of disputing the Papal authority when exercised upon the greater and the greatest.

As regards the issue itself we may allow Dr. Benson to speak. After laying bare the principles to which Carthage appealed, he

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 208. Cyp. Oxf. Tr., 152, makes no "imputation of dishonesty."

<sup>2</sup> Pusey, *Tertullian*, i., pp. 280-298.



continues, "Against such a piece of Christian philosophy, held and promulgated by one of Cyprian's powers and Cyprian's character, backed by an army of prelates whom he restrained rather than stimulated, moving as one man to his direction, yet with an independence which threw each upon himself for his argument, how great was the triumph of Stephen! No Council assembled to support him. Alexandria remonstrated; Cappadocia denounced. His good cause was marred by uncharity, passion, pretentiousness. Yet he triumphed, and in him the Church of Rome triumphed as she deserved. For she was not the Church of Rome as modern Europe has known her. She was the liberal Church then; the Church whom the Truth made free; the representative of secure latitude, charitable comprehensiveness, considerate regulation."<sup>1</sup>

These are candid and generous words which, had the Archbishop been acquainted with the actual conduct of the Holy See towards bishops and people in our day, would not have required the exception he is fain to interpolate among them, marring their perfect grace. Rome is still distinguished for her large freedom and charitable consideration in dealing with questions that arise. But in whatever degree Pope Stephen failed—if he did fail, and we have not his account of these transactions—to exhibit the Roman patience, and to carry men's hearts along with him, in the same degree is that authority enhanced which he is said to have wielded so unhandsomely. It appears, then, that by his mere "edictum peremptorium," and the simple phrase, "Nihil innovetur nisi quod traditum est," he proved more than a match for Carthage, Cappadocia and Alexandria. It is not by a chance expression of wrath or disgust in Cyprian that this memorable act of supreme, and even haughty, jurisdiction will forfeit its significance.

Cyprian, however, died in the Communion of Rome. He never would violate the "sacramentum unitatis," and for that Augustine praised him. "Such Unity as our Lord prayed for," says the Archbishop on his concluding page, "is a mysterious thing." His hero tells us that it is embodied and visible in the Episcopate; "the Church which is Catholic, One, is not split nor divided, but is certainly knit together and compacted by a *cement* of Bishops fast cleaving each to each other," he writes to Florentius.<sup>2</sup> We ask, is that "a mysterious," and not rather a "tangible" thing, which all the world can see, if anywhere existing? "It answers in no way," continues Dr. Benson, "to the idea that 'One Lord, one Faith, one Baptism' can be condensed into one Rite, one Code, one Chair." Cyprian replies, "One Church *and* one Chair, founded upon Peter by the Lord's voice," to which Chair Fabian has succeeded. Is that "condensed" enough as an argument

<sup>1</sup> Benson, pp. 413, 414.

<sup>2</sup> Hartel, ii., 733.

against schism? And "One Code?" But say all the Fathers, "the Rule of Faith is one and unalterable;" and Vincent of Lerins gives the warning, "It is necessary, in order to avoid the labyrinth of error, to direct the lines of interpretation, both as to Prophets and Apostles, according to the sense of the Church and Catholic world;" while, as we have seen, Athanasius quotes with silent approval Pope Julius, "the Ecclesiastical Canon commanding that the churches ought not to make canons beside the will of the Bishop of Rome." Lastly, is there not "one Rite?" Then what was the meaning of Ignatius Martyr, "Be diligent to use one Eucharist, for there is one Flesh of our Lord Jesus Christ, and one cup for the union of His Blood; one Altar, as one Bishop, together with the Presbytery and Deacons, my fellow-servants."

But, in very truth, and here is the sum of our contention, that unity for which our Lord prayed has come to pass, and, in the words of Cyprian, "it cannot be broken," scindi non potest. They, however, who fall outside it by denying one of its elements are on the way to lose all. It is no paradox, but sober fact, when we assert with the Council, that so far from the Papal dignity lessening that of his brethren, the Bishops, it enhances and secures their position. Revolt from the Holy See led at once in many countries of Europe to the ruin of Episcopacy. In other lands it made them abject slaves and mere tools of the King, the Parliament, the Tsar, the Sultan. And which among the hierarchies of modern Europe has the greater influence, or prerogatives less undoubted? The Catholic which cleaves to its Head at Rome? or the Russian subdued by an Imperial Vicar General? or the Anglican quelled by a Royal Supremacy, which it cannot shake off, divided in doctrine, parti-colored in discipline, regarding that in Liverpool or Exeter as an idol which at Lincoln is worshipped as the sacrifice of the New Law? But even the Anglican did, by a strange Nemesis, develop in Archbishop Benson himself a quasi Papal jurisdiction, which he handselled on his brother of Lincoln. No, there is but one united Episcopate, and one only, "cujus a singulis in solidum pars tenetur." It is that body of which the Pope has always been recognized as chief, and which is united to the Chair, "wherein," says Augustine, "the strength of Peter's principedom has ever flourished." Cyprian declares, "the Episcopate, above all, is bound to exert itself in the maintenance of its own indivisible oneness." What words could insist on a visible, united, ecumenical polity, or show forth an organism bound together by communion in definite acts and identity of dogmatic teaching, if these do not? But the foundation, aye enduring, of the One Church is the Chair indefectible of St. Peter. Take it away, and the Bishops who no

<sup>1</sup> *Ad Phil.*, 4. See Lightfoot, ii., 258.

longer hold by it are abolished or broken into national sects; the Creed is torn to fragments by dissenters, enthusiasts, infidels; the Sacraments are denied, or their substance is emptied out of them, or their integrity endangered, or their supernatural efficacy resolved into a reminiscence of magic and a survival from barbaric times. The Chair, the Code, the Rite, which protected Christian belief in one Lord, one Faith, one Baptism, having been cast forth, these sacred objects of the New Testament dispensation follow them. And by a terrible, but conclusive argument, such as Providence compels an apostate world to furnish, it is seen how truly the apologist of three hundred years ago, the venerable Bellarmine, wrote, that whosoever deals with the prerogatives of the Roman Pontiff has for his theme the compendium of Christianity, "*De summa rei Christianæ agitur.*" From his day to ours, nations and churches, events and individuals—and now the movement which is setting in towards Rome on all sides—have conspired to illustrate these significant words, at once a retrospect and a prophecy.

WILLIAM BARRY.

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## A NEW OXFORD MOVEMENT IN ENGLAND.

CATHOLICS of the Anglo-Saxon race will naturally entertain hopes very different from those of their fellows who are allied to them in blood but not in religion, as to the future of the great family to which they belong. Whether they be Englishmen or Americans, they will have little faith in the mission of their respective nations unless that mission is performed under the auspices of the Catholic Church. In fact, they will be so far pessimist in their views as to think that unless the power of the Church obtains a wider sway amongst them than it holds at present, the two sister nations will, ere long, be upon the brink of ruin. Some are more sanguine than others about the progress of Catholicity among their countrymen, but all earnest Catholics of either nation will feel an interest in any movement which tends to promote that end. Moreover, at a time when the better-minded of both nations are trying to draw closer the bonds of friendship between them, Catholics, in the spirit of union which inspires the Cardinal Archbishop of Baltimore, will become more keenly alive to the fact of their common religion, and be led to regard any effort to advance it on either side of the water as a matter which nearly concerns themselves. Let this be my apology for offering to American readers a few thoughts connected with the recent permission granted to Catholics in England to belong to the universities of Oxford and Cambridge.

There can be no doubt that amongst interested English Catholics of whatever ecclesiastical or social standing, the greater number are inclined to regard these new facilities with unmixed satisfaction. There has long been a feeling amongst us that the Catholic body in England has been less of a power for good in the land than many of its special advantages would lead us to expect. It is true that we are a small fraction of the total population of Great Britain—perhaps some two millions out of thirty-six millions, or one-eighteenth of the whole—yet there are other circumstances which largely make up for our weakness in point of numbers. The Oxford Movement, the prominence of such names as those of Newman, Ward, Manning and other distinguished converts, the outcries that have been raised against us in some quarters, and the ostentatiousness with which we have been ignored in others—all these causes have tended to keep us continually before the notice of the world. Moreover, the unique position of the Catholic Church,

her absolute rejection of all compromise in doctrine, her determination to resist encroachment on the part of the state, and the singularity of her claim to being the sole depositary of Apostolic truth, are in themselves reasons enough to make the Catholics of any nation a remarkable body of men in however small a minority they may be.

Previous to the Catholic emancipation the life of the Church in England had been very nearly stamped out by some three centuries of persecution, and it is hard to say how long it would have continued to smoulder on, if it had not been reinforced by the new fire that was kindled by the Oxford Movement. A result of that movement was that Catholics were brought more into contact with the life, the thought and the culture of their fellow-countrymen. The traditions of Douay and Liège were mingled with those of Oxford and Cambridge, and the members of the older clergy, working side by side with converts full of new-born zeal, began to throw off somewhat of that air of diffidence and overwariness which they had inherited from darker days.

Since the time of which we speak there has been a steadily-growing tendency among Catholics to take part in the political and intellectual life about them, but in so doing they have had to deal with more than one serious drawback. Perhaps the chief difficulty all along has been that of education. Catholics in England have no university. An attempt was made to establish one close upon a quarter of a century ago, but the work failed, partly from want of money and partly from the fact that our intellectual life had not yet reached the stage at which it could foster the growth of such an undertaking. Since then the demand for higher education has grown apace, but it seeks to satisfy itself in another way—a way which, from causes now no longer existing, was not open to it before. Catholics are aware that, for many reasons, the forming of a connection with Oxford and Cambridge is preferable to the foundation of a distinctly Catholic university. Such an establishment, whatever its other advantages, could never be free from the stamp of provincialism, and would be less able to produce that accepted tone and indefinable finish which we look for in a completely educated man. It is true, of course, that a large proportion of our clergy have had the advantages of a thorough special training, and, in this respect at least, they compare favorably with the pastoral clergy of the Anglican establishment; but small provision has been made for the higher education of the laity, and the want of a better general culture has long been felt by clergy and laity alike. It is some forty years since Dr. W. G. Ward made the following remark to Dr. Jowett: "English Catholics don't know what education means. Many of them can't write



English. When a Catholic meets a Protestant in controversy, it is like a barbarian meeting a civilized man." Fortunately, such a state of things now no longer exists, but we feel that much has yet to be done to waken the Catholic body as a whole into conscious and active life, and the recent movement in the direction of the universities is one more step towards securing this result.

We remarked a little while ago that Catholics are possessed of many advantages calculated to enable them, wherever they are, to stand forward, at least as a powerful minority. For the purpose of gaining and teaching the people, they have in their favor the accumulated experience of centuries of missionary work. No priest is allowed to hear confessions unless he has gone through a training in moral theology which includes the close examination of a multitude of cases of conscience, and his conduct in the guidance of others is marked out for him in an exhaustive code of principles and laws which he is bound to know and to be able to apply. Many a priest who passes for a man of inferior attainments is in reality a trained lawyer and judge. His influence and the utility of his knowledge may be unobserved; but, in reality, he is leading many a soul safely through its secret difficulties and preventing a vast amount of hidden evil. Catholics, too, form part of that vast organic system which has its centre in the Eternal City. To this system belong the whole secular clergy and the various religious orders which carry on their respective labors all over the world in strict obedience to the Sovereign Pontiff. When he has spoken *ex cathedra*, no one who wishes to remain a member of the Church dares to question his decision. His word in this case is law. The precedents by which he rules do not become confused or contradictory, and his infallible dictum is received by all the faithful as a rule of conduct to the end of time.

It is true that the energy displayed by the Church in given places and times has not always been in proportion to its latent power. The age of Alexander VI. was not like the age of Innocent III. But the inherent power of the Church can never die, and the fact of its existence is clearly seen in those wonderful revivals which, more than once—as at the close of the sixteenth century—have raised the Church from what seemed to be her death-bed to a new and vigorous life. Evidences of increasing energy are not wanting in England, and this not only in the ordinary work of the priesthood, but also in the regions of secular learning, which it has always been the policy of the Church to promote. In the department of history the work of such men as Fathers Gasquet, Stevenson, Morris, and several others of a younger generation, is well known. In social work for the amelioration of the lot of the distressed poor, Catholics have, to say the least, not



been behindhand. It is true that their undertakings have been greatly hindered by want of means, but those who have seen the work which, in spite of this drawback, is carried on by such organizations as those of the Little Sisters of the Poor, to say nothing of the various charitable associations of laymen, can scarcely accuse the Church of any lack of practical philanthropy. The success of the educational work that has now for many years been carried on by the Church in nearly every English town in which there is a large body of Catholics is another proof that she is not without considerable vitality.

But it is especially in the intellectual order that Catholics might well be supposed to have sufficient means to make themselves respected, and yet it is precisely here that many will say they are most wanting. The fact seems to be that the Catholic Church has not been granted its rightful share of the credit which belongs to the work of such thinkers as Cardinal Newman, W. G. Ward and other distinguished converts. Men fail to recognize the fact that their genius was largely inspired by the spirit of the Church even before their conversion. Yet when all allowances are made, there still remains a persuasion amongst us that, as men of letters, as men who more than all others are entrusted with a message to their times, and as representatives of a Church which is supremely conscious of the sacredness of its mission in the world, English Catholics are far from being the power that they might be. It seems a wonder that, with so many advantages in their favor, they have not done more.

We attribute much of our failure to the want of higher education and to our isolation from the world of thought, and with a view to remedying these defects we have gone to Oxford. There has, in fact, upon a very modest scale, been a sort of reactionary Oxford Movement. Half a century ago Oxford went Romewards, attracted by the spiritual treasures which lay stored up in the teaching of the Roman Church, and now Rome is moving towards Oxford—not to become less Roman, as Oxford became less Protestant, but to obtain a closer sympathy with the mind of her neighbor and to acquire some of those outward graces which may give an exterior attraction to her doctrine.

When, early in the thirteenth century, the Dominicans established themselves in Paris, they at once became a power in the university, though their entry there was made by a few youths unskilled in the learning of the day. They could appeal, however, to the common faith and the common Catholic instincts of their contemporaries, and in an incredibly short time they had gained for their order several of the leading teachers of the university, and were in possession of some of the principal chairs of theology.

Times have changed since then, and we cannot, of course, hope to take the modern university by storm. All that we desire is to fit ourselves, by entering more into the intellectual life of our country, to take a useful and effective part in the burning questions of the future. And it would seem that the time has indeed come for us to take serious thought of the duties that lie before us. The day is near at hand when we shall have to stand in the forefront of a battle in which the very name of religion will be in peril. The religious world in England is in a state of unrest analogous to that of Europe in the face of the impending break-up of the Ottoman Empire. In the present case the institution threatened with dismemberment is the English Established Church, and the question which may have to be settled in the very near future is like the one which is waiting for an answer in the case of the Sublime Porte; that is, whether its existence as an establishment is to continue any longer. In both cases there are contending parties which shrink before the delicate problem of the division of the spoil; in each case, too, there are hopeful and combative sections of the threatened institution vigorously endeavoring to kindle the fire of new life from within. But Young Turkey parties and High Church parties, though they may appear to some to be fraught with the promise of permanent revival, do in reality but represent that feverish and fitful energy which is the usual accompaniment of decline. Meanwhile, Catholics themselves are divided in opinion as to whether they ought to lend a hand in hastening on the coming dissolution. Naturally, they have no love for the Established Church, which they regard as the cause of much of that mischievous freedom of thought and intellectual anarchy which prevails in the England of to-day. Accordingly, there are not wanting those who call for the speedy downfall of the time-honored imposture which has prevented so many earnest souls from seeing the truth. But there are others who fear that the destruction of one evil may only bring about the substitution of another many times worse, and they hold that the Established Church should be allowed to stand as a sort of buffer between pure Christianity and pure Infidelity. But whatever views they may have on this question, there is a growing persuasion amongst English Catholics that, no matter what becomes of Anglicanism, they themselves will be called upon to play an important part in the religious struggles of their country, and they are preparing to meet their opponents, as far as possible, on their own ground; *i.e.*, to meet them as Englishmen of to-day, and not as the representatives of a set of ideas which are entirely strange and unattractive to the English spirit.

It would, doubtless, be a matter of no little surprise to anyone



not well acquainted with the facts of the case, to be told that not only the Catholic laity in England, but the great majority of the bishops and the Pope himself had quite made up their minds that there was good to be got from Oxford. It might well seem that Rome has every reason for avoiding fellowship with the English university. Oxford is the home of many opinions, where no doctrine can ever be wild enough to be deemed heretical, and where everyone is perfectly free to choose his own line of thought. Strictly speaking, it has no schools of thought or doctrinal traditions; for the disciple does not follow his master, and traditions shift so much with the times that after a few years they can no longer be recognized as the same. Rome, on the contrary, never changes. Though she admits many new methods of scientific inquiry and many new intellectual movements, yet she never gives up or alters—unless, indeed, in the direction of greater precision—any doctrine which she has once called her own, and no one can belong to her communion who does not accept every tittle of her dogmatic teaching. This steadfastness and absolute consistency of the Church in matters of dogma tend to communicate themselves in no small measure to lines of thought and methods of inquiry which lie farther away from the centre of infallible guidance. The vast structure of Catholic philosophy, though subject to many vicissitudes and modifications in the course of centuries, still continues to grow along the lines marked out for it by St. Thomas Aquinas. Within the pale of scholastic philosophy itself there have been many schools of thought and many phases of opinion. Such differences are encouraged as a necessary part of progressive movement in thought. But amid all discussions and innovations there has ever been unanimity among the disputants with regard to all matters of vital consequence. The result has been that Catholics are trained to know their own mind. They are backed by all the force of a long and consistent tradition, and whether they be theologians in the professor's chair, priests in the pulpit and confessional, or even laymen instructing their own children, they are never in doubt as to what set of doctrines it is best for them to conform. There is no section within their own communion from which, for doctrinal reasons, they have anything to apprehend; there are no frequenters of Exeter Hall, Church Defence Associationists, prosecuting sacristans, and other such "enfants terribles" who are forever compromising the Establishment. For all such, if they are troublesome, there is a ready remedy in the authority of the Pope, who is not in the dubious position of the Archbishop of Canterbury, a prelate who is forever afraid of putting some stumbling-block in the way of his erring children in the shape of ill-timed explicitness. Causes such as these tend to make



Catholics better fitted than most of their contemporaries for having their say on intellectual questions. They have the great advantage of thinking and believing the same thing; and if most of those around them are hopelessly divided in opinion, and are apt to change their own views from day to day, then the Catholic minority in England, in spite of its smallness, might well hope to be able to make itself respected, even for its very numbers. It is, at least, the largest entity in the world of religious thought.

The fact, however, is that, far from taking the lead in any burning controversy, we have been forced to allow the defence of religion against infidelity to be carried on in great measure by men whose religious position is most ill-defined and wavering when compared with our own, and this very largely because we have simply been unable to get into the fight. We have been without a uniform and consigned to the inglorious position of non-combatants; and it is in order to acquire this uniform by investing our higher education and our manner of thought with somewhat more of the aspects of modern intellectual life, that we made our recent modest beginnings at Oxford. We do not wish to identify ourselves with the many-sided culture of Oxford or to catch the breath of every wind of doctrine that passes through its walls. Such a course could only produce the elements of weakness. It is a saying of Goethe that "when a man has taken note of everything, he has lost himself." There are not many things to be found at Oxford of which we stand in need or of which we desire to possess ourselves. There are, however, one or two things which we cannot well do without, and it is these alone that we seek at the university.

It is hard for us to resist the influences of our times, and, whether we will it or not, we shall have to struggle for very life against the forces of intellectual anarchy about us. These forces are actively at work in both our universities, and unless Catholic students are well upon their guard and fixed in their principles, they are sure to be drawn into the vortex of doubt and promiscuous inquiry. The bloom of decay growing upon that vast assemblage of creeds and beliefs and theories, new and old, which form so much of the subject-matter of modern culture, must necessarily possess dangerous attractions for those who hitherto have been educated according to one idea. It is therefore necessary that all such as are bent upon reaping more gain than loss from their contact with the culture of the universities should be made definitely aware of what their own position as Catholics is, and how vitally the Catholic ideal differs from the half-Christian, half-pagan ideal of modern England. Nor does this necessity hold in the case only of those who frequent the universities; it applies to the whole body of

English-speaking Catholics, who have to grasp more and more clearly every day the all-important truth that, though it is needful for them to know—and in many respects to sympathize with—the spirit of their times, their real strength lies not in their assimilation to that spirit, but in their clearer and more definitive separation from it. Catholics, as such, represent the spirit of all times. They have that within them which Catholics have had since the time of our Lord, and which none but Catholics can have or ever will have, and that is the inward and essential spirit of the Christian Church. Whatever changes may come over the civilization of the world, however men may alter their views of human life and human destiny, there will always remain, in a greater or less degree, in the hearts of all true Catholics, a savor of that uncompromising spirit which refused to compound with the paganism of imperial Rome, and which must always be more or less antagonistic to the existing spirit of the times. And Catholics of our own days, whether they be English or American, if their religion is not to be a thing of mere outward form—as little a part of themselves as are their Sunday clothes—will feel the imperious need of preserving this spirit by every means in their power. A greater intensity of the Catholic spirit and a greater prominence of the Catholic idea are all the more necessary in our own days, when we are striving to create for ourselves, within due limits, a closer contact with the secular spirit and a better knowledge of the secular idea. If there is to be a greater intensity in our secular life, there is all the more reason for a corresponding growth of intensity in our inward Catholic spirit which is the essential part of our religious life.

We gather from current politics a notion of what power may be acquired by an organized minority with a definite set of opinions and a uniform plan of action.<sup>1</sup> A similar influence may be gained in the sphere of intellect by a small body of men who are all earnestly bent upon propagating the same views, provided, of course, that they have something to say which is worth listening to, and that they carry on their contest with the necessary ability. Their influence will be all the greater if the school they represent is observed to stand steadily to its principles, whilst its opponents are continually obliged to shift their ground.

Our task, then, as Catholics, is to organize ourselves as a body of men who know their own mind, and are enthusiastic in the great cause for which alone they know they ought to live. We need the requisite amount of tactful aggressiveness in pushing the Catholic idea. In our dislike of noisy propagandism we are in-

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<sup>1</sup> We refer, of course, especially to the "Centre" party in Germany.



clined at times to leave the conversion of our countrymen to the direct influence of the Holy Ghost, without any great effort on our part at becoming the instruments of divine grace for our neighbors. It is true that the problem of approaching our fellow-countrymen is a difficult one; but before the question of ways and means there comes the need of recognizing our own position and organizing our own forces. A livelier sense of responsibility has to be awakened in Catholics of the rising generation, who are but too often kept in the darkest ignorance of the situation in which it will soon become their duty to play a part. Many of us, too, are inclined to assume an air of self-complacency in the religious advantages into which we were born, and to treat in a contemptuous or hostile spirit those who are less favored than ourselves and refuse to recognize our claims. We are sometimes tempted to use the weapons of ridicule and satire at a time when forbearance and a kindly sympathy with the difficulties of our antagonists are likely to be the most effective part of our controversy. It is in order to remedy such defects as these, and to promote a clearer general perception of the realities of our position, that some organized effort might be made to set flowing a current of Catholic ideas which shall represent old things under new aspects.

In order to achieve this result we do not need any novel kind of weapon or the growth of any new movement. Our weapons are ready to hand, but they need refurbishing, and the movement we desire is even now on foot; but it needs to be accelerated. What wonders might not be worked by the press and the platform if skilfully organized in the Catholic cause? It is true that members of the Anglo-Saxon race, especially Englishmen, are slower than certain of their neighbors to take up new ideas; yet it is none the less true that they are largely ruled by ideas, as a careful examination of the history—especially the religious history—both of England and America will show. They require, in order to overcome their initial cautiousness or indifference, that the ideas should be kept steadily and perseveringly before them, so that they may have full time to take in and assimilate them. Men are always ready to take an interest in what they hold to be burning questions, but they do not recognize them to be such unless they are discussed with great frequency and in language which they themselves can understand. Those, therefore, who are responsible for the ventilation of ideas—our lecturers, writers, journalists—must necessarily be men who are able to feel and diagnose the temper of the body which they are seeking to benefit. They must, moreover, in all their work have a distinct and uniform purpose in view, together with a united plan of action. In short, those whose work is in the dominion of literature—and it is



chiefly with these that we are dealing—should possess the quality of distinctiveness.

Distinctiveness is the result of more causes than one, and the ways, too, in which it shows itself are manifold. It may be described, however, in general, as a character of style whereby the personality of the writer is reflected in a high and commanding degree, and in which the definiteness and consistency of his opinions are fitly and gracefully portrayed. Mere good taste and literary training cannot of themselves produce the note of distinctiveness; it must spring from the deeper sources of a steady enthusiasm, earnestness in a worthy cause and the prominence of one overmastering idea. When Mr. Ruskin wrote the first volumes of "Modern Painters" he at once became a leader among artists and men of letters, because to all the arts of the word-painter he added the higher virtues of a comprehensive clearness of aim and a lofty earnestness of purpose which marked him out as almost a prophet among teachers. In other words, he had the character of distinctiveness, and it was because of this character that he was able to attract to himself so large a following and to work such a change in the ideas which his contemporaries possessed about the existence of high and immutable principles in art.

Somewhat similar to Ruskin's apostleship in art was the influence exerted by Newman upon religion in England. Newman, too, was distinctive. He, too, was able to take a comprehensive view of that part of the situation which concerned himself, viz., the state of religion in England, while his earnest and commanding character was able to take far more than a merely speculative interest in the religious events of his time. The result was that he, too, became a leader among men, and was able to impress his own higher convictions upon the minds of his countrymen.

Distinctiveness, whether in literature or the pulpit or in the intercourse of daily life, is a quality which belongs to all great and influential work. But it need not necessarily be confined to a few individuals. Over and over again in the history of the world it has been found in great bodies of men who were one and all fired by the same animating spirit. It existed in a high and commanding degree among the Apostles and early Christians, who were all possessed of "one heart and one soul." It existed, too, among the friars of the thirteenth century, whose influence was such that men began to ask whether, soon, there would be enough men and women outside the walls of the monastery to carry on the work of peopling Christendom. Lastly, it existed in another shape and form among those fathers of the Society of Jesus who were trained by Saint Ignatius in the common spirit of the *Exercises*.

All great centres of light and leading, all founders of intellectual movements, whether they have been individuals or schools of thought, have been men who, by their own earnest efforts and the blessing of Providence, have found expression for the undefined yearnings and given a direction to the unguided zeal of their contemporaries. They have impressed their spirit upon large classes of men who only needed leaders in order to rouse them into fruitful activity. There seems reason for believing that leaders of this sort in the future will stand out less and less as individuals, and that the influence of single masters of thought will give place to that of large organized schools. That this should be the case would seem to follow from the general tendencies of our democratic days, in which men act so much in combination and the influence of leadership is apt to become less manifest than of old. Moreover, in the world of letters so much work of good average merit is produced, and so hard is it for individuals to attract more than a passing notice, that if any good cause has to be promoted, it must be promoted by co-operation. The co-operators must be men of one mind, and if they are possessed of some great and worthy aim which so influences their minds as to give a certain color to their every thought, there will be a tendency towards a marked and distinctive tone in all their writings. This distinctiveness will give them power, and whether they be controversialists, social reformers or men of science, whatever they say will surely be listened to. It now remains to consider how far the note of distinctiveness can be claimed by Catholic writers, and, if wanting, how far it can be acquired by the force of a conscious effort.

But here it may be objected that the whole question we are considering is a useless one ; that Catholic effort must not live in the domain of literature, but must work in the direction of social improvement. The advocates of such a policy may point out that at this very moment much lost ground is being recovered by the Church in Italy, Germany and France by the enlightened activity of the clergy in promoting such good works as co-operative societies among workingmen, associations for lending money to the poor at reasonable rates of interest, the introduction of better systems of agriculture, and numerous other schemes which show men in a practical way that the Church takes a genuine interest in their welfare. It may be urged, moreover, that the influence of books, pamphlets and magazine articles is so very slight in our days that any effort in this direction is sure to meet with poor results. To objections such as these it will be enough to say that though literature may be less fertile of results than more active forms of effort, still it would be foolish to deny that its influence is great, as may be seen in the use made of it by the enemies of



the Church. Moreover, we are concerned at present with the subject of the connection of Catholics with the universities and higher education; and, since literature stands in close relation to such a theme, we have taken occasion to say something in favor of its claims.

But to return from this digression. We set ourselves to consider how far our Catholic writers as a body can be said to have the quality of distinctiveness, and whether they show forth the possession of some common spirit in a high and commanding degree. Naturally, the spirit that we look for is the spirit of the Catholic Church embodied in accordance with the needs of our present time, and the distinctiveness of our writers must express the distinctiveness of the Church's spirit. They have to battle against the undue influence of the spirit of the times, opposed as it is, in many respects, to that of the Church, in which their own personality should be absorbed and transfigured. The very effort to preserve a common spirit is itself against the grain of modern feeling and quite contrary to the practice of most modern men of letters, who write, as a rule, under the sign-manual of their own authority. The present writer can remember showing to a priest and theological writer, not long since dead, the portraits of a number of English contemporary non-Catholic writers of average reputation in literature. The priest, who was a man of more than ordinary penetration, remarked, after looking at the pictures: "They all of them seem like men who think a good deal of themselves." And, indeed, this remark is in agreement with complaints which we sometimes hear, that no modern writer of fiction can create a hero who is not somewhat of a prig. Tennyson's "King Arthur" and George Eliot's "Romola" have been held up as examples. And some of the greatest of our latter-day prophets, whose utterances are listened to with merited respect, are not free from that peculiar form of self-consciousness which marks a man off as a "superior person." Such must necessarily be the case where individualism has free scope. If a man belongs to no disciplined school of thought, and recognizes no pontiff to whom there is ultimate appeal, his pontifical decisions must come from himself. He will not speak with diffidence and under correction when he knows of no one who has a right to correct him. We should offer no indignity to the amiable and cultured Matthew Arnold if we set him below Cardinal Newman either for depth of thought or as a master of style. Yet there is nothing privately and personally pontifical in the manner of Newman, and much that is so in that of Mr. Arnold. And so in other cases where freedom in religious thought has produced unrestrainedness in other forms of speculation.



Catholics cannot escape from the influences around them, and, whether for better or for worse, they must necessarily adopt much of the tone of their contemporaries. This is undoubtedly true in literature, especially as the accepted literary style tends more and more towards uniformity. Even the most original of men will be, to a large extent, imitators; and indeed it would be an evil thing for the world if they were not so. If the best of non-Catholic writers speak with the assurance of the self-sent prophet, and utter their benedictions or anathemas on the authority of their own deeper insight, Catholic writers will be apt to deliver their messages after the same fashion. Let us take an instance. The name of Coventry Patmore stands deservedly high in English literature, and he commonly writes as an uncompromising Catholic; but who does not see how greatly some of his prose writings suffer from a want of that moderation and self-restraint which is sure to grow upon those who have been trained from their childhood to listen with deference to dogmatic teaching in matters of religion? Docility is a faithful handmaid to genius, and it is often the only thing that can make genius of any real value.

Perhaps few recent Catholic writers have performed the office of prophet so frequently as the late Father Hecker. Yet there is a manly simplicity and vigorous faith in him which repel no one, but, on the contrary, rouse up in the reader the same high hopes and active enthusiasm with which he himself was inspired. Like Cardinal Newman in England, and his own contemporary and friend, Brownson in America, he had that largeness of the Church's spirit which, without loss of its identity, is continually adapting itself to the needs of the time.

We have seen above that the quality of distinctiveness in literature must come from high enthusiasm and sincere earnestness of purpose. Moreover, it will not exist among the Catholic writers of any nation unless the great body of Catholics of that nation are roused to an active consciousness of their position and their duties as Catholics. What we look for in the near future, when men have begun to see clearly that there is no choice left between Catholicism and infidelity, is a general rallying of all earnest Christians under the standard of Rome. When the great dividing-time arrives, the Catholics of England, America and the English Colonies throughout the world will, we may well hope, be specially aided by the Holy Ghost to see and realize to the full that the redemption of the Anglo-Saxon race from worldliness, sensuality and ruin depends, under Heaven, upon them. This great re-awakening has already begun, but so far it is only in its earliest stage. We are too few, too little organized, and not, as a body, sufficiently conscious of the trend of the times, to resist success-

fully the forces arrayed against us. When the enemies and the disabused victims of infidelity begin to join us in greater numbers, and the ground becomes gradually cleared for the great battle with unbelief, then, if Christianity is once more to assert itself, there must be a new and wide-spread intensity of the Catholic spirit. If this great revival takes place, and there seem to be many reasons for thinking that it will, there will be a corresponding revival in Catholic literature, which will then begin to be a full and adequate expression of the Catholic spirit. Moreover, the Church will exhibit new powers and manifest new forms of energy not manifested before, and the writings of her children will show forth a correspondingly harmonious combination of new things with old.

The growth of such a movement is never, of course, directly produced by conscious effort, but, if there be no conscious effort, it is likely to become abortive. Such an effort, thanks to the guidance of the Holy Spirit, is now being made, both in England and America. The recent movement towards Oxford is one phase of the effort in England, where the Catholic clergy and laity have made up their minds that, if we have the best of what is old and stable, yet we are, to some extent, wanting in what is new and less permanent, though none the less necessary in order to catch the ear of our generation and lend ourselves to its life. The aim we propose to ourselves is to assimilate what is good and wholesome in the spirit of the times, whilst we develop and intensify that inner spirit which belongs to us as members of the Catholic Church.

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## THE TURKISH STRUGGLE WITH CATHOLIC EUROPE.

THE Turks to day, as through all their history, are a foreign and hostile race in the European world. Their ways are not the ways of Europe, their desires are not the desires of European man, their religion is not his. The band of roving shepherds which was the origin of the Ottoman empire was not a nation but a gathering of barbarian warriors for the sake of plunder, much like the crew of a pirate ship. They banded together that they might live on the labors of others by their barbarian swords; and empire, not national development, has been the principle that has since kept them together. The Tartar shepherds despise the settled lives of civilized men as slavish, the Mahometan hates and despises the Christian as one accursed by God, and the modern Turk is in all essentials still a Mahometan Tartar. The name given by diplomacy to the Turkish government from its own usage, expresses well its character. It is the Sublime Porte, the "raised gate of the Sultan's tent," where originally the Tartar chief gave law to his followers as they wandered over their native plains or ravaged the lands of their civilized fellow-men. The Sultan dwells in the palaces of Constantine and Theodosius, but the tent of the armed freebooter is to him and his people his natural and most honorable abode. The contrast between barbarian and civilized thought and desires, could hardly be more significantly expressed.

The struggle between civilized and barbarian man has been repeated again and again since the earliest times. Greek thought, Roman law and discipline and the Christian religion have established civilization supreme in Europe and America, but the history of Asia and Africa to our own time is one record of conquests of the more civilized peoples by barbarian hordes. The Turkish Empire is the one example of such a state of things in Europe to-day. It was founded and it flourished by war and conquest alone, and now that it is unequal to continue conquering it remains a mere clog on the land which still remains subject to its dominion. Its establishment in Europe was a triumph of barbarism over civilization, and its subsequent history was one long effort to make barbarism supreme throughout that continent. The struggle was doubtful for more than three centuries after the first invasion. Almost the whole body of Eastern Christians that came in the Turkish path were reduced to bondage, and it was only by the most desperate struggle and deeds of heroic self-devotion that



Rome and Vienna escaped the same fate. We shall try to sketch briefly the story of the conflict.

The conquest of Constantinople in 1453 gave the Turkish Sultans control of greater wealth and material resources than those of any western nation. The Turkish soldiers were armed and maintained by the skill and labor of their Christian *rayas*. Mahomet II. was only twenty-three when he captured the imperial city, and he was as ambitious as brutal in his character. The resources of his first conquests were utilized for others. The Eastern Christians through the Balkan peninsula had been subdued by his father, and the Turkish frontier already touched the Catholic countries in Hungary and the Venetian territories. Three years after the capture of Constantinople the Sultan moved his great army, provided with the best artillery of the time, to the invasion of Hungary. The Hungarian Government was, like most mediæval states, without either standing army or fixed revenues, and thus was at a terrible disadvantage compared with the Moslem despot, who disposed of all the wealth of his empire at will, and was served by a disciplined standing army in his Janissaries and horse-guards. The Hungarians had no force able to meet the Turks in the field, and the Sultan laid siege to Belgrade, the frontier city and military bulwark of the Christian Kingdom. As at Constantinople, his artillery, cast by Greek workmen, was superior by far to that of Belgrade, and in a few weeks the ramparts were battered down, and a general assault carried his banners into the heart of the city. The result was wholly unexpected. Hunyadi the Hungarian Regent, swept back the Janissaries, and at the same moment a body of a thousand soldiers, with the Franciscan preacher John of Capistrano, afterwards a canonized saint, issued from the town and charged the Turkish trenches. The artillery was captured, and the garrison, following up their repulsed assailants, attacked the besiegers outside. The siege became a pitched battle and a panic seized the Turks, who broke and retreated in complete rout, leaving their camp in possession of the victors. The victory thus gained saved Hungary from invasion for sixty years, though its people had no sufficient force to drive the invaders from the already conquered provinces to the south.

The remaining twenty-four years of Mahomet, the Conqueror, were engaged in conquest of the various islands and cities of the Archipelago, which remained free or in possession of the Italian republics after the fall of the Greek Empire. The barbarian nature of a Turkish warrior was amply displayed against those weaker Christian foes. Negropont, on the Greek coast, had long been in possession of the Venetians. It was attacked by the Turkish Sultan, and the capital surrendered after a brave defence

on the Sultan's solemn promise of life and liberty. The whole Italian portion of the garrison was put to death by torture, and the governor sawn slowly in two, as a sign of the working of Turkish faith to Christians. Caffa in the Crimea, was in possession of the Genoese, and in wealth and population was the greatest city on the Black Sea after Constantinople. Mahomet attacked and captured it. After a short resistance forty thousand of its population were carried off to the capital, and fifteen hundred boys of the best Christian families were enrolled in the ranks of the Janissaries and compelled to accept Mahometanism, under pain of instant death. The Crim Tartars who then occupied the south of modern Russia, nearly up to Moscow, became subjects of the Sultan, in whom they hailed a Mahometan Conqueror of their own stamp. With an empire thus strengthened, Mahomet prepared for the invasion of Italy, which offered prospect of an easier conquest than Hungary. The island of Rhodes, off the coast of Asia Minor, was also still in Christian hands. The military order of St. John of Jerusalem had established itself in Rhodes after the conquest of Palestine from the western crusaders, and their navy was a formidable foe to the Turkish corsairs which now began to swarm on the eastern seas. The capture of Rhodes and the invasion of Italy were the last objects of Mahomet's ambition. In 1480 two great armaments were sent out simultaneously for those objects. The Italian expedition captured Otranto and gave the Turks a footing beyond the Adriatic; but the bravery of the military monks under the Grand Master, D'Aubusson, baffled every assault, and after a three months' desperate struggle the Turkish commander abandoned the siege. Mahomet had gathered his forces for a new expedition the following year, 1481, but death came to close his career before even his proposed course was known. A civil war between his sons, Bajazet and Djem, occupied the Turkish empire for the next few years. Otranto was recovered by the Neapolitans, and for forty years there was a lull in the long-threatened Turkish onward march.

The sultans who succeeded Mahomet, Bajazet II. and Selim I., if they did not renew the aggressions of the conqueror, prepared long and carefully for the never-relinquished scheme of European conquest. The Turkish naval strength was quietly but steadily increased. The dock-yards of Constantinople and the skill of the Greek rayas supplied the ships; Christian slaves furnished the crews and oarsmen, and Turkish soldiers the fighting-force of the new navy, which soon equalled or surpassed in numbers that of the Christian civilized states. Neither Venice nor Genoa possessed as many war-vessels as the sultan, and Turkish corsairs swept through the Mediterranean, plundering the coasts and shipping



and carrying off thousands of Christian slaves to the Moslem slave-markets. Like the old Scandinavian pirates, the Turkish corsairs were largely recruited by renegade Christians from every land. Criminals, outlaws and desperadoes of every kind readily adopted a creed which needed no more formality than the repetition of a formula of prayer, and at the same time gave unlimited license to plunder and sensual indulgence. Most of the Turkish admirals, as well as many of the generals and viziers, were Christian renegades. The resources of civilization were thus enlisted in the cause of barbarian despotism, and the same thing may be noted even in our own day.

Selim I., who succeeded Bajazet in 1512, was as fierce a conqueror as his grandfather; but his energy was employed on conquests over Mahometan, and not Christian nations. He conquered Egypt, Syria and Arabia, as well as the Persian provinces of Kurdistan and Mesopotamia. The area of the Ottoman dominions was doubled in eight years, and the new subjects were so many fighting-men more for the Turkish projects of European invasion. The condition of Christian Europe had changed rapidly since Mahomet's repulse at Belgrade. The Moors had been driven from Spain, America discovered, and the old feudal system in France and England had been replaced by the centralized monarchical governments of Louis XI. and Henry VII. Literature, art and science had received an unparalleled development in Italy. The military and political strength of Christian Europe had more than doubled since the taking of Constantinople.

The Turks had no share in the intellectual movement of the Renaissance, and in civilization and morality they were still freebooters of the Tartar steppes. But the conquests of Selim in Asia and Africa, and the wealth which still continued to be drawn from the industry of their Christian vassals, had increased the power of the sultans even more than that of Christian Europe. Like Russia to-day, the Turkish rulers readily adopted those resources of civilization which referred to war or statecraft. The Turkish artillery and commissariat were superior to that of any western nation. The revenue of Turkey was five times that of either France or England; the standing army, including the Spahis, or feudal militia, and the terrible Janissaries, still recruited from the children of Christians, reached the number of two hundred thousand. The fleet numbered three hundred war-vessels—larger than that of any Christian nation. In military and political strength, in the early part of the sixteenth century, Turkey, among the powers, held a place equal to that now held by Russia and England combined.

Solyman, who succeeded the savage Selim, made the Turkish power still more formidable by his own character. In generalship



he was equal, or superior, to either his father, Selim, or his great-grandfather, Mahomet II., and though a true Ottoman in disregard for human life, even of his nearest relatives, wherever political interests were involved his temper was calm and his industry and forethought such as are seldom found in absolute sovereigns. His own people gave him the title of Lord of the Age, and in fact Solyman was, in material power, the greatest ruler of the sixteenth century.

Great as was the power of Turkey at that time, it was only one of several Mahometan states, each equal to any Christian power. Akbar ruled nearly all India; Persia was the rival of Turkey in military strength, and the Tartar Khans of Upper Asia still could levy armies of hundreds of thousands of warriors. The north coast of Africa was occupied by three or more Moslem states equal in strength to Venice or Genoa, and often the masters of the Mediterranean. In wealth and power for war the Mahometan world was greater than Christendom combined in the sixteenth century.

Christendom, unfortunately, was not united in itself. Francis I., of France, and Charles V., of Spain, the foremost sovereigns of Europe, were engaged in bitter warfare during nearly their whole reigns. Germany, known as the Holy Roman Empire, was not a compact state, but a confederation of independent nobles and free cities. In Italy Venice was the only strong native state, the rest of the peninsula, outside the Pope's domain, being subject to Charles V. directly or indirectly. England had no relations whatever with Eastern Europe during the reign of Solyman. Poland and Hungary, the other two Christian powers of the day, were politically in the same condition as France had been a century before. The central government had little real power or revenues; the administration was in the hands of the Palatines and magnates, who raised troops and taxes at their discretion and quarreled at every election of a king. Under rulers like Matthias Corvin or Stephen Batori Hungary or Poland would rank with the Great Powers of Christendom, but either was liable to fall to weakness in a few years by an unfortunate election or local revolts. Still, it was Hungary and Poland which had to bear the brunt of the Turkish onslaught on Christian Europe, and it was their forces which finally hurled back the invasion.

Such was the state of Europe when the greatest of the Ottoman Sultans took up again the design of the conqueror of Constantinople. Solyman began by attacking the two bulwarks which had checked the advance of Mahomet II. He attacked and captured Belgrade in person in 1521, and his navy, after a desperate struggle, obliged the Knights of Rhodes to capitulate the follow-

ing year. In 1525 the victorious Sultan led a hundred thousand soldiers into Hungary. The young King Ladislas gathered a feudal army of less than a third the numbers of Solyman's forces, and in a spirit like that of his predecessors at Varna and Nicopolis, went to battle as to a tournament. The result was what might be looked for. The Hungarian army was surrounded and destroyed at Mohacz in 1526. The King himself and most of the Hungarian leaders, including the primate and eight other bishops, who shared the campaign in the old feudal spirit, were slain, and Solyman marched in triumph to Buda Pest, which he took and plundered. His troops ravaged Hungary as the Arab slave-dealers of our own day sweep off the negroes of Central Africa. The country traversed by the Turkish troops was burned and pillaged, and a hundred thousand Christians, men, women and children, were driven off to supply the Turkish slave-markets when Solyman returned to his capital to prepare for new campaigns.

Hungary was almost crushed by the field of Mohacz, and civil war came to complete its misery. The National Diet elected as king Ferdinand of Austria, the brother of Charles V., but a part of the nobles refused to abide by the decision of the majority, and set up Zapolya, one of their own number, as monarch. Protestantism had extended to Hungary, and many of the nobles had embraced the new doctrines, Zapolya among them. The seceders were defeated by the national troops, and then in the same spirit which had made the Greek magnates prefer the Turban to the Tiara, they applied for aid to Solyman. The Protestant magnates offered to acknowledge him as suzerain of Hungary if he would secure Zapolya on its throne as a Turkish vassal. The Sultan accepted the offer, though in terms of haughty scorn. He aimed at wider conquests than Hungary, and a Christian vassal king who would serve him against Christendom might be as useful an instrument as the Servian Stephen had been to his ancestor Bajazet I. An army as large as that which Von Moltke commanded against Paris was set in motion, and with a quarter of million of men and three hundred pieces of artillery Solyman entered Hungary in 1529. He installed Zapolya as king in Buda Pest, and taking him in his train he marched into Austria and besieged Vienna, the capital of Germany.

The Christian world had no army to dispute the Turkish advance, and the only force to encounter it was the garrison of sixteen thousand men, Spaniards, Germans and Hungarians. Charles V. was engaged by the revolted Protestant princes, and could send no aid. The Turks surrounded the devoted city and battered its ramparts with their heavy artillery for some weeks, while the bashi bazooks swept in the country population for the slave marts.



The garrison, commanded by Count Salm, proved equal to the task that had fallen on it, and when, on October 14, 1529, the Janissaries attempted to storm the city, they were driven back, as Mahomet II. had been hurled from the walls of Belgrade. The Turkish officers vainly tried to drive their men on with blows of whips, and after a desperate struggle the assailants fell back from the walls. The "Lord of the Age" had met his first defeat. He butchered the unarmed crowd of Christian prisoners that had been gathered up by his bashi bazooks, and then sullenly retired. A truce was made three years later, and Hungary had a brief respite, though it was to be a hundred and fifty years before the Turkish standard was driven from Buda.

The Turks, though repulsed, did not give up their projects of conquering both Germany and Italy. Solyman set to work to increase his forces during the interval which followed the siege of Vienna. He united Algiers, Tripoli and Tunis to his empire, and the Moorish pirates of those coasts nearly doubled his naval strength. The Turkish fleets were almost supreme in the Mediterranean. Their Admirals, Barbarossa, Dragut and Piale defeated the Spanish and Italian fleets in great battles off Tunis and Prevesa, and sacked the smaller towns of Italy, Corsica and Spain, as the buccaneers of the Spanish main harried the coasts of America. The war was renewed in Hungary on the death of Zapolya. The Turks overran the whole country, and though the army of Charles V. prevented another attack on Vienna, it did no more. Transylvania, the eastern division of Hungary, became permanently a vassal state of Turkey under Protestant princes on the same footing as Moldavia and Wallachia. The capital and the lands along the Danube were made Turkish territory and ruled by Turkish pashas, while the still unconquered Magyars disputed vigorously the possession of the rest of their native land. In 1565 Solyman, though seventy-five years of age, braced himself for fresh invasions. An army of a hundred and fifty thousand men was drawn together at Constantinople to march under the Sultan's own command against Hungary and Austria, while a fleet of nearly two hundred vessels, with thirty thousand veteran soldiers on board, started to capture Malta. The Knights of St. John, after their loss of Rhodes, had fortified the little island, and continued to face the Ottoman power as defenders of Christendom. The Turks, under their great admiral, Piale Pasha, had recently destroyed the Spanish fleet off Tunis, and Piale commanded the expedition against Malta. To meet it the forces of the defenders seemed pitifully small. Seven hundred knights and eight thousand soldiers, drawn from the crews of their war vessels and the island militia had to brave the whole naval force of Turkey. The capture



of Malta was regarded in Constantinople as the first step to the conquest of Italy, and no expense was spared by Solymán to insure its success. The Turks landed on the island in May, 1565. The Grand Master, La Vallette, assembled a council and spoke briefly. He told his knights: "A formidable enemy is upon us like a thunder-storm, and if the banner of the Cross must sink before the misbelievers, let us see in this a sign that Heaven requires of us the lives we have solemnly devoted to its service." The whole body of knights renewed their vows and received the Holy Sacrament, and swore to spend the last drop of their blood in defense of the Cross, and to renounce all temporal objects and pleasures while a Turk remained in Malta.

The siege of Malta is one of the most remarkable in history. It commenced on the 20th of May with an attack on the outpost of St. Elmo, garrisoned by three hundred knights and thirteen hundred soldiers, who all kept their war vow and died to a man before the castle was carried in June. Eight thousand Turks had perished in the capture of St. Elmo, and the commander sent a summons to the city to surrender on honorable terms. La Vallette told him to take possession if he could, and the siege went on fiercely for four months. The Turks again and again assaulted the walls with courage like that of their descendants at Plevna; but though three-quarters of the Christians had perished, the survivors again and again, in ten assaults, hurled back the Janissaries. On the 11th of September, when La Vallette had only six hundred men left fit for service, the Turks lost heart, and the rumor that a Spanish fleet was coming made them hastily abandon their artillery and embark in flight. They had left twenty-five thousand of their best soldiers, including Dragut, the great corsair admiral, on the Maltese shores.

Solymán was preparing for the campaign against Vienna when his defeated navy returned from Malta, and though seventy-six years old, he started on it the next year, abandoning for a time his revenge on Malta. There was no Christian army to meet him in the field. He received the homage of young Zapolya as nominal King of Hungary, and advanced to complete the conquest of the whole land. Strangely enough, it was a mere handful of Catholic Hungarians that turned back the mighty Turkish invasion. A small town, Szigeth, lay in the line of march, and its commander, Zriny, like La Vallette, determined to die with his men rather than yield a foot of his native land to Moslem slavery. The garrison was only three thousand strong, but the citadel was well defended by a marsh, through which the Turks had to build levees before they could reach the walls. Their whole battering artillery played on the devoted fort during a full month, and three desperate as-

saults were driven back by the little Christian band. The old Sultan chafed and sickened at the delay which kept a hundred and fifty thousand soldiers back. He offered Zriny the government of Croatia as a bribe, but the Christian scorned promises as well as threats. The Sultan grew worse, and as the siege went on he wrote to his vizier asking why the "drum of victory had not yet beat." It never sounded in Solyman's ears, for the greatest of Turkish Sultans died on the 5th of September, 1566, just as his engineers fired a tremendous mine under the wall of Szigeth. The vizier concealed the death of the Sultan for seven weeks, until he had time to notify his son Selim of its occurrence, and meanwhile the siege went on. The Turkish guns poured shot on the citadel until only one tower was left, in which Zriny with six hundred men still kept his post. The last assault was made on the 8th of September, and as the Janissaries swarmed with axes in hands to the gate it was suddenly thrown open. Zriny poured a last volley of grapeshot into their ranks, and then with his six hundred charged to meet his death. Not one survived, but three thousand slain Turks were the price of their death.

Zriny's self-devotion turned back the Turkish invasion. The generals drew back to Turkey, and Christendom rested awhile. The famous modern cynical adage that "Providence is always on the side of the strongest battallions" is curiously contradicted by the history of the Turkish wars in Christian lands. In numbers and equipment the Turkish armies were almost always superior, and it was two hundred years after the capture of Constantinople that a Turkish army was defeated in the field. Belgrade and Rhodes with insignificant garrisons checked the advance of Mahomet II., and the conqueror of Mohacz was stopped by the resistance of a village, as he had before been by the unsupported city of Vienna, and as the fleet which had won control of the sea from Spain and Venice was baffled by a handful of Maltese knights.

At the death of Solyman, Turkey, with its Mahometan despotism, its warfare of savages, and its contempt of Christianity and Christian civilization, was far the strongest power in Europe. For a hundred years no Christian army had been able to stand the Turkish assault in the open field, and for thirty years its navy had been equally successful. Constantinople was the greatest city of Europe, and neither London nor Paris equalled it in wealth or population. The chief Christian nations were distracted by civil wars arising from the growth of Protestantism, and in many cases the Protestants were too ready to aid Mahometans against Catholics. Only a few years after the death of Solyman, Elizabeth of England not only sought alliance with Turkey, but endeavored to stir up the Sultan to the conquest of Italy and Spain. To the



mass of the English people the Turk was then, as now, another term for ruthless savage, yet Elizabeth had no scruple in asking the Turk to join her in a war of extermination against the Catholic world, which, with more than Mahometan virulence, she called idolators. Marlowe was depicting Turk and Tartar in their true colors on the English stage when the English sovereign was begging the blood-stained murderer of his brothers, who then occupied the Turkish throne, to send his fleet "against that idolator, the King of Spain, who, relying on the help of the Pope and all idolatrous princes, designs to crush the Queen of England, and then to turn his whole power to the destruction of the Sultan." The English Queen, like the Dutch traders who trampled on the Cross in Japan, was most anxious to show the Mahometans the difference between *her* Christianity and that of men like Zriny and the Knights of Malta. "The unconquered and most puissant Defender of the True Faith against the Idolators who falsely profess the name of Christ," she styled herself, in a style hardly different from that of the Mahometan Sultans and she assured his Majesty that if he would but join England in maritime war, "the proud Spaniard and the lying Pope and all their followers would be struck down, and God would protect His own by the arms of England and Turkey." Elizabeth pleaded in vain with the indolent Amurath for the invasion of Christendom; but from her day England has ever been in politics the supporter of Turkish dominion in Europe, and it is in a great part through English aid that the Turk now rules and butchers on European soil.

It is not strange that in the sixteenth century not only the Turks themselves, but those among Christians who judged the future by merely human considerations, looked forward to a Mahometan conquest of the Christian world. Similar prophecies are being constantly made, even to-day, by self-styled thinkers, regarding the future, who disregard the lessons taught by the past. In reality, Turkish power had reached its highest growth under Solymán, and the inevitable decay began when his worthless son, Selim the Drunkard, took control of the barbarian forces. Sensual indulgence of every kind absorbed the whole time of the master of Turkey, and the warfare on Christendom was too troublesome for his indolence. One aggression, characteristic of the man, marked his reign. Cyprus was then a province of the Venetian Republic, which had a treaty of peace with Turkey; but the imperial drunkard coveted it for the sake of its heavy wines, and without warning a huge Turkish army was thrown into the island, its cities taken and sacked, and the governor, Bragadino, who had surrendered on honorable terms after a brave defence, actually flayed alive by orders of the vizier. The atrocity stirred up the Catholic



world, and the saintly Pius V. succeeded in organizing a genuine crusade, in which Spain, Venice and other Italian states mustered a powerful fleet and sailed to the Levant. At Lepanto they were met by the whole armament of the Turkish Empire—not less than three hundred vessels, mostly propelled by Christian galley-slaves as oarsmen. The battle was a tremendous one, and at its close forty galleys were all that escaped of the whole Mahometan navy.

Though a seasonable respite for Christendom, the battle of Lepanto had little practical results. The Turks held Cyprus, and a few years later they captured Tunis from Spain and regained almost their former naval strength. The vices and indolence of successive sultans and the corruption which spread through the Turkish governing class were the chief causes which saved Europe from further aggressions for nearly a century after Solymán's death. On land the Turks were still unconquered, and in 1596 a sultan in person inflicted a worse defeat than that of Mohacz on Austrians and Hungarians combined. The victorious sultan, however, unlike his ancestors, preferred the indulgence of the harem to the toils of war, and a peace was made with Austria in 1606 which for many years saved the still free districts of Hungary from further harrying. The accession of the fierce and energetic Amurath IV. in 1623 brought out a revival of the old Turkish war-spirit, which, fortunately for Christendom, was turned against Persia during his reign. Amurath's successor attacked Candia in 1644, with the same disregard of treaties as Selim had shown in attacking Cyprus; but the resistance was infinitely more vigorous on the part of the Venetians. Cyprus had been conquered in five months, though at the cost of fifty thousand Turkish lives. The capital of Candia held out against siege no less than twenty years, and it was not until 1669 that the Turk completed this, his last permanent conquest in Europe.

A succession of four able viziers of the Albanian family of Kiuprili commenced in the second half of the seventeenth century, and supplied, in a measure, the deficient energy of the effeminate sultans. The Kiuprilis were able administrators and financiers, and the revenues of Turkey rapidly increased under their despotic rule. The second Kiuprili renewed the war of conquest in Hungary and also invaded Poland. The Cossack brigands of the Ukraine, like the Transylvanian Protestants, revolted against the Polish republic and offered their allegiance to the sultan. The Turkish armies, commanded by Sultan Mahomet IV. in person, invaded Poland in 1672, captured the city of Kaminietz, in the heart of the country, and occupied all Podolia, one of the largest Polish provinces. After four years of war, in which the great victories of Khoczim and Lemberg were won by Sobieski, the

force of Turkey was such that Poland ceded Podolia and the Ukraine as the price of a necessary peace, and at the death of the second Kiuprili he could boast that he had again advanced the sway of the Crescent over conquered Christian populations. It should be said, to the credit of Achmet Kiuprili, that he abolished the system of recruiting the Janissaries by the enforced tribute of Christian boys, and that he was free from the intolerance and cruelty which so often mark the character of Turkish rulers, whether crowned or uncrowned.

The vizier who succeeded, Kara Mustafa, aspired to no less than the complete conquest of Catholic Austria and Germany, as well as Hungary. It was the crowning effort of Turkish invasion that started to the siege of Vienna in 1683, and the force set in motion was scarcely less than the grand army which Napoleon led against Russia. Two hundred and seventy-five thousand regular Turkish troops, thoroughly supplied with artillery, were on the rolls, besides the irregulars, the Tartar contingent of nearly a hundred thousand horsemen from South Russia, and forty thousand Protestant Transylvanians, who fought for the Crescent against the Cross. Leopold, the German emperor, could raise no force to face this invasion, and in July, 1683, Vienna was closely besieged. Its garrison was only eleven thousand, but for seven weeks they held off the Mahometan assaults, and in that time Sobieski, the King of Poland, with twenty-four thousand Polish troops, had collected the German forces, and came, by hurried marches, to the relief of Vienna.

The population of Vienna was in the last straits, and the fall of the city for some days had only been postponed by the policy of the Turkish commander, who preferred to take it by capitulation rather than by assault, when, on the 11th of September, the Jesuits, who were watching on the steeple of St. Stephen's Cathedral, noticed the white flags of the Polish lancers on the top of the Kalenberg, which rises a few miles northwest of Vienna. Sobieski lost not a moment, and the next morning, after hearing mass in the spirit of Zriny and La Vallette, he led his army straight against the Turkish forces, though five or six times greater than his own. Kara Mustafa at first refused to believe that an attack was possible, and he contented himself with sending his reserve to crush the assailants, without moving the besiegers from the trenches. Sobieski swept on, in a resistless charge, to the vizier's own quarters, and the whole army broke in panic. The bashi bazooks, as at the former siege, commenced a massacre of the numerous prisoners that had been gathered in from the surrounding country, but the Polish cavalry dashed through the camp and rode down or sabred the assassins until they joined in the common flight. One day



was enough to drive the whole Turkish force in utter rout from the walls of Vienna, leaving its artillery, its camp, its treasures and its plunder to the little Christian army, and the vizier never halted until he had crossed the Raab, many miles from the city he had so lately counted his own,

The battle at Vienna was the real turning-point in the Turkish invasion of Europe. The Christian armies followed up their victory vigorously this time, and after a hundred and fifty years the capital of Hungary was won back for Christendom. The Turkish vizier was executed by order of his imperial master a few weeks later, and fresh Turkish armies sent to hold the Turkish domain; but they could not turn the tide. Defeat after defeat fell on them, and in 1687 a crushing one was sustained at Mohacz, on the very place where the last Hungarian king had lost his life and army. It was fatal to Sultan Mahomet IV., who was deposed in 1687. Another Kiuprili was made vizier, and his energy for a time restored the fortunes of Turkey; but in 1691 he was defeated and slain at Salankenan in Croatia.

A new sultan, Mustafa II., took the field in person with a fresh army the following year, 1695. Since the coming of the Turks to Europe a Padischah of the Ottomans had never been defeated in the open field of battle, and the Turkish troops still held belief in the invincibility of their sovereigns. Mustafa, in fact, gained one or two victories in Hungary, but the next year he was met at Zenta by Prince Eugene, and a crushing defeat, with the loss of thirty thousand men, shattered the last hopes of further Turkish conquests. The peace of Carlowitz, made the following year, marks definitely the end of the Turkish attempts to conquer Western Christendom. Hungary and Podolia were left free from Turkish dominion, and the Morea became part of the Venetian territories. Except Crete and Cyprus, every part of Catholic Europe was free from the Turkish yoke, and the Ottoman conquests were at an end.

Since the peace of Carlowitz the Turkish power has never been a serious danger to the nations outside its own territory. Its wars, though checkered with occasional success, have steadily reduced its territories until now they are not a third of those of Solymán. The jealousies of the Western powers may prolong the existence of Turkish dominion in Europe, but its own strength cannot. That such is the case is mainly due to the Catholic nations who bore the brunt of the invasion when the Tartar bands rivalled in strength the whole force of Europe and strove for its conquest so fiercely and long.

BRYAN J. CLINCH.



## JACQUES ANDRÉ EMERY.

**J**ACQUES ANDRÉ EMERY was born in the town of Gex, in Switzerland, in the year 1732, August the 26th.

For some time previous there had existed in France a society, known as the Society of St. Sulpice, founded by the celebrated and saintly Jean Jacques Olier, and devoted to the training of candidates for the priesthood. M. Emery joined this society in 1757, passed rapidly from one official position to another, and finally, in 1777, was chosen superior of the entire community, greatly to his surprise, as he was the youngest of the assistants at the council and the lowest in rank by date of election to their number.

But he had already, as head of the seminaries in Orleans, in Lyons and in Angers, given proof of his marvellous tact, prudence, power over men, and of that marked feature in his character which was to stand him in good stead through all his life—his ability to win the esteem of those whose opinions differed from his own. His vigorous temperament was joined to a great spirit of order, a wise use of every moment of his time, and a special power of speedily comprehending the business that came before him.

When he was chosen superior of the entire Sulpitian body, his great qualities were naturally called into more forcible action than ever before. His head-quarters were at the Paris seminary, but he made a general visitation of the other seminaries entrusted to the Sulpitian management, became personally acquainted with their work, and showed himself a living example of the rule of his order.

In 1789 the storm of the Revolution broke madly over France, awakening in multitudes a horribly preternatural thirst for blood, filling others with an overwhelming and only too reasonable fear, shaking the entire structure of state government to its foundation, and threatening religion with utter and violent extinction. M. Emery was singularly prepared by his character and training, as well as by the previous events of his life, to meet with steady calm whatever might occur of good or ill. Although, in the face of that awful epoch whose memory time does not efface, he looked with consternation, "like all wise men," as M. Gosselin writes, on the storm as it approached, like them he perceived that those who were not obliged to take part in public affairs must not yield to despair or inaction, but must endeavor to prevent as much evil as possible, and to take the best possible care of the interests en-

trusted to their keeping. Such was the line of conduct that he traced out for himself at the beginning of the Revolution, and from which he did not swerve in all those varying and difficult positions in which he was actually to be placed.

The seminary for a while remained unmolested; but, not deceived by the quiet in his own domain, the prudent superior kept himself carefully informed of the course of events, and had the foresight to call a general assembly of the Sulpitians during this very time of momentous excitement in the feverish world without. It was necessary to consider the new circumstances in which their society might soon be placed, on account of the political state of France, the outcome of which no man could tell; and it was then that the decision was made to found a seminary in the United States, not only as a training-school for American priests, but to provide for the Sulpitians a new home and a new field for labor, where they could carry out their vocation, undisturbed and in true liberty, in the self-denying service of souls.

But the arbitrary masters of France speedily discovered that certain rooms in the seminary would be extremely useful for the sittings of the Section of the Luxembourg, and they were not backward in making their wishes known. This arrangement, disadvantageous as it was for the seminarians, it was impossible to prevent; so their superior, with admirable tact, made a virtue of necessity, and in a most practical manner proceeded to make friends of the mammon of unrighteousness, who were to plead strongly in his favor in future desperate days. He took care to have ready for these unseasonable visitors all the writing materials they could need; he had a fire lighted in the hall of the sittings and refreshments prepared near by. Then he took advantage of the good feeling thus caused to beg his uninvited guests to be as orderly as possible, and the singular spectacle was presented of a band of ecclesiastical students and their professors quietly pursuing their religious exercises and studies in the same building where the assemblies of the Revolution in that section of Paris were held.

But the quiet could not be expected to continue. The torrent of red blood surging onward through the doomed city was soon to touch their door. On the 2d of September, 1792, came the massacre known as *des Carmes*, when one hundred and seventy ecclesiastics, eight of them Sulpitians, were brutally slain. Two carts filled with bleeding bodies awaiting burial remained for some time in the seminary court. M. Emery perceived that the moment for dispersion had arrived, and he sent away, to seek less dangerous abodes, the students, whom he called his children, and who had so long received what has been touchingly termed his



maternal tenderness. He was left with a few associates in the deserted building.

Having been appointed vicar-general by the Archbishop of Paris, who was living in exile, a part of the weight of a great diocese again rested on his shoulders, in addition to the vigilant care which he unceasingly exercised over his absent brethren and pupils. But in the midst of these multifarious duties, and the turmoil and tumult of those wild days, he continued to write, to counsel and to pray; and in his twofold character of Superior of St. Sulpice and Vicar-General of Paris his advice was constantly sought. "It was not to one special society that Mons. Emery exclusively belonged," wrote, with great truth, the illustrious Bishop of Alais. "He has been the glory and light of the Church in France during twenty years of the most violent tempests. . . . God alone knows how many misfortunes he prevented. To all who sincerely loved the peace and safety of the Church his judgment and advice brought assurance and strength. Even those who were possibly annoyed by his great influence dared not brave the authority that his very name stamped upon his opinions. He forced all parties to be just to him. His only thought was of God and of religion, and yet he did not escape that earthly fame and glory which he despised."

But it was a glory to be won through thorny ways, at the end of an arduous life of eighty years. The prison doors were to open more than once to let him in, and the knife of the guillotine was to hang over his head and barely miss its prey. On Whit-Sunday, May 19, 1793, he was arrested, being then nearly sixty-one years of age. His first imprisonment, however, lasted only six days; for he was speedily released by means of the good word of that section of the Luxembourg which he had known how to propitiate by his lavish hospitality when they held their sittings, undisturbed and kindly treated, under the same roof with his peaceful seminarians at their studies and prayers.

Their grateful forbearance was, however, of brief duration. In the middle of the next July, the 16th day, at about three in the morning, a band of three hundred fusileers made their appearance to convey M. Emery to the Prison des Carmes. Thence he was removed to the Conciergerie, and on the 14th of August brought before Fouquier-Tanville.

The outlook was terrifying, if such a term can ever be used in the case of this calm and imperturbable character. But M. Emery was one of those who know how to set the house of their soul in order, and keep it always in readiness, come what may. Before his captivity, when passing the place of execution, he had gone as near as possible to the guillotine, so as to examine it carefully in



detail, in order that he might become familiar with the sight of that terrible instrument of death, and not feel fear if his turn came to mount it. In the same spirit he had a little model of the guillotine made for him while at the Conciergerie, and kept it constantly in view, to strengthen his courage and render him proof against the weakness sometimes engendered by surprise.

Yet, moved from prison to prison, and considered an important captive, sooner or later to mount the block, his sentence was put off from day to day for fifteen months, till the Reign of Terror at last faced its own sentence and its doom, and many prisoners were thus set free. The causes, humanly speaking, of this most providential delay in M. Emery's case are singularly noteworthy. For example, there were, among the deputies themselves, men who bore towards him, in spite of the horrible excesses of those sanguinary days, a profound regard. They gained time and bought delay for him by bribery, by brilliant excuses, by feigned anger, calling him a notable criminal who should be made special example of, and who should not be slain in ordinary fashion with the ordinary crowd.

But the splendid cause of the delay, a cause attributed to Robespierre or to Fouquier-Tanville, if not to both, is one that demands reverent attention of all noble natures, and shows us in strong light what manner of man he was, concerning whom Napoleon the Great once said: "He is the only man who makes me afraid." The leaders of the Revolution let him live on, because, they said, "*Ce petit prêtre empêche les autres de crier.*" And the fact was, that, while he was a prisoner, the death-carts went to the scaffold laden with men and women who no longer complained or cried. Resignation took the place of anguish, and hope of despair.

His prison-life, crowded in among his fellow-captives, and full in their sight by night and day, was as calmly peaceful and as perfectly ordered as when he lived in his seminary under the singularly sweet and mild Sulpitian rule. Each day had its allotted time for prayer and study, and he invented a means of his own for the undisturbed performance of these exercises in the midst of the tumult and uneasiness of that constantly crowded prison. At first he stuffed his ears with cotton, but, as this did not succeed as well as he liked, he made little balls of bread, and this contrivance had better success. Friends brought him books; among them the renowned and voluminous "*Summa*" of St. Thomas Aquinas. By systematic reading, and to his great delight, he mastered it, and used afterwards to say: "Many theologians quote it in their works, but very few have read it through consecutively. I owe to my captivity the advantage of having been able to accomplish

this ; otherwise, I should not have had the leisure, or perhaps the courage, to read this fundamental work." He also made from the New Testament a collection of passages relating to times of trial and tribulation.

In the intervals of prayer and study he joined in the conversation of the other prisoners, and he did so with such ease, such tact, and such amiability as to win at once their affection and esteem. It was a custom, in the prisons of the Revolution, for each *chambrée* (ordinarily a room let out in beds) to choose a president for the maintenance of good order, and wherever Mons. Emery was, the choice always fell upon him. He used to say, gayly, that he was recognized in his quality of superior even in his bonds. He responded to the choice with a solicitude even more than maternal, the solicitude of a saint.

"It would be hard to tell," writes one who owed more than life to him, "how many of the condemned went joyfully to heaven, enlightened, supported and reconciled to their Maker, by his zeal. I have seen many persons kiss the places where he had passed, in token of their grateful reverence for him." He was known as the angel of the prison. The Duchess de Noailles-Mouchey wrote to her daughters: "Fear nothing; we shall not yield to temptation; we have an angel here who is guarding us." Count Beugnot, in his memoirs, telling of a young girl expiating by deep repentance and an heroic death her evil life, speaks of "the good M. Emery, the angel of the prison," who comforted her in her only and final fear that she was not fit even then for heaven, so that she went at last to the scaffold "as light as a bird." Above his room at the Conciergerie the brave and unfortunate Queen, Mary Antoinette, was imprisoned, and it was his privilege to be able to communicate several times with her, and to give her supreme consolation in her last days of slow martyrdom. There is some reason to think that he may have ministered to Charlotte Corday. Gobel, Fauchet, Lamourette, by his means retracted their errors. These are a few among the many to whom his compassionate zeal extended.

After fifteen months of an imprisonment that may be justly termed an apostolate, he was set free, by the cession of the Reign of Terror, in October, 1794. One year later he went to Gex, and remained there ten months, the only prolonged absence that he seems to have made from the neighborhood of Paris during the last twenty years of his life. In his old home his influence made itself felt as elsewhere. "Everybody still speaks," writes the curé of Gex, long afterwards, "of his goodness, his cheerfulness, his affability, his unselfishness. All who knew him name him with the deepest respect, and even with a tender affection. To hear them speak you would think he was a relative and friend of all



the Gessians. It must be said, too, that he loved them well, and was always ready to do them service. While in Gex, you would suppose from his air of content that he had centered all his affections in his native city. He looked at everybody and spoke to everybody so frankly and kindly that each regarded him as a friend."

His sojourn in Gex was the preparation for new labors in the great field where he had become so prominent a figure. "Restored to liberty after the Terror," writes M. Picot, "M. Emery became one of the principal administrators of the diocese of Paris. In the midst of the general desolation, when religion had only ruins to weep over, and most of the bishops were in exile, and none of them could easily maintain correspondence with their sees, a man was needed who could in some degree supply their place, or at least be their interpreter. It was necessary that this man should be learned enough to be able to direct others under the most difficult circumstances; respected enough to inspire great confidence; wise enough to consider only the interests of religion; laborious enough to be able to attend to all important affairs. This man was M. Emery. He was consulted on all sides; clergy and laity alike took counsel of him. Thence arose a most extended correspondence, to which no one else would have been equal; but he possessed the soundest judgment and the surest tact, and had no need to think long upon the reply he had to make; he readily comprehended the question put to him and the manner of solving it. He suspected exaggeration in everything, and he maintained that prejudice which blinds is often put in the place of examination which gives light. As for him, he was always calm and self-possessed; he never rejected anything simply because it came from men whose opinions differed from his own, and whose conduct he did not approve. In the whole course of the Revolution he moved always in the one even way. . . . So all wise men rallied round him in those stormy days. But how had he acquired this ascendancy? It was neither by his rank nor his dignities. A simple priest, modest and retiring, he was a stranger to all faction. That which won for him such universal trust and veneration was his own personal merit, the extent of his lights, the wisdom of his counsels, his equability, his holy example, the strength of his character."

And so it came to pass that when a new era and a new century dawned upon France, while it found at the head of state affairs a small, smooth-faced, keen-eyed soldier, the idol of his army, soon to be the conqueror of Europe and then her captive—it found also ready to meet him a little old priest of twice his age, watching with as tireless vigilance the course of events under the new *régime* as



he had done in the awful days when Robespierre held sway. Bonaparte once said, concerning himself: "Nature seems to have calculated that I should endure great reverses. She has given me a mind of marble. Thunder cannot ruffle it." M. Emery had made no such pretensions, but he really shared with the Emperor that power of thinking quickly and thinking right which has been said to be one of the rarest yet most important qualities to insure success; and he was to prove to Napoleon, whose mind "moved with the rapidity of lightning, and yet with the steadiness and precision of naked reason," that there was a realm of thought and a kingdom of the spirit where he was to meet one who was more than his equal—a man whom he could neither bend nor break beneath his imperial and autocratic will.

The first interview between these truly remarkable men occurred on the 15th of January, 1801, when the vicars-general of Paris called upon the First Consul, who, by a recent speech in Milan, had given reasonable ground for the hope that he meant to procure, or to try to procure, the peace of the Church. M. Emery thought it might do good if this speech were printed and spread abroad in France and Italy, and he carried a copy with him on this memorable occasion. During the interview Napoleon brought ecclesiastical affairs prominently forward, and manifested a desire to come to terms with the Sovereign Pontiff. This gave M. Emery one of those opportunities for which he always stood prepared.

These declarations on the part of the First Consul, he said, caused him no surprise after the hopes his speech in Milan had awakened in men's minds. Then, drawing a copy from his pocket, he presented it to Napoleon, and asked whether he would be displeased if greater publicity were given to his words. Napoleon made no direct reply to the question itself. Without authorizing or forbidding the publication, he simply said: "Beware of the Minister of Police!" To this remark M. Emery answered, with ready wit, that he had no fear that the Minister would allow himself to blame the publication of sentiments that the First Consul had openly professed. He departed from the interview with renewed confidence in Napoleon's good dispositions, while he, on his part, conceived for M. Emery an esteem which nothing could afterwards dispel, and which he sometimes very strikingly manifested.

Nevertheless, although he seemed to recognize at once this mind so congenial to his own, and that was to exert so singular an influence over him, and although he could not fail to admire the rare combination of great natural gifts and supernatural graces that made the old priest noticeable on all occasions, there was a strong political party ever on the alert to insinuate reasons for dis-

trust and suspicion, and to endeavor to thwart the Sulpitian's tireless efforts for the true welfare of Church and State. As early as July, 1801, M. Emery was again arrested, the alleged cause being that he fanned the flames of fanaticism, and was the agent of foreign ecclesiastics. The accusation ran thus :

"The papers of the priest Emery are very many. They are partly composed of a very extended correspondence, not only with the priests in every corner of France, but with all those who are exiled or transported.

"It appears that Emery is the Oracle of the clergy, and the man in whom the emigrated or unsubmissive bishops have placed their entire confidence.

"He is subject to transportation under the terms of our former laws, and his actions ought to draw upon him all the severity of the Government. To send him from France would only increase the evil; only remove for a while the seat of his correspondence. He ought to be confined, secretly and carefully, in some house indicated by the minister."

While the proceedings lasted, and before sentence was finally pronounced, M. Emery was kept for three weeks in a little police station in the same room with criminals of all kinds, even courtesans and thieves. And now appears in his behalf one whom he had saved from error and self-destruction, and who, in her deep gratitude, was prepared to use every exertion to set her benefactor free. This was a Mlle. Jouen, who had become infected with the philosophical vagaries and deadly unbelief of the times, and, wearied at last of life, had determined to drown herself. She avowed this determination to M. Emery, to whose kindness she had been entrusted by a dying friend of both. It was the month of March. With admirable self-possession the old man laconically said: "The weather is too cold. If I were you I would wait till June." The grim, matter-of-fact, prosaic rejoinder did its work well; the temptation was routed; and with holy patience M. Emery watched over the half-frantic soul committed to his care till Mlle. Jouen became at length a thoroughly Christian woman. While his imprisonment of 1801 lasted, she visited him almost daily, and to her we owe the following very beautiful and touching account of his life under conditions most repugnant to his ordinary surroundings. He was then almost seventy years of age.

"Never," she declares, "would he accept anything for his own comfort. He always refused for himself the food I brought him, and he gave it to the poor. I sent a mattress to him, but he never lay down on it; he gave it to the women who were imprisoned in the same room. Into this prison, which at the most was fit for only a dozen people, were crowded almost sixty; the heat was excessive, and everything was to be feared for the health of the prisoners. All were crowded together—street-girls, honest women, men of all kinds. M. Emery was respected by all, and made himself useful to all. One of his first acts was to send for an inn-keeper, in order to provide suitable food for those who could not get it for themselves, and who were reduced to prison fare—a jug of water and a pound and a half of bread. He never lived any



differently from the poor whom he was feeding; never any bread but the prison bread, and no other drink than water. Never could I make him accept a cup of chocolate, do what I would. He asked me to bring him a Paris catechism, which he used to teach a poor child in the prison. Many of the prisoners listened to these lessons, and gained profit from them, too; and he did much good to these poor people. Among the prisoners were some rich persons, who were never able to induce him to accept anything from them. Several told me, with tears in their eyes, that he was a saint, and that he taught them to suffer with patience and even with joy while seeing his charity and his sweetness.

"About the middle of the month the prison was so crowded that it became impossible to live there any longer. I succeeded at last, after many urgent petitions, in getting a certain number transferred elsewhere; without removing him, however, as I feared that this might only prolong his captivity. At nine o'clock at night they took away most of the number, so that only seven remained, M. Emery included. He knew that this was done at my instigation, to the great grief of the unfortunate prisoners, whose fate was so much alleviated by the care he took of them. When I came as usual in the morning he was very much displeased. It was the only time he spoke to me so severely. He tried to prove that my devotion to him was ill-regulated, since it took from me the charity I ought to feel for so many unfortunate beings. He added that, even if he had fallen ill, it would have been a slight evil compared with the sufferings of the sixty or more prisoners who were in despair at being obliged to go elsewhere. He could not be consoled for the departure of these poor people."

On the 25th of July he was finally set free through the tireless exertions of Mlle. Jouen, seconded by General de Prez-Cressier and by the old constitutional Bishop of Nancy, Lalande, who had publicly abjured even his character of Christian and was engaged in some civil employ, but who had known and highly esteemed M. Emery in better days at Lyons. M. Emery was to return him the favor now rendered, a few years later, when the poor renegade, humble and repentant, died in his arms, brought back to God by him.

We now approach that strange period in French ecclesiastical history when, by one act of his supreme power, Pope Pius VII. obliterated the limits of the old diocesan sees, dismissed their bishops, and divided the realm into new dioceses, with new boundary lines. This unprecedented decree was issued to satisfy in some degree the Emperor's exorbitant demands, and to win thereby some measure of peace for the afflicted Church in France. It has been called one of the strongest instances in history of the power of the papal supremacy, and this statement is probably true; but it is perhaps quite as true that Napoleon, blinded by his ambition, did not perceive this, but supposed, instead, that he was making the Pope, like other rulers, subservient to his deeply laid plans and his imperial rule.

M. Emery's voice was now heard again with unmistakable force, and he was brought, despite himself, into even greater prominence. He did not hesitate in recognizing the lawfulness of this singular act, which at first struck consternation into many minds. He



worked with all his might to induce the former bishops to accept the new condition of affairs and to take any see that might be offered to them; while, in the case of the new bishops, nominated by government, he used his great influence to gain the consent of those whom he thought capable of doing true service. In this way he became more closely connected than ever with the French Episcopate. Yet, while actively engaged in promoting the welfare of so many bishoprics, he himself refused three, remaining steadily as ever at his Parisian post. His enemies were fain to see him a bishop, in order to get him away from Paris; his friends desired to see him elevated to a rank in the hierarchy, which, they felt, belonged eminently to him. Napoleon was at first quite displeased with his persistent refusals, but finally said that, although he had indeed been angered, he would become reconciled to the situation if M. Emery would consent to aid the new Archbishop of Paris in the government of his diocese. To this he consented—it being, in fact, no new work for him.

The seminary in Baltimore had not yet met with the success anticipated, and the Superior of St. Sulpice seriously thought that, in the face of the great need of workers in France, it might be advisable to recall all his sons to his side; but on laying the matter before Pope Pius VII., during his enforced stay in Paris in 1804, M. Emery found that this idea did not meet with his approval. "My son," said the venerable pontiff, "let it stand—yes, let that seminary stand; for it will bring forth due fruit in its own time. If you recall its directors in order to employ them in France, you will rob Peter to pay Paul."

M. Emery received this decision as the will of God; he never again thought of abandoning the work in America. The interview with the Pope gave him much consolation, and his faith and obedience have been singularly rewarded. Over a thousand priests have gone forth from the institution planted by him on American soil. And of his noble co-laborers who filled the Sulpitian ranks at the time of the French Revolution it may be stated here that not one, in those awful days of peril and temptation, proved recreant to his trust.

Before proceeding further, attention should be called again to M. Emery's keen and practical interest in intellectual pursuits. "Not a day of my life passes," writes, after M. Emery's death, the Bishop of Alais, author of the lives of Bossuet and Fénelon, "that I do not bless the memory of that excellent man who gave me such wise advice as to my studies and writing. When one thinks of the immense services rendered by M. Emery to religion and the Church, one can but regret that such men could not be immortal; for there is no critical time, no important affair, when we do

not feel the void that men like him leave after them." The list of M. Emery's own works includes the "Esprit de Leibnitz," "Christianisme de Bacon," "Pensées de Descartes," "Nouveaux opusculs de Fleury," "Principes de Bossuet et de Fénelon sur la Souveraineté," "Esprit de Ste. Thérèse," and many others of more or less length. M. Méric says of them that his writings, like his spoken word, compelled the esteem of his very adversaries, who could not prevent themselves from recognizing in him a grand character and a priest according to the heart of God. It is interesting to notice the dates appended to some of these works, witnessing, as they do, to his life-long habit of mental self-control and intense concentration of thought: 1772, '79, '91, '96, '99, 1801, '05, '07, '08, and finally 1811, the closing year of his life.

Yet the older he grew, the more did distracting cares and occupations press upon him, and it is now that we enter minutely upon his relations with the Emperor, concerning which we translate—frequently word for word—from the biographies of this one man whom Napoleon feared. The information given by them is of great importance to the really impartial historian who desires to represent facts and characters faithfully, and not to twist them to suit his own special bias or private opinion.

The marked esteem felt for M. Emery by the great French ruler rose and fell like the tide; but each time that it rose it seemed to mount higher into stronger light. He was not ignorant of the deep respect entertained by the bishops in general for the venerable Sulpitian, nor of the influence which he exerted upon them; in fact, he once took occasion to express his amazement that a priest should thus permit himself to rule over the bishops (*regenter les évêques*). M. Emery's answer, full of modesty and frankness, seemed to give instant satisfaction. "Sire," he replied, "bishops have grace to guide themselves; but if some of them think it well to ask my advice, it seems to me that my age and my experience place me in a position to give it."

The new Archbishop of Lyons, Cardinal Fesch, the Emperor's uncle, was deeply attached to M. Emery, made more than one spiritual retreat under his guidance, and had chosen him for his director. Through him Napoleon heard often and favorably of the great Sulpitian, and his own personal esteem began to be openly expressed. Soon after the Concordat he said to the Abbé de Molaret: "Is there, among all the clergy of Paris, another man like M. Emery?" About the same time, having nominated as bishop, at the recommendation of one of his generals, an ecclesiastic who needed to be renewed in the spirit of his holy calling, "We must send him," he said, "to the Abbé Emery." During the difficulties with the Pope, Napoleon only too often raised ques-



tions that were very embarrassing to the bishops, and which they found difficult to answer without displeasing him. On one such occasion he said sharply: "The Abbé Emery would know what to tell me about that;" and again: "When the Abbé Emery maintains an opinion, at least he gives me reasons, and good reasons, too."

It was this sound judgment, accompanied by straightforwardness and steadfast decision, that Napoleon appreciated most in the Sulpitian priest. Having made an incorrect statement one day, he was met at once by the fearless reply, in words to which the imperial ears were decidedly unaccustomed: "Sire, you are mistaken." "What!" exclaimed Napoleon. "I mistaken?" "Sire," persisted M. Emery, "you ask me to tell you the truth. It would become neither my age nor my character to play the courtier here. Therefore it is my duty to tell your majesty that you are mistaken on this point; and I do not think I fail in any respect that I owe to you. In former times, at the Sorbonne, they used the same language; they even said, *it is absurd*, and no one took offence—not even the son of a prince, if he were sustaining some proposition which gave rise to it."

The frank reply did not displease Napoleon, who, on the contrary, took occasion from it to call M. Emery his theologian. The impression that he made on him was such that he could not help respecting his advice, even when he did not follow it. "You have in M. Emery," he said to Mme. Villette, "a very austere relative, yet one cannot but admire him." At another time: "M. Emery," he said, "is the only man who can make me afraid." And again: "There is a man who could make me do anything he wished, and perhaps more than I ought."

These last words give a hint of what was really the fact, that this marked esteem displayed by the Emperor was not incompatible with a certain distrust. It was once said that he always either hated or caressed M. Emery. M. Gosselin, on the contrary, declares that Napoleon never, to speak correctly, *caressed* him; and even when he acted towards him with the greatest severity, he never went so far as to *hate* him, the precise truth being that while he sincerely esteemed him, he mistrusted his influence. Thence arose the unremitted alternations of trials and honors that filled the last years of the venerable priest, and gave abundant opportunity for the display of the treasures of his gifted mind and the virile energy of his soul. At one time, as we have seen, the Emperor wished to force him into the episcopate; a few months later he warned Cardinal Fesch against the Sulpitians and their superior. But M. Emery went on his way unmoved, in sunshine and storm alike, ready for anything that might befall him, unastonished and unafraid.



Count Molé, whose relations to the imperial government, and the favor which he enjoyed, had placed him in a position to be well acquainted with the Emperor's sentiments, gives us this testimony :

"Napoleon could not tire of admiring in this venerable priest that inexpressible mingling of almost primitive simplicity and penetrating sagacity, of serenity and of strength—I had almost said of grace and of an austere power. . . . 'It is the first time,' he once said to me, 'that I have met a man endowed with a real power over men, and from whom I ask no account of the use he will make of it. So far am I from doing so, that I would be glad if it were possible to entrust to him all our young men ; I should die then more sure of the future.'"

To the sincerity of these words he gave practical proof. In 1806 a law was passed decreeing the establishment of the Imperial University, the faculty of which were to have exclusive charge of public education throughout the empire ; and the Emperor ordered the grand master of the university, M. de Fontanes, to show him a list of those who had been proposed as councillors for life. Glancing through it, he immediately said : "There are two names missing upon the list," and at the same time he wrote with his own hand, at the head of the list, the names of M. de Bausset and M. Emery, as may be seen in the decree of Sept. 16, 1808. The grand master was sincerely pleased, and the more he knew M. Emery, the more he rejoiced at the choice. "I had always considered him," he said, one day, "to be an ecclesiastic distinguished for his virtues and the knowledge peculiar to his calling ; but the longer I know him, the more I admire the breadth of his mind and the variety of his learning." M. Emery was loath to accept this new position, but his friends finally prevailed with him, on account of the great services he would be able to render to the cause of religion and of education, and also lest he should really give offence to the Emperor by his persistent refusal of honors and dignities.

In the year 1807 a protracted interview occurred between the Emperor and the Sulpitian. M. Emery had published a book, under the title of "*Les Opuscules de Fleury*," which had brought him under the ban of that minister of police of whom Napoleon, at their first interview, had bidden him to beware. In 1809 a supplement to this work caused him to be denounced to the Emperor, who, at the friendly solicitation of Cardinal Fesch, sent for him to come to Fontainebleau and plead his own cause.

He remained at the palace for a week, and when the audience took place it lasted nearly an hour, Cardinal Fesch being the only other person present. "I have read your book," said the Emperor, "and though it is true that the preface contains one point that is not quite to my liking, there is not enough in that book to whip a cat for!"

Thereupon he took M. Emery by the ear and gave it a slight pull. This was a way he had, now and then, with those who happened to please him, even with persons greatly to be respected on account of their age and character. He had done the same thing only a short time before to the prince-primate, Archbishop of Ratisbon, who had been much surprised, and even shocked, by this familiarity. This prelate complained of it afterwards to M. Emery, who took the matter very lightly, and answered him, laughing: "Monseigneur, I received the same compliment as your highness, but I had not dared to boast of it till now. Since I find that I share it with so distinguished an individual as yourself, I am going to tell everybody!" This was but one instance of the habitual and ready tact which this truly wise man displayed.

In the interview at Fontainebleau of which we are treating, the Emperor began speaking of his difficulties with the Pope, but with such animation, and so quickly and loudly, that M. Emery could not get in a single word for a long while. "I do not know," he exclaimed, "what the Pope finds to reproach me with! Have I not nominated good bishops? It is true that several have refused, as you did yourself; but I am not the cause of the refusal. Besides," he added, "I respect the spiritual power of the Pope, but his temporal power does not come from Jesus Christ; it comes from Charlemagne. I can and I will take it from him, because he does not know how to make use of it; and when he is released from temporal affairs, he will be able to attend more freely to his spiritual duties."

"Sire," replied M. Emery, "long before Charlemagne, whose gift dates only from the eighth century, the loyalty and love of the people had secured temporal possessions to the Pope, and if your majesty thinks that you have the right to take away what Charlemagne gave, you ought to respect the anterior donations made by the faithful previously."

Napoleon, who had but slight knowledge of ecclesiastical history, and notably of the fact brought forward by the learned Sulpitian, did not reply to this, but passing abruptly to another point, he said: "The Pope is a worthy man; if I were to see him for one-quarter of an hour, it would be easy for me to come to an understanding with him; but he is surrounded by cardinals who are *encrusted with ultramontanism*, and who rule him and make him act as they please."

To this M. Emery laconically replied: "If your majesty thinks you could so easily set matters right with the Pope, you might have him come to Fontainebleau."

"The very thing I mean to do," returned the Emperor.

"But," continued M. Emery, "in what style do you intend to

have him come? If he travels through France as your prisoner, such a journey will do much harm to your majesty; for you may be sure that the Pope will be surrounded everywhere by the veneration of the faithful."

"I do not intend any such thing," said the Emperor, quickly. "If the Pope comes here, I wish him to receive the same honors as when he came to crown me." Then, changing the subject again, he said: "It is very surprising that you, who have studied theology all your life, cannot—no, nor the bishops of France, either—discover some canonical means of settling my affairs with the Pope. As for me, if I had only studied theology six months, I should soon have disentangled everything, because," and he touched his forehead with his finger, "God has endowed me with intelligence. I would not speak Latin as well as you do; mine would be *kitchen-Latin* (*un Latin de cuisine*), but I should soon have thrown light upon all difficulties."

M. Emery's bold reply seems not to have given the slightest offence. "Sire," he said, "you are very fortunate to be so gifted that you could master all theology in six months. As for myself, I have been studying, and moreover I have been teaching it, for more than fifty years, and I do not yet think that I know it."

The conversation had lasted about half an hour when the officer in waiting announced emphatically, in a loud voice, the King of Holland, the King of Bavaria, and the King of Wurtemberg. "Let them wait!" said the Emperor, dryly; and for nearly a half-hour more they did wait, while he continued to talk to M. Emery on the present situation of the Church and his own plans and projects.

Before leaving him, M. Emery took opportunity to say: "Sire, since your majesty has deigned to read these 'Opuscules de Fleury,' you will doubtless permit me to offer you some *additions* that I have made to the work, and that are the complement of it." Napoleon took the work and laid it on the table, promising to read it.

On leaving the Emperor, M. Emery was respectfully saluted by the great personages whom he met in the neighboring room, who thought they could not honor enough the man to whom the Emperor had granted so long an audience. He, however, withdrew with very different feelings, alarmed at Napoleon's views respecting the Holy See, but thanking God for having aided him to say nothing of which he ought to repent. To his colleagues he said gayly, on his return: "What an honor for me! While the Emperor was granting me an audience, three kings were kept waiting in an anteroom!" But in the depths of his heart he seemed to feel an unwonted gloom and depression, repeating with a sigh the Apos-



tle's words: "*Mori lucrum*" (to die is gain), and, on another occasion: "It would be good to die now." The Abbé Couston, full of life and health, exclaimed: "On the contrary, it is now that it is necessary to live—to live for struggle, for combat, and also for victory, for it is not possible that this state of things can last long." Perhaps he forgot that he spoke to an old veteran of almost eighty years, whose life had been one long struggle and combat, and who, humanly speaking, must have yearned sorely for repose; but M. Emery did, in fact, rouse himself once again for the contest, which was to last till death came.

In 1809 he was placed by Napoleon's command upon a very important commission, composed entirely, except himself and one other priest, of cardinals and bishops, to examine most delicate and pressing questions under most critical circumstances. This one priest, who was his associate, said of him several times that he had never seen so much light, energy and firmness as were displayed by M. Emery on this commission, and he named him "*vir integerrimus*," *a most upright man*. He added that M. Emery had specially shown these qualities in a discussion with the Archbishop of Tours. This prelate having tried, in the gentlest and most persuasive terms, to win over to his side the venerable octogenarian whose judgment by itself swung even in the balance against that of the whole commission, M. Emery answered him ten or twelve times, with as much firmness as respect: "No, Monseigneur, that is not so." He refused bravely to sign his name to the report, which he thought too favorable to the Emperor's ambitious views, and with which he could not agree; and he wrote to his fellow Sulpitian, M. Nagot, these very noble and ever-to-be-remembered words: "All I can tell you is, that I have come forth from this affair without any remorse upon my soul. I believe that God gave me for it the spirit of counsel, but I am sure that in His holy mercy He gave me the spirit of strength."

It was the beginning of the storm which was to darken his closing days. Of course, his courageous refusal came to the Emperor's knowledge. He began now to speak of the Sulpitians with a kind of scorn. "They are people who cling to trifles," he said; but he was met one day with an answer not unworthy of M. Emery's tongue. "Sire," said M. Duvoisin, "there are trifles in all callings, even in the military profession, and yet the success of great things depends on them. If your officers did not carry out the most minute details in their duty, you could not gain so many famous victories." Napoleon had nothing to reply. But in June, 1810, came his abrupt command to transform the seminary of St. Sulpice into a diocesan seminary, and to dismiss the Sulpitian professors as soon as practicable, but to deprive M. Emery immediately of his special functions as superior.

It was the day for ordinations. Not for a moment did the old man lose the peace and tranquility of his soul, long since annealed to loss and pain. Everything apparently went on as usual ; but when, on the following Sunday, he gathered his brethren and children around him to say farewell, he disclosed to them the depths of his true and loving heart.

That parting was like the prelude to approaching death. "Nothing more touching," writes M. Méric, "than the scene when this grand old man, on the eve of appearing before God, his locks grown white in the Church's cause and in the preservation of the immortal work of his predecessors, his heart torn, his eyes full of tears, gave to his children, whose sobs interrupted him and answered to his own grief, the last tokens of his deep affection, and the supreme counsels of a heart filled with the Spirit from on high." He then quotes the words of an eye-witness, the Abbé de Mazenod, afterwards Bishop of Marseilles. "The hour struck while he was still speaking, and Gosselin, exact as always in his duty, rose to ring the bell. M. Emery, perceiving this, stopped him, saying these words, memorable indeed from a superior who had for so many years presided over so great a number of community exercises : 'This is the first occasion on which I have ever gone beyond the time and interrupted the order of the rule, and it will be the last.' He finished what he had to say, and still we listened. Emotion was at its height. Those near me begged me to speak. So, rising, I said to him what all hearts there were dictating to me in their silence. I called him by the sweet name of father, and promised him, in behalf of all my fellow-disciples, that all his children would be worthy of their father in the difficult times through which we were passing. I ended by begging him to bless us all before he left us. All knelt, and the holy old man, moved to the depths of his soul, and almost confused, for he was on the point of throwing himself on his knees like us, lifted his hands to heaven and blessed us."

Then he went forth from his seminary home and took up his abode in a little apartment of a house near by, at the corner of the street de Vaurigard. There the faithful Mlle. Jouen came to see him, and with her came his godchild, the angelic Sister Rosalie.

She has left also on record the poverty—we had almost said the destitution—and the austerity of M. Emery's life, at nearly eighty years of age, in that little room where he dwelt an exile beside his seminary home. These things are but additional indications of that firm self-conquest by which he was trained and fitted for the commanding influence that he exerted. And while loading him in his extreme old age with the very trials his noble



nature would most keenly feel—expulsion from his seminary, and then that seminary's downfall and temporary extinction as a Sulpitian house and field of labor—Napoleon still paid open tribute of esteem to the great soul that, as he instinctively felt, despite his pride and state, stood on a level higher than his in its strange and unrivalled power upon him.

On the New Year's day of 1811 the Emperor, walking coldly, without a word for anyone, past the long files of obsequious visitors who had come to offer him their homage and congratulations, paused before the Sulpitian, who was there in his capacity of life-councillor of the university, and blandly asked if this were not M. Emery. The seemingly needless question appears to have been put in order to call attention to the favored individual thus accosted. To the reply in the affirmative the Emperor asked again, with a gracious smile: "Are you eighty years of age?" "Sire," was the reply, "I am nearly that, for I am seventy-nine." "Ah, well, returned the Emperor, "I wish you ten years more."

All those who were present, and to whom the Emperor had not said a word, looked at M. Emery with astonishment, and hastened to congratulate him. "I remember," writes M. Garnier, "that he came to see me after this audience, and said, laughing: 'The Emperor paid me a compliment to-day that no one else received; he wished me not only a happy New Year, but ten happy New Years. I fear, however, that his good wishes will not bring me happiness, but trouble.' That year he died."

But before his death he was to receive one more and a most signal token of Napoleon's opinion of him; he was to give one more and a most shining proof of his heroic virtue and consistent, unswerving uprightness. In February, 1811, the Emperor convoked a commission composed of three cardinals, two archbishops, three bishops, and added to it M. Emery's name. In spite of his extreme repugnance, he yielded, lest his refusal should draw down the imperial wrath on the entire body of Sulpitians throughout France, as in Paris.

The instructions which were to serve as a basis for deliberation were laid before the commission, and were found to contain a demand for their solemn ratification and justification of his conduct in regard to Pope Pius VII. They were of so startling a nature, and so full of harm to the well-being of the Church, that M. Emery could not close his eyes all night, in the bitterness of his grief. Rising early in the morning, he wrote to Cardinal Fesch, to make known to him the impossibility of entering into the Emperor's views, and the necessity of telling him so as soon as possible. He added that the bishops could not admit of any temporizing in so important a matter; and that as for the cardinal



himself, never was firmness more needful for him, even if it should amount to resistance unto blood. This letter produced its effect. The cardinal went at once to his imperial nephew, and represented to him that the bishops could not consent to the propositions made to them by the ministers of public worship, and that if he persisted in urging it, he would meet with insurmountable opposition, and must expect "to make martyrs." All this made a great impression upon Napoleon; but although he changed his method of tactics, he continued to urge upon the commission demands that placed them in a position of extreme embarrassment, and at last he convoked them to a solemn audience in a great hall of the palace of the Tuileries.

It was to be the final and the grandest scene in M. Emery's public life, so far as earthly grandeur goes; and unwittingly the Emperor had prepared a stage for what was to prove to be their last interview and an open display of the mysterious attraction between these two men of extraordinary interest in their separate spheres. To the magnificent palace he had summoned bishops, archbishops, cardinals, councillors of state and great dignitaries of the empire, whose splendid robes, adorned with decorations and insignia that bore witness to imperial honors, attracted the curious gaze. And among them stood the infamous Talleyrand, Prince of Bénévent, traitor and apostate, "with his livery of to-day and his fortune of yesterday," and Emery, the Sulpitian, poor and homeless and plainly clad—his locks whitened and his form bent by his prolonged and glorious combats even more than by the weight of his fourscore years—unshakable in the fearless strength of his faith and irreproachable in the austere simplicity of his virtuous life.

After making this illustrious assemblage wait two hours, the Emperor appeared. A deep silence succeeded to the resounding acclamations that hailed his entrance. He opened the session by a violent harangue against the Pope, whom he accused of unjustly opposing his plans. He enumerated his grievances, enhancing them by threats; and his words were so violent—they betrayed so plainly the bitterness and vehemence of his wrath—that he seemed openly to defy any of those who heard him to dare to contradict him or to defend in his presence the dignity of conscience and the honor of the Church. He manifested plainly the disposition he was in, to proceed to the most extreme measures, in order to conquer the passive but unflinching resistance of the aged pontiff, who at that very hour was paying the price of his apostolic courage in the cruel suffering of a long captivity. It would seem as if a single word would cause the vials of imperial wrath to overflow, and the conqueror of the nations would bid Christian France

to govern herself without a Pope, which, as his hearers only too well knew, would mean that she should then be governed by him.

All present, with one exception, kept silent. "That one, a simple priest, arose" (so writes Cardinal Consalvi) "to save the honor of his priestly state, and dared to tell the truth to the most formidable of the Cæsars. This priest was the Abbé Emery, a man equally to be respected for his learning and his years, who had lived through the evil days of the Revolution without their leaving upon him the slightest taint."

When the Emperor had finished his diatribe against the Pope's authority, of which, he said, the bishops had no need for the government of their churches, he suddenly exclaimed: "M. Emery, what do you think of all that?"

As one reads the words, one's mind reverts to the year 1793 and the Place de la Concorde, and sees a little priestly figure going close up to the guillotine to examine it leisurely in detail, in order to be prepared to mount it bravely if ever the summons came. One recalls the fifteen months in the prisons of the Revolution, and the unshaken peace of him who was termed an angel there. That man was indeed prepared to "stand before kings and not be ashamed." M. Emery, being so directly questioned, glanced first at the bishops, as though asking their permission to act instead of them; then, turning to the Emperor, he spoke. And whether the reader agree with him or not, he cannot fail, as Napoleon and Talleyrand themselves could not, to admire the manner in which he carried on his part in the following very remarkable conversation, which ought, in strict justice, to find place in any history of Napoleon Bonaparte that claims to be at all complete.

An artist would have ample scope for his fancy and his brush, if he strove to portray that scene—the magnificent salon, the fear, amazement, admiration, suspense depicted on the faces, and then the two central figures—the Emperor's well known face and form and gorgeous robes, the Sulpitian's bent and aged figure in its plain, dingy cassock, his venerable face, with dome-like brow, great jaw and piercing eyes; and above all, coming out visibly to sight, that mysterious attraction between these two extraordinary and commanding natures, and the strange power exercised by the unarmed and defenceless priest over the captain of a million braves.

"Sire," said the priest, answering the abrupt, positive question, *What do you think of that?* "I can have no other opinion on this point than that which is contained in the catechism taught by your orders in all the churches of the empire. We read, in several places of this catechism, that the Pope is the visible head of the Church, to whom all the faithful owe obedience as to the suc-



cessor of St. Peter, and according to the express institution of Jesus Christ. Can, then, a body do without its head—that is, without him to whom by divine right it owes obedience?”

“Continue,” said the Emperor, briefly; and M. Emery spoke again. “We are obliged in France,” he said, “to sustain the four articles of the Declaration of 1682, but it is necessary to receive the entire doctrine as a whole (literally, *La doctrine dans son entier*). Now, it also says, in the preamble of this declaration, that the primacy of St. Peter and of the Roman pontiff was instituted by Jesus Christ, and that all Christians owe him obedience. Moreover, it is added that the four articles have been decreed, in order to prevent, under pretext of the liberties of the Gallican Church, any attack upon that primacy.” Hereupon he entered into some developments to show that even though the four articles might limit the Pope’s power on some points, they preserved to him so great and so eminent an authority that no important matter could be determined upon, in regard to dogma or discipline, without his participation; whence he concluded that if a national council were assembled, as the emperor was proposing, this council would have no true value if it were held without the approbation of the Pope.

Vanquished in this matter, Napoleon made not the slightest reply; he contented himself with murmuring in a low tone the single word “*Catechism!*” after which, passing to another point, he said: “Ah, well, I am not contesting the spiritual power of the Pope, since he has received it from Jesus Christ. But Jesus Christ did not give him the temporal power; it was Charlemagne who gave it to him, and, as the successor of Charlemagne, it is my will to take it from him, because he does not know how to make use of it, and because it hinders him in the exercise of his spiritual duties. M. Emery, what do you think of that?”

It was the old objection he had made at Fontainebleau repeated now at the Tuileries. The reply of M. Emery was marked by consummate prudence and self-control. “Sire,” he said, “I can have upon that matter no other sentiment than that of Bossuet, whose great authority your majesty respects, and with reason, and from whom you are so often pleased to quote. Now, this great prelate, in his defence of the Declaration of the French clergy, expressly maintains that the independence and complete liberty of the sovereign pontiff are necessary for the free exercise of his spiritual authority throughout the universe and in so great a multiplicity of kingdoms and empires.” In support of this he recited the exact text from Bossuet, which he had very accurately in his memory, and particularly these words: “We congratulate not only the Apostolic See, but the universal Church also, on account of the



temporal sovereignty ; and we hope, with all the ardor of our heart, that this sacred principality may remain safe and unharmed in every way."

Napoleon listened with patience, and then spoke again calmly, as he always did to anyone who knew how to keep cool when talking with him. "I do not deny the authority of Bossuet," he said. "All that was true in his time, when Europe had many masters, and it was not suitable that the Pope should be subject to any one sovereign in particular. But where would be the inconvenience if the Pope were subject to me, now that Europe knows no master but myself alone?"

Here, although M. Emery felt some embarrassment lest he might make a reply that would wound the Emperor's pride too keenly, he had presence of mind and courage enough to answer that it might be possible that the inconveniences foreseen by Bossuet would not take place during his majesty's reign, nor perhaps during that of his successor. "But," he added, "your majesty knows as well as I do the history of revolutions. That which exists now cannot always exist, and in that case all the inconveniences foreseen by Bossuet might reappear. It is not well, then, to change an order so wisely established." And, in a grave tone that thrilled the assembly, the aged priest added: "Sire, you are often in battle; you know its dangers. If you were to leave your son fatherless while he is still a child, men might conspire against him, and the Pope, who has always been the protector of the weak, will then perhaps be his only support."

"And I have not the right," demanded the Emperor, "to declare to the Pope that if he does not give canonical instruction to the bishops I will do without him, and avail myself of a provincial council?"

"Never, sire," was the firm response. "The Pope will not make this concession. It would turn his right to institution into a mockery."

Napoleon cast a severe and scornful glance upon the members of the commission. "You were willing, then," he said to them, "to let me commit a gross blunder, persuading me to ask from the Pope a thing that he has no right to grant me!"

Thus ended the session, during which it was noticeable that the old superior of St. Sulpice was almost the only one to whom the Emperor spoke. Rising to retire, he bowed graciously to him, without appearing to pay any attention to the others who were present. He asked one of the bishops, however, if what M. Emery had said about the instructions contained in the Catechism concerning the Pope's authority was actually to be found there. The bishop could, of course, only give an affirmative reply, so that M.

Emery afterwards remarked to M. Garnier that he had taught the Emperor his catechism, which he did not know.

As Napoleon was about to leave the salon, some of the prelates, fearing that he might be displeased with M. Emery's frankness, implored him to excuse the venerable man on account of his advanced age. "You are quite mistaken, gentlemen," said the Emperor. "I am by no means angry with M. Emery. He has spoken like a man who knows what he is about, and that is the way I like men to speak to me. It is true that he does not think as I do, but everyone ought to have the right to his own opinion here." Cardinal Fesch took advantage of the Emperor's favorable dispositions to ask leave for M. Emery to return to his seminary, but Napoleon simply answered, "We shall see."

On leaving the audience-chamber, Talleyrand said to one of the members of the commission: "I knew very well that M. Emery was a man of great ability, but I did not believe that he had so much of it. He has the power to tell the Emperor the plain truth without displeasing him." Napoleon was, in fact, so impressed by the wisdom of the answers made by him to the questions he had put, that when Cardinal Fesch, a few days later, wished to speak with him on ecclesiastical affairs, he received this brusque reply: "Hold your tongue! You are an ignoramus! Where did you learn theology? It is with M. Emery, who does know it, that I shall talk about that."

The fame of what had taken place in the audience at the Tuileries spread abroad, adding a new lustre to the reputation for wisdom and firmness that the well-known Sulpitian already possessed. Some of the circumstances were inserted by Cardinal Pacca in his "Memoirs," and from them he himself conceived the highest esteem for M. Emery, and remained persuaded that Napoleon never would have become the persecutor of the Church had he, from the first, found more firmness in the bishops. It is to be remarked that this opinion has since been adopted by grave writers both of French and of foreign extraction.

Indifferent alike to praise or blame, M. Emery went his way, returning to his humble room with the serenity of a man who sees too near at hand the end of all earthly things to take any further interest in the glory and the honors of earth. "A little later," writes Cardinal Consalvi, "M. Emery was taken ill—perhaps in consequence of the effort he had put upon himself, for he was about eighty years of age; and soon he died, happy in not ending his career before arriving at a point so glorious in the eyes of the world and so meritorious for heaven."

His illness lasted only from Tuesday till Sunday. It was the second Sunday after Easter, called by the French, from the open-



ing words of the Gospel, "The Sunday of the Good Shepherd"—of Him who giveth His life for the sheep. The members of the Sulpitian order in Paris gathered around his bed. In a low voice, and with very great effort, he blessed them in words which tell the true story of his long and eventful career :

"I have lived only for the Seminary and for the Church. They will form the subject of my prayers and wishes even to my last breath. I give you all my blessing."

"Then," writes his biographer, M. Méric, "he fell into a heavy sleep. From time to time a gesture, a look, which still preserved its intelligence, told that the last hour had not yet come, and that he was not yet separated from his beloved children. Then he ceased all exterior communication with this world, and shut himself up in a great silence, interrupted by the sharp sound of his difficult breathing. One would have said that he was climbing painfully a steep mountain, and that his body and soul were making a supreme effort to reach some mysterious summit. All stood there, dumb and dismayed at the sight of a soul striving to break its final bonds and fly away, while the trembling house of the body was falling into ruin. They threw themselves on their knees and began the prayers for the dying. Finally, M. Pignier, who was watching every movement, bent once more over the dying father and listened intently; then, deeply moved, he said: 'It is finished. We can recite the *De Profundis*.'"

Very soon after Cardinal Fesch entered the room. He had come to visit once more the man who had dared to speak to him, as well as to his illustrious nephew, the words of fearless truth, and also, in the cardinal's case, of wise spiritual advice and intimate affection. He came too late.

Grieved even to tears, he said a prayer, and then made his way to the palace, where he said to the Emperor: "Sire, I have bad news for you. M. Emery is dead."

"I am very sorry," exclaimed the Emperor. "I am very sorry. He was a wise man; he was an ecclesiastic of distinguished merit. It is necessary to have extraordinary honors for him, and he must be interred at the Pantheon."

The cardinal, who knew how contrary to the spirit of the Sulpitians such obsequies would be, informed the Emperor that the burial-place of M. Emery was already selected at the country-house of the seminary, and that it was proper he should rest among his children, who would be inconsolable if they were separated from him. Napoleon did not then insist upon his idea being carried out. The cardinal told this incident to M. Duclaux.



The aged face of the dead priest resumed, immediately after his painful death, its expression of sweet serenity. There was to be seen upon it the peace and tranquility of one who rests at last after long labors ended well. They bore him from his seminary in Paris to the quiet cemetery at Issy, and placed above his tomb the splendid Latin epitaph composed by his friend, the Abbé Hémey d'Auberive, who said of him, weeping: "I lose to-day the friend of fifty-eight years." The severest critic cannot deny that the epitaph is a faithful picture of this old and fearless veteran of the Cross.

Hic Jacet  
 JACOBUS ANDREAS EMERY  
 Seminarii Sancti Sulpitii Superior nonus,  
 Universitatis imperialis consiliarius perpetuus,  
 Vir optimi ingenii insignisque virtutis:  
 In vultu benignitas,  
 In ore sermo ad flectendos animos appositus,  
 In scriptis doctrina sponte fluens,  
 Exquisitumque judicium,  
 Prisci moris et avitæ disciplinæ tenacissimus,  
 In consiliis sagax et prudens,  
 In intricatis solers,  
 In regiminis arte præcipuus,  
 In adversis fortis et invictus,  
 Integer in omnibus.  
 Episcopalibus infulis pluries repulsis,  
 Elegit abjectus esse in domo Dei sui:  
 Baetæ Mariæ virginis famulus addictissimus,  
 Sponsæque Christi ecclesiæ, cui totus vixit,  
 Miles indefessus,  
 Bonum certamen certans obiit,  
 23 Aprilis, 1811, Ætatis 79.

So went, to meet the King of kings, the only man Napoleon feared; a man of whom it can be truly said that, throughout the sanguinary scenes of the French Revolution and the critical years of the First Empire, *he feared God, and knew no other fear.*

S. L. EMERY.

## THE OLD FAITH AND THE NEW WOMAN.

GOOD causes are commonly ruined by bad advocacy, and that in two ways: by the indiscretion of sincere supporters and by the malice of the self-interested and insincere. Nothing is more familiar to us in the history of progress than to see some particular member wrenched away violently from the organic body of truth, built up into an all-sufficing philosophy, and carried to extravagant lengths, being no longer limited and checked by principles co-ordinate or superior. As a lie has no subsistence in itself, but must be hung on a framework of truth, its success varies according as the truth it rests on is more evident, and the distortion it adds to it more subtle and imperceptible.

It is a necessary result of the limitations of the human mind that the whole body of truth, or of any department of truth, cannot at once be apprehended in all its distinctness and unity, but must first be received in the gross, and then noticed in detail part by part, and finally grasped once more in its entirety by an intelligent synthesis. And the means by which this subjective development is usually effected is everywhere the same, whether we speak of the development of Christian doctrine or of philosophical truth. Some detail heretofore overlooked and neglected, not without hurt, forces itself into notice. It proves to be a solution of many difficulties and inconsistencies. Hasty thinkers regard it as an entirely new discovery, and suppose that because it was not explicitly recognized and emphasized before, therefore it was not recognized at all, or was even denied. If it solves so many difficulties, it is confidently predicted that it will solve all. It is not only true, but it is the whole truth, and the old faith and philosophy is indiscriminately condemned. In time, however, the limits of the new doctrine begin to be felt, and it has to be squeezed and twisted to evade the difficulties which present themselves and to meet all the problems it has undertaken to solve; and eventually the maimed and mangled theory is abandoned in favor of some still newer intellectual panacea. But, meantime, the Church, in mere self-defence, has been forced to look within and to look without, and, comparing the new heresy with the old faith, to recognize in the former the perversion of a truth long hidden within her own bosom, but of which now she becomes for the first time explicitly conscious; and while those who move on the topmost path of thought are already wild in the excitement of some new theory,

she is quietly gathering up and appropriating whatever was worth keeping from the *débris* of the last. Hence, if she always drags a little behind the extreme thought of the day, it is in the company of truth; and if the suggestions of progress and healthy reform often originate with her enemies, it is she that corrects, adopts and profits by them. Indeed, it is almost necessary that the Church's attitude towards these revolutionary movements should at first be one of hostility, that her attention should be fixed on the exaggerations and distortions of the truth rather than on the truth itself; for it is usually by the clashing of these excesses with her own teaching that she is roused to interest herself in the matter. Were she to throw herself headlong into sympathy with the cause, approving what is sound, tolerating or ignoring what is unsound, she would be untrue to her mission in lending the force of her authority to increase the impetus of a misdirected movement. Her first duty is to secure accuracy of aim and direction, and, until then, to maintain an attitude not merely of neutrality, but often of opposition and hostility. Thus, all through her history she exhibits the same apparent inconsistency, first rejecting and then accepting the results of progressive thought; yet what she rejects is not the truth, but the lie with which it is entangled; and what she accepts is the pure gold purged from its dross.

This is well illustrated in regard to the results of modern physical science, as well as of political, social and moral philosophy. As long as physicists push their principles and methods into other spheres of truth and try to usurp an unwarranted supremacy for their experimental criterion, the Church has no ears for their discoveries, so intent is she on their fallacies. Similarly, a democracy based on the principles of Rousseau, a socialism which appeals to those of Lasalle and Marx, must find her an enemy; and it is only after she has registered her protest on the face of history that she begins to sift the matter and to inaugurate a counter-reformation.

It is not surprising, therefore, to find numbers of narrower and less liberal-minded Catholics in strong opposition to such counter-reformations, and to the favorers thereof. It seems to them that the Church is in danger of making a false peace with her old enemies. Not discerning the chaff from the grain, all criticism is, to their mind, a concession to rationalism; all political and social reform, to communism and anarchy; all change, a condemnation of the past.

It cannot be denied that the "New Woman" in her extreme type is an abomination to Catholic instincts, nor that the movement which has culminated in her production—(we trust it has



culminated)—is animated by many false principles for which J. S. Mill is largely responsible, although they have been considerably developed of late years. In a disbelief in the sacramental and divine nature of marriage; in a false conception of liberty; in an exaggerated individualism—all the fruits of the Reformation—we find the seeds of this movement which needed nothing but time and a favorable environment to germinate. It is only when, in the light of history, we trace out the progress of a false principle into all its ramifications, finding it, where we least expect, under the most diverse manifestations; when we see how endlessly fertile of evil it is, that we understand the Church's violent intolerance for a lie in any form, and the acrimony with which she insists on distinctions and subtleties which in themselves or in their immediate consequences seem utterly insignificant—mere logomachies and pedantries of the school. As it was only the political evils of the French monarchy which brought the principles of the "philosophers" to a practical and evident conclusion, and the modern industrial crisis which called non-Catholic sociology into light; so it was the pressure of competition and the struggle for existence which first gave public prominence to the question of woman's rights and wrongs—what she might do and what she might not do—and elicited the rationalistic solution of Mill and his followers.

For, on rationalist principles, what justification could be offered for the ancient superstition of man's superiority? The story of the creation of Eve; of the primitive and divine institution of marriage; the belief in its elevation to the dignity of a sacrament typical of the relation of the Church to Christ her head and master—all this is relegated to the region of myths—myths invented to favor the divine right of oppressors. Was it not the old story of slavery over again; of the "natural" superiority of the triumphant white over the black race, of the divine right of conquerors, or of the political and social oppression of the poor? If "each is to count for one, and none for more than one," let the woman count for one, and the man for no more. Is not the liberation and equality of woman a necessary corollary of the equality of all men, and of the great principle of individualism and independence which we owe to the Protestant Reformation? If she is now mentally inferior, is it not the result of centuries of injustice, and of unequal opportunities? If she is physically weaker, such inferiority might have had social significance in barbaric times when brute-force ruled, and when might was right; but is it to be considered in these days, when mind governs the world? Besides, has not this inferiority been exaggerated in fact, and may not the emancipation of woman from conventional re-

striction and her admittance to athletic competitions give some truth to Amazonian fables? And as for the duties and impediments of maternity, there is no reason on rationalist principles why any woman should encumber herself with them more than is just convenient, even if she chooses to enter into the married state—which of course she will only do on a footing of perfect equality with her copartner; for there is to be no question of obedience or dependence beyond that dependence which in every equal and bilateral contract ties one party to the other until it is solved by mutual consent, or by the unfaithfulness of either to the substantial conditions.

This is, in brief, the logical justification of the "New Woman's" position on rationalist grounds—and logically there is no fault to find with it. And of course we do not mean that all New Women are rationalists, but only that, if consistent, they should be rationalists. Many of them favor the movement merely as a freak of fashion; others, because they see much to be said for it, and yet fail to see the full consequences that are involved in it; comparatively few from an intelligent and deliberate acceptance of the entire rationalist creed.

The same principle which tends to dissolve the barrier between classes and masses in point of political power and social privileges must eventually work itself out in the greatest possible equalization of the sexes. Indeed when women get political power into their own hands as they are bound to do, they will strive to hasten that consummation still more rapidly. The New Woman's cause is bound up with the wider one of individualism in practical philosophy, and of rationalism or "naturalism," as we now call it, in speculative. To estimate the strength of that cause is not our present concern; but it cannot fail to be furthered greatly by this accession of female influence, formerly enlisted almost entirely on the other side.

Now, in contrasting the New Woman theory with the teaching of the Catholic religion—which, according to what is, in its way, a true conception of DeLamennais, is only the common sense of mankind supernaturalized—we must carefully discriminate between the immutable principles of the Church's teaching and the local and transitory forms in which those principles are embodied, and by which they are sometimes obscured. Just as we distinguish between the beliefs of Catholics and Catholic belief, so we may not conclude that the condition of woman in any Catholic country or at any particular epoch is the product of Catholic principles unless we can clearly trace the connection, for the leaven of an idea works its way slowly. The Church will tolerate much, and will connive at many inevitable evils attendant on imperfect stages



of social development, if only she can secure the essentials of religion. She "has many things to say" to the semi-pagan and semi-barbarian, but they "cannot bear them yet." The natural growth of subjective truth cannot be hurried, else it will have no deep root; and this is as true of the collective, as of the individual mind.

It need hardly be stated that the two principles of individualism and rationalism are essentially uncatholic and anti-catholic. Although the Church abhors the socialist extreme which enslaves the unit to the multitude, making society an end in itself and not a means to the good of its several members, yet she holds firmly to the truth that it is only in and through society—domestic, civil or ecclesiastical—that personality can be duly developed. In the mystical body of Christ she finds the archetype of all society, whose unity she accordingly concludes to be that of a living organism, and not—as Rousseau—that of an artificial aggregate of independent units, bound to one another by the force of self-interest. "Nemo sibi vivit," "None for himself," is the law of the former association; "each for himself" is the law of the latter. Together with this conception of society as a natural organism goes the doctrine of the right of authority and the duty of obedience. If the subjection of members to the head, of parts to the whole, is demanded by nature, it is therefore commanded by that Personal Power in and above nature. Hence obedience to lawful authority becomes a duty to God, and the right of that authority is, in some sense, divine. On the other hand, if all society originates in a free contract, whereof the motive is self-interest; if no unit cares for the universal good except so far as it is a means to his own isolated advantage, then in submitting to self-imposed restrictions eventually one obeys oneself; which is only an indirect way of saying he follows his own will and not the will of another. In a word, with the artificial or contract-theory of society, the very notion of obedience must vanish.

As, in the Catholic view, the family is the simplest social unit, so the conjugal association is the simplest and germinal form of the family. In that society of two, as in all society, the distinction between head and body, ruler and ruled, is essential, because where a conflict of wills in morally indifferent matters is possible, social life requires a power of determining and ending such controversy; a right of decision on the one hand and of acquiescence on the other. We say "morally indifferent matters," for where it is a question of right and wrong and of God's law, the decision of a higher court has already been given. This right of social superiority in that narrowest of societies the Catholic religion has always attributed to the husband. She has regarded it as the postulate of



nature, and therefore as the command of God. She finds it confirmed by revelation in the account of the primitive and divine institution of marriage, and still more in the restoration of that institution by Christ to more than its pristine dignity; in its elevation to the rank of a sacrament signifying and effecting a relation between husband and wife analogous to that which subsists between Christ the Head, and the Church—His body—the archetype of all social organism. “As the Church is subject to Christ, so let women be to their husbands in all things;” for “the husband is the head of the wife, as Christ is the head of the Church.” Obedience in all matters pertaining to that society, and when nothing is ordered contrary to any higher authority, is the wife’s duty; and to command in such matters and under such limits is the husband’s right. And it is not, as contract-theories conceive it, a right which the unmarried woman possesses over herself and in marriage gives over to her husband, as she might give over her fortune, but one which springs into existence for the first time together with the contract. As I cannot obey myself, so neither can I command or force myself; and, not having that power myself, I cannot give it to another, though I can posit the conditions on which he receives it. In every free promise I put myself in another’s power; yet the power exercised over me is not and was not mine, but it is the power of *truth*, or of that Law-giver who forbids me to lie and commands me to fulfil my words. In this sense, all lawful authority is divine, even as truth is.

It is, however, important to notice the distinction between social or official superiority and personal—a distinction ever insisted on by the Church in the interests of liberty. Just as, in her ministers and priests, she bids us discern between the man and his ecclesiastical office, and assures us that the personal unfitness of the minister in no way affects the validity of his ministrations, so, in the question of jurisdiction, ecclesiastical, civil or domestic, she admonishes those in office not to credit themselves with personal superiority, or to govern, as it were, in right of possessing greater wisdom, or holiness, or ability than their subjects; nor to imagine that an appointment necessarily carries with it an infallible guarantee of aptitude, present, past or future. Thus Ignatius of Loyola, who expresses the common doctrine of the Church in a form peculiarly distressing to the pseudo-liberal mind, says in his notorious Letter on Obedience: “For indeed it is not as though he were endued and enriched with prudence or benevolence or other divine gifts of whatever kind that a superior is to be obeyed, but only on this account that he holds the place of God and exercises His authority who says: ‘He that heareth you heareth me.’” The tyranny of individualism in government is altogether opposed

to Catholic theory; and we cannot conclude at once that, because the husband is superior to the wife, therefore the man is superior to the woman; but, at most, that there is in the man, as such, a certain aptitude for that particular office which is not found in the woman. Of that aptitude we shall speak presently. Let it suffice, by way of illustration of our last remark, to refer to the Catholic veneration for the Holy Family of Nazareth, when St. Joseph, as the husband of Mary, held the office of superior over one who, in the Church's estimation, was almost immeasurably his better in light and wisdom and divine grace. Official superiority, therefore, does not involve personal superiority any more than personal superiority in one point or more means superiority all round.

Still less is it in keeping with the Catholic conception that the subjection of the wife should be slavish or the government of the husband despotic. For matrimony is a true "society," and the wife is *socia*, and not *serva*; that is to say, she, as a person, is both intellectually and morally her husband's companion and friend, and the end of their association is not the repression but the fuller development of her personality. And this is the Church's ideal of government everywhere, in home and state, so far as men are sufficiently imbued with unselfish and social instincts to profit by it. The law and the spirit of fear is for the infancy of races; the Gospel and the spirit of love for their maturity. Where the less ideal state of domestic society prevails, the Church may tolerate it as expedient or necessary under the circumstances, but she is never satisfied with it.

Now all this is wholly unintelligible if we accept the contract-theory of society in general and extend it to the matrimonial bond. There is, in that view, as little assignable reason why the wife's place in the association should be one of inferiority as why, in a partnership of any two free individuals for a common advantage, one should preside over the other; and where there is no authority there is no place for obedience.

Thus an American advocate of Woman's Rights, in a chapter headed *Obeys*,<sup>1</sup> tells us how he protested one day to a clergyman against the "unrighteous pledge to obey," used in the Protestant marriage service:

"'I hope,' I said, 'to live to see that word expunged from the Episcopal service, as it has been from that of the Methodists.'

"'Why?' he asked. 'Is it because you know they will not obey, whatever their promise?'

"'Because they ought not,' I said.

"'Well,' said he, after a few moments' reflection, and looking up frankly, 'I do not think they ought.'"



It is not the first time that an Episcopalian clergyman has differed frankly from St. Paul. The writer goes on to say: "Whoever is pledged to obey is technically and literally a slave, no matter how many roses surround the chains"—from which we must conclude that soldiers and sailors, civil servants and all subjects are slaves, or else that they are perfectly free, morally and physically, to do as they like in everything. Finally he says: "Make the marriage-tie as close as Church or State can make it, but let it be equal and impartial. That it may be so, the word *obey* must be abandoned or made reciprocal." The idea of "reciprocal obedience" is hard to grasp, but, as far as we understand it, it does not augur well for domestic peace. But, in truth, all obedience is to a superior; and just so far as there is equality, obedience is impossible. In fact, on individualist principles the matrimonial relation is essentially different from what it is conceived to be, not only by Christianity, but by the hitherto unsophisticated reason of mankind. There are still, even for the equalitarian, certain prudential motives which make monogamy desirable and divorce undesirable within given limits, but those limits are soon reached.

It is absurd and futile for would-be orthodox writers to contend against the inevitable weakening of the marriage-bond, which is the necessary result of certain false social principles, unless they are prepared to repudiate those principles altogether. If all authority, civil and ecclesiastical, is only by delegation from the people, with whom it rests inalienably—if it is merely self-interest that binds the members of society to one another; if obedience is only an indirect following of one's own will, subjected to that of another freely and revocably—then the self-interested association of man and woman must be conceived in the same way, and the word "obey" either expunged from the Protestant marriage-service or explained away. Indeed, we must freely admit that the New Woman, or even a newer, who may yet be revealed, is a logical outcome, a necessary product of equalitarianism. That philosophy tends to deny any difference between the sexes that is not strictly physiological. It refuses to admit that, morally and intellectually, they are complementary one of another; that the perfect humanity, the complete mind and character is divided between them; that human parentage is not merely animal, but includes the mental and moral formation of the offspring, to which both parents are instrumental and necessary each in their own way. Beyond the limits of physiology it regards all differences and inequalities as artificial and iniquitous, and it tends logically to the eventual abolition of matrimony in any recognizable sense of the term. It is only those extremists who maintain an essential superiority of woman over



man, and who would gladly see the numbers of the hated sex restricted to the base necessities of society, who have no *locus standi* according to equalitarian principles.

## II.

And now we may inquire in what, precisely, consists that inequality which, in domestic society, gives the husband headship over the wife. Those who make no distinction between what is and what must be, between what must be and what ought to be, will freely grant that in the state of rude savagery the wife depends on the superior physical force and liberty of the husband for protection, and that such dependence puts the reins into his hands. But as social evolution relieves her of this dependence more and more, it may be asked, What basis remains for the old relationship? If woman is not intellectually and morally inferior and dependent, why should she be the one to submit? Now it is most necessary to observe that "superior" is here a relative term, implying some end to be secured. The end in question is the government of the domestic society, the government of the members only in matters pertaining to their common good, and in no others. For example, when we agree that in the savage state the man is more fit to govern the house or wigwam than the woman, we mean that he is superior in fighting power, being less physically encumbered. We do not mean that even physiologically he is a superior being all round, but that, having some attributes which she has not, he can secure an end which she cannot—just as, in many matters, she is superior in virtue of capacities which he has not.

If, then, woman's subjection in more developed domestic society is founded on a certain intellectual or moral inferiority, it does not mean that she is all round intellectually or morally inferior to man, but only other than man; it does not mean that she is less fit for high intellectual or moral attainments, but only less fit for government, less endowed, as a rule, with the qualities positive and negative, required for that trust. Whether those qualities are of all others the most admirable and enviable may be questioned. Mr. Kidd,<sup>1</sup> discussing the value of intellect as a factor in social evolution, shows fairly well how far more important are the stolid and earthy qualifications to which the Teutonic races owe their steady progressiveness, and the absence of which makes free government unworkable in Celtic nations. Where idealism, imagination and emotion prevail very widely, they are fatal to that stability which is needed for social order and growth. It was with a fine humor

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<sup>1</sup> *Social Evolution.*

that Plato looked forward to the rule of philosophers as an ideal government; nor should we choose a civil president on account of the fervor of his piety or the sublimity of his political conceptions, although allowing these gifts to be far superior to an insight into the theory of taxation. What, then, is this peculiar characteristic which naturally fits man for the headship in domestic society? Aquinas tells us: "There are two kinds of subjection, servile and domestic, or civil. The latter is the kind of subjection whereby the woman is by nature subject to the man *because of the greater rational discretion which man naturally possesses.*" Mr. D. S. Lilly, who also quotes this passage [Shibboleths, p. 168] and who takes a rather severer view of woman's deficiency than ourselves, writes, in the same chapter: "Taking women in general, it may be truly said that in them sentiment predominates over sense; imagination over reason; that in the logical and scientific faculties they are vastly inferior to men; that their emotions are stronger while their will is weaker; that they are markedly deficient in the power of comprehending truth and justice under the pure form of principles and ideas, apart from persons and things." This sounds a heavier indictment than it really is, for all these deficiencies are but the inseparable price of gifts of whose value it is not easy to form a comparative estimate. Sentiment and sense may be antagonistic, but who shall say which, in the absence of the other, is the better qualification? If vivid imagination disturbs the slow workings of cold reason, it is the necessary condition of quick intuitive intellect?

It is hard to say whether emotion without will or will without emotion is the more objectionable perversion of human nature; and perhaps truth and justice may be judged as falsely, or more from the abstract as from the concrete. In truth, to quote Mr. Lilly again, "The force of fanaticism could go no further than to deny the existence of a sexual character. *Das Weib kein Mann ist*, says the German proverb. 'Woman is not undeveloped man, but diverse,' . . . the perfection of the man is not the perfection of the woman. The ideals of masculine and feminine excellence are different." For, indeed, the whole human character in its adequate perfection is put into commission between the two sexes. Morally and intellectually, no less than physiologically, they are complementary; and that not merely as companions or associates, but as parents and educators of their offspring. It is on this natural and necessary diversity of mental and moral character that matrimonial society is founded. But when we reflect on the qualities needed for direction and government, chief among them seems to be that "*discretio rationis*" or reasoning discernment of which Aquinas speaks—a power of taking a cold, impartial, abstract



view of things; a gift immensely useful, if not very attractive. Not, of course, that every man possesses this pre-eminently, but that he does so normally in so far as the masculine character is duly developed in him. Where, on the other hand, it is the wife who excels in this talent, there usually results a disturbance of due domestic harmony, or else a complete inversion of the matrimonial relationships, which confirms the theory of Aquinas very satisfactorily. It is not, however, the actual possession of this reasoning discernment that constitutes or measures the husband's right to govern, any more than the authority of any other ruler depends on his aptitude. The presumption of such aptitude is the implicit condition of his designation, but the designation is not invalidated by the falseness of the presumption.

The scope of marital government, as we have already said, is confined to matters concerning the common domestic good, and the subjection of the wife is not servile but social; "for the servant knoweth not what his master doeth," but the wife is governed in domestic matters, not despotically, without reference to her views and inclinations, but politically, as a person, and with the greatest deference to those views and inclinations which is compatible with the common good. *Nemo sibi vivit*, None for himself, is, as we have said, the ideal of all Christian society. The husband is not made for the wife nor the wife for the husband, but each for the twain.

It will be already evident that there is nothing in the Catholic view favoring a belief in the *general* intellectual or moral inferiority of woman; and how perfectly in accord with the mind of Christianity is her highest development in both respects will presently appear. Of course, we make a distinction between *necessary* and *actual* inferiority. The former may be repudiated very plausibly, the latter cannot. As we have said, the division of labor and of domestic cares which was needed in rude social states, and which is now, and perhaps always will be, needed among the un-leisured classes, requires for the majority of young girls a training which will fit them for their probable after-work; a training which concentrates the mind on small practical details, and which tends, apart from precautionary measures, to produce narrowness, except so far as religion raises the mind to greater and more universal conceptions. Indeed, the very existence of the movement for woman's intellectual emancipation is a confession of an actual and wide-spread inferiority. Again, it may be taken for granted that the unnatural will never so far prevail but that the majority of women will always be involved in the cares of maternity. This, as a heavy tax not only on the time but on the physical energy necessary for severe intellectual work, will put them at a serious



disadvantage. In a word, equality of opportunity, which is essential to fair competition, can never be accorded to that same majority, owing to conditions fixed, not by custom, or by male tyranny, but by nature.

But those who would contend for an all-round essential inferiority of intellect on the part of women have a very difficult thesis to prove, for the simple reason that all their instances are met either by denying equality of opportunity, or by the contention that diversity of intellectual gifts is not the same as inferiority. In proportion as equal opportunities are given from the first, we see everywhere a practical refutation of their view.

How much the Catholic religion, which exalts a Woman to the highest place in creation, favors and furthers her intellectual and moral development and ignores any such essential difference is plain from a retrospect of the past. Let me quote the results of an admirable article in the "Catholic World" for June, 1875, none the less appropriate because written by a woman in reply to Mr. Gladstone's sneer to the effect that the conquests of the Catholic Church in England were "chiefly among women," and therefore of no account. After noting the homage done to woman's intellectual power by the religions of Greece and Rome in the worship of a woman as the goddess of wisdom, and patroness of just and humane warfare; in the cultus of Vesta, of the Muses, of the Fates, of the Graces, and in the honoring of such names as Rhea, Alcestis, Ariadne, Alcyone and so forth, the article goes on to notice her place in the Old Testament as exemplified in the prophetesses and wives of the patriarchs; in Sarah, Rebecca, Rachel, Miriam, Deborah, Ruth, Esther, and many others. Then we are reminded how it was among women that Christ found his most numerous, apt, and constant disciples when on earth, thus coming under the lash of Mr. Gladstone's sarcasm. St. Paul speaks of the women who labored with him in the Gospel. Timothy learnt the Scriptures from Lois and Eunice. St. Thecla<sup>1</sup> was skilled in profane and sacred science and philosophy, and excelled in the various branches of polite literature. St. Apollonia preached the faith at Alexandria and converted many by her eloquence. St. Catharine devoted herself to the study of philosophy, especially of Plato, and confuted the ablest Pagan philosophers of her day. She is honored as the patroness of learning and eloquence and of scholastic theology, and art represents her as the Christian *Urania*. After remarking that "the increasing demand which we have on every side for a more substantial and scholarly training of the sex does not look forward to that which they never had, but backward

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<sup>1</sup> St. Paul's disciple.

to what they have lost or abandoned," the writer reminds us how it was St. Macrina who taught Sts. Basil and Gregory; how Sts. Cosmas and Damian were instructed by Theodora. "Even as early as the second century," writes a distinguished scholar, "the zeal of religious women for letters excited the bile and provoked the satire of the enemies of Christianity." St. Fulgentius was educated by his mother, who made him learn Homer and Menander by heart. St. Paula stimulated St. Jerome to some of his greatest writings, and St. Eustochium was a faultless Hebrew scholar. St. Chrysostom dedicates seventeen of his letters to St. Olympias; and St. Marcella's acquirements won her the title of the "glory of the Roman ladies." The convents of England in the seventh and eighth centuries vied with the monasteries in letters. St. Gertrude was skilled in Greek, and it was a woman who introduced the study of Greek into the monastery of St. Gall. St. Hilda was consulted on theology by bishops assembled in council. Queen Editha, wife of St. Edward the Confessor, taught grammar and logic. St. Boniface was the teacher of a brilliant constellation of literary women.<sup>1</sup> We are told of women who were familiar with the Greek and Latin fathers; of an abbess who wrote an encyclopedia of all the science of her day; of a nun whose Latin poems and stanzas were the marvel of the learned; of the injunction of the Council of Cloveshoe (747) that abbesses should diligently provide for the education of their nuns; of the labors of Lioba in conjunction with St. Boniface; of a convent school whose course included Latin and Greek, Aristotle's philosophy, and the liberal arts; of women in the papal university of Bologna eminent in canon law, medicine, mathematics, art, literature; of Prosperia de' Rossi, who taught sculpture there; of Elena Cornaro, a doctor at Milan; of Plautilla Brizio, the architect of the chapel of St. Benedict at Rome. In the eighteenth century we find women taking their degrees in jurisprudence and philosophy at the papal universities. In 1758 we have Anna Mazzolina professing anatomy at Bologna, and Maria Agnese appointed by the Pope to the chair of mathematics. Novella d'Andrea taught canon law for ten years at Bologna, and a woman succeeded Cardinal Mezzofanti as professor of Greek. Still more abundant and overwhelming is the evidence for woman's moral and spiritual equality with man in the Church's esteem. If fortitude is in question, we have Sts. Thecla, Perpetua, Felicity, Agnes, Lucy, Agatha, Cecilia, Apollonia, Catherine, and innumerable hosts of women who faced the torments of martyrdom. If men have forsaken their homes for the Gospel's sake in their thousands, women have done so in their tens of

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<sup>1</sup> "Valde eruditæ in liberali scientia,"



thousands, though for them the wrench, as a rule, is far more violent and painful. In self-denial, in austerity, in patient endurance, in silence, in unselfish devotion to Christ's poor, in all that is rightly supposed to demand the highest degree of self-mastery, they have shown themselves, if not superior, at least fully equal to the other sex.

If the number of men-saints exceeds that of women, it must be recollected that the canonized represent but a handful of the saints, and chiefly those whose sanctity was notorious and before the public gaze; a fact which lessens the chances for the official recognition of female sanctity. For the same reason it is observable how far more frequent is the canonization of bishops than of simple priests, although no one could suppose that saintly priests were less numerous than saintly bishops, considering the numerical proportion of one order to the other. Again, it may be plausibly contended that sanctity in men is more evidently miraculous and out of the common than in women, who in a sense are naturally devout and spiritual-minded.

It would be tiresome to enumerate the religious orders and congregations founded and ruled by women. Indeed, the extent to which the Church has entrusted women with jurisdiction and right of government would seem opposed to the doctrine of Aquinas, referred to above, were it not that this jurisdiction was never, or at least very rarely, exercised over communities of men, and was usually dependent on higher authority vested in bishops or prelates.

In the light of all this, it is impossible to deny that where the Church has her way, and is not trammelled by local prejudices, she desires the fullest possible mental and moral development of women compatible with the discharge of the social duties required by nature and God's law. Here, as among men, the organization of society forbids, and will always forbid, absolute equality of opportunity, capacity and obligation. But it is the aim of sane progress to eliminate all unjust and unreasonable inequalities, and to secure the least possible waste of those spiritual energies in which the true power and wealth of every society consists. Nor must we suppose that it is only in the leisured and unmarried that the Catholic religion desiderates culture. The Church knows far too well the power and influence of the wife and mother not to see that their elevation means the elevation of both husband and children, and that eventually it is they who give the moral tone to the whole community. Woman is naturally the guardian of the spiritual wealth of the family, and for that trust, especially in these days, mere piety, which is not also educated and intelligent, is of little avail. The first formation of the mind is from the mother, and



the impressions which she leaves are indelible. It may truly be said that whatever the Christian religion has done for the elevation of public morals it has done through the instrumentality of woman. A brief study of Mr. Devas's admirable little book on "Family Life" will confirm what perhaps no one with any knowledge of human history will dispute, and prove that where woman is debased and basely thought of, there, in proportion, public morality is at a low ebb. This is the vein of truth which runs through that otherwise very wild and ridiculous though well-written book, "The Heavenly Twins," and makes one wish that the authoress's power had been equal to her aspirations.


We must not, then, credit the Catholic religion with the sentiments of certain more or less pious writers of the male sex who consider an oriental contempt of women to be a great point of virtue; who insist much on the priority of Eve's share in our racial disaster, forgetting that theology regards it as quite insignificant compared with that of Adam, and more than abundantly counterbalanced by the part of Mary in our redemption; who look upon all the immorality in the world as an evil brought upon poor innocent man by that diabolical creature which God made to be a "helpmeet for him"—a little touch of manicheism, such as induces some to regard wine as essentially demoniacal because men choose to drink too much of it. A moment's reflection would show that it is in the reverence and not in the contempt of woman that purity must look for its only reliable safeguard; and it is with this in her mind that the Church counsels a devotion to the Virgin mother in the interests of that virtue.

As regards the admission of woman to the occupations at present monopolized by men, it is well to observe that of the existing restrictions some few are natural and necessary; many desirable in woman's own interest; many, no doubt, now purely customary and conventional, though not without reason originally. It is certainly a pleasure to think that at least one-half of humanity is exempted from the risk of moral and physical degradation attendant on many occupations and callings in the political, civil and industrial world. If some restrictions are merely customary, still customs are to be respected, and public feeling must not be rudely shocked. The majority, being ruled in their tastes and opinions not by reason, as they suppose, but by tradition and imitation, will be equally opposed to all innovation, reasonable or unreasonable. When the opposition is unreasonable, customs must be unformed in the same way as they are formed, namely, by single acts gradually multiplied. No city-bred person is now shocked by the lady-cyclist, yet she who first dared public opinion in the matter must have abounded in brass. Fortunately there

are always such to be met with ; and while we need not admire their forwardness, we must allow their social usefulness and necessity. Similarly, in the matter of dress, what is "unheard of" is not necessarily wicked or immodest. From the days of St. Paul to the present the Church has protested against that species of "irrational costume" which is one of the most persistent survivals of barbarism, based on the supposition that woman's power with man depends solely on her appeal to his senses, and not on her appeal to his soul. But why the "New Woman" should studiously imitate the latest horrors of male attire is a mystery which can be solved only by supposing that her bitterest vituperations veil a secret reverence for man, the monster, and a deference to his æsthetic and practical judgment, or else that inconsistency is not altogether peculiar to the weak-minded women of the past.

In conclusion, if we contrast the ideal of the Christian lady with that of the "New Woman"—one the fair fruit of sound reason enlightened by Catholic faith, the other the base issue of crude equalitarianism and sense-philosophy—there is little difficulty in seeing that the former conception is strong and full of energies yet to be developed, while the latter contains within itself the principles of its own decay and death. The downfall of the family, the profanation of marriage, means the downfall and profanation of woman. It is only in virtue of a faint survival of chivalry—the fruit of Christianity—that the "New Woman," whether she likes to allow it or not, can elbow her way to the front as she does. If man is ever rebarbarized by the withdrawal of the softening influence of home, if woman becomes nothing more to him than a competitor in the general struggle for wealth, she will eventually be forced down to that degradation which has always been her lot under the reign of pure selfishness and brute force. If it is her greater unselfishness which has caused her so much suffering in the past, it has also been the cause of her great power for good. Selfishness is brute force; unselfishness a spiritual force. She can never compete with man if the contest is to be one of brute force. It is the Church which has raised her, and, through her, raised the world, though both processes are still struggling but slowly towards completion.

GEORGE TYRRELL, S.J.

### In Memoriam.

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THE VERY REV. AUGUSTINE F. HEWIT, D.D.

WITH profound sorrow we have to chronicle the demise of the patriarchal head of the Paulist Congregation, Very Rev. Father Hewit. It is rarely that the Church in this country sustains a loss of the peculiar kind involved in the passing away of this distinguished priest. He belongs to that new departure in the life of Catholicism in America which nearly synchronized with the rise of the Oxford movement in England. The movement here originated with a few zealous converts, and at its outset was headed by that remarkable man, Father Hecker, who combined so much of the practical spirit of modern America with the exalted mysticism of the Friars Minors. It seemed to these zealous men by no means impossible to bring the Catholic Church in America into living touch with the masses of the people, and at the same time present her claims so irrefutably before all, that only mere obstinacy and self-interest could refuse to see its truth and beauty. Father Hecker's life was devoted to this glorious task. Father Hewit, who inherited his mantle when he was called to join his Divine Master, labored for its accomplishment incessantly too, though not perhaps by the same methods. The temperaments of the two men were dissimilar, but they sought for the same parallax from their respective intellectual and emotional bases.


There was very little of the dreamer in Father Hewit's composition. His mind was of that keen, logical, analytical bent that left nothing to the imagination, and accepted from it nothing that it could not demonstrate by logical process. His father was of the New England Puritan stock; a Presbyterian clergyman; his mother a lady of Irish birth. It might be said that by nature Father Hewit was a theologian. It was this fine natural gift of his which led him into the bosom of the Catholic Church. When called upon to make his studies for the Church of his sires his mind began to examine the basic problems of religion in a way that led to doubts of his position, and once this element arose there was no rest for mind or soul until the question had been debated down to one single issue; and the solution of that issue to



the one inevitable path, the universal road-system which radiates from Rome. His accession to the Paulist Congregation insured the success of that important experiment. He has been the theologian of the movement par excellence, the masterly expositor of Christian truth, before whose keen-bladed beautiful logic no intellectual armor was proof. Hence in his earlier days he achieved wonderful success in those early missionary tours of the Paulists with which the names of Hecker, Baker, Hewit, and Derhon are imperishably associated.

To the readers of this REVIEW it is entirely unnecessary to say anything respecting the great gifts of Father Hewit as a writer. His chaste, cogent method of argument, his fine philosophic treatment of whatsoever question he handled, have been universally admired. His choicest work has appeared, perhaps, in those matchless essays which have from time to time been contributed to these pages; and his heart was in the work. To the writer of these lines there was profound pathos in the observation made by Father Hewit to him a few months ago, "I have written my last article for the *QUARTERLY*—the last I shall ever write in this world." His failing health had not by any means dimmed the brightness of his mind or diminished the enthusiasm for the exposition of Catholic truth; but he felt the time approaching when he must give his undivided thoughts to the solemn change which he felt impending, and dwell exclusively in spirit with God.

As head of the Paulist Congregation Father Hewit was pre-eminently fit and commanding. His character was such as to inspire veneration and respect, and though he was at times regarded by the younger members with the wholesome awe of the authoritative superior, he gained their love by a sweet fatherly familiarity at periods of relaxation which flowed from that happy blending of dignity and charm which are to be found in the true type of the Christian gentleman. His life was saintly as his scholarship was splendid. And he bore the long-drawn-out physical suffering which it was his lot to endure with that true heroism which utters no sigh or word of complaint. May his sleep in God be the sweeter, and his crown the more resplendent!



## Scientific Chronicle.

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### GLASS BRICKS AND BUILDINGS.

THAT "People who live in glass houses should not throw stones" is a well-known scrap of popular philosophy. Since, however, say and do what you may, some people will still amuse themselves and annoy their neighbors by launching lapidarious projectiles, right and left, at random, it seems to follow, unless the teachings of our old professor of logic were at fault, that they should beware of living in glass houses. Of course the adage is generally applied in a metaphorical sense, and, so applied, is supposed to cover a goodly heap of very deep wisdom.

With the metaphorical sense we do not propose to grapple just now, but to dwell rather on the question of real, material, houses of glass. We do not include in our remarks such things as "greenhouses," nor so-called "Crystal Palaces," consisting as they do mainly of brick and wood and iron, with indeed a liberal supply of ordinary glazing in the walls and roofs. On the contrary, we meant to speak of glass when used as the actual material of the building, and not as a mere supplementary ornament.

At a recent exhibition in Stuttgart, several small structures were shown, built of so-called "Glass Bricks." These bricks are not of the form of the ordinary baked clay article with which we are so familiar, mere rectangular parallelopipedons of hardened mud. We feel in our bones that such materials and such forms are beginning to look altogether too prosaic to suit the taste of the closing years of the nineteenth century.

It is somewhat difficult to give in writing a clear idea of what the form of these glass bricks really is, but the following attempt at a description may help us through. Suppose we take two capital V's, measuring each five inches across the open end, and five and one-half inches in width. Let us place them in contact, base to base. The result will be a diamond-shaped figure, five inches in width, and eleven inches in length. Now cut off the sharper angles equally so as to leave the figure only eight inches long. The resulting hexagon would about represent the form and dimensions of the face of the brick. Next make the whole thing four inches thick, and you have it complete, as far as the size and general form are concerned. The bricks are manufactured by blowing, just as bottles and many other things in this world, and are therefore hollow.

Instead of being plane, the upper and under surfaces are ribbed, or corrugated, in such a way that the ridges of one brick may fit loosely into the depressions of the next one below or above it. A thin layer of

cement will then hold them very strongly and solidly in place. The lateral surfaces are grooved so that heavy wire may be worked around the bricks alternately from right to left, and from left to right, both longitudinally and transversally.

When tied in this network of wire and properly cemented, they make an exceedingly strong arrangement, suitable for roofs and floors, which, except for very large surfaces, will require little or no supplementary support. If, however, supports are necessary, the ordinary arrangement of rafters, girders, pillars or partition-walls will answer every purpose. When used for the side-walls of buildings, the bricks may be laid flat, or be stood on end. In the former case, their longer dimensions may be made parallel with the line of the wall, or perpendicular to it. If stood on end, there is the same choice between two positions, as either the face or the side of the brick may be turned outwards. Each of these methods will give a character of its own to the wall-surface, and it is evident that with different combinations of them, the architect has in his hands the means of producing very varied and pleasing effects.

What advantages now for building purposes will glass have over brick or stone? It is evidently unnecessary to bring wood into the comparison, for no one who can afford brick or stone ever thinks of using wood in these days. Glass, it is true, is brittle, but this property manifests itself only when the material is subjected to sudden shocks or blows. Under mere static pressure it is far stronger than brick or any ordinary building stone.

As to cost, though we have not the exact figures at hand, and must draw on our guessing powers to some extent, we believe that, given a sufficient demand, and proper facilities for the manufacture thereof, glass bricks could be supplied as cheaply, or nearly as cheaply, bulk for bulk, as first-class bricks or good cut stone. But even if the cost of glass were considerably greater than that of brick or stone, the advantages to be enumerated below would undoubtedly more than offset the difference in price.

Glass is everlasting. It never decays. It never rots. Heat and cold, sunshine and storm, which play such havoc with other materials, have, on the block of glass, no destructive effect. As the ages roll on, structures of brick or stone, and even of iron or steel, crumble to clay, and sand, and rust, respectively; but a building of glass would still stand strong and fresh and bright, even long after the day when some traveller from Greater Hawaii shall have taken his stand under a broken tower of the Brooklyn Bridge to sketch the ruins of the once imperial New York.

Glass is not porous, and therefore does not absorb moisture; and being hard and smooth, it does not afford resting-places for dust, with consequent nesting-places for fungus germs. It does not tarnish permanently, and any little dust or dirt adhering to an outside wall would usually be washed away by the rain, or, failing that, by a little water from a garden hose. Inside surfaces would seldom require more than the application of a feather-duster to keep them clean and healthy.



Glass itself is a fairly good non-conductor of heat, but a hollow glass brick is a still better non-conductor than a solid lump would be. Hence a building made of such brick would be cooler in summer and warmer in winter than the buildings in which, according to the seasons, we shiver or swelter now. An even temperature is one of the things most conducive to health, and though this cannot be had in our climate, yet the changes from hot to cold, and from cold to hot would be much less rapid in a house of glass than in one of any other material, and this in itself is already a great gain, and is the next best thing to evenness of temperature.

Buildings of glass would require neither lathing nor plastering, nor whitewashing, nor any outside painting of roofs or walls. Of course doors and windows would have to undergo the usual treatment. Walls that are to be plastered must first be furred and lathed. This leaves an air-space behind, which is very good to keep out dampness and cold, but at the same time it constitutes wooden-lined flues that prove very dangerous in case of fire. The glass wall or partition secures all the advantages of the plastered wall without any of its dangers and disadvantages.

These advantages all put together might not suffice to induce the conservative house-builder to make so radical a change in his ideas. The older system is in possession, and will not easily be dispossessed. We have however another argument in reserve, and one which we believe to be the strongest of all, and capable of bearing down all opposition.

What the world needs and always hankers after is "light, more light," physical as well as intellectual and moral. We want in our houses, in our churches, and especially in our business offices and our workshops, all the light we can get, short of the direct sunlight. At the same time we do not want to be exposed to the prying gaze of the public. Now by means of the glass bricks spoken of above, light, and plenty of it, as well as perfect privacy, is secured. The surfaces of the glass bricks are so ribbed and roughened that the light is broken and scattered in all directions, and made to penetrate into every nook and corner of the apartments, while actual vision is as effectively hindered as it would be by a wall of stone. The glass might, moreover, be tinted to suit the taste or whims of the owners. An Englishman would probably prefer red: a Frenchman, blue; an Irishman, green; a Chinaman, yellow. For ourselves we would prefer the pure white light just as God made it, and which contains, at least potentially, all possible colors.

In the case of an office building, to obtain the best effects, the outer walls, the partitions, the roof, and all the floors should be made of glass. This would secure an abundance of light in every story, and in every room from garret to cellar. Of course some of the roof light would be obstructed by articles of furniture on the different floors, but there would still remain quite a large percentage of free floor-space that would allow light to pass to the different stories below. The furniture in the rooms would moreover naturally be arranged so as to obstruct as little as possible the light from the walls.

In dwellings, and especially in tenement-houses, it would, for obvious reasons, be better to have all the floors, and the partitions between the tenements, opaque. Under those circumstances ordinary partitions and floors would probably be preferable, in some respects, to glass. Glass, to be opaque, would have to be jet black, and a black partition would present a rather funereal aspect. The partitions of a single suite of rooms might well be glass, and curtains could be arranged that would cover the entire partitions when the occupants so desired. In like manner provision should be made for shutting out the light from the external walls. Besides, glass is a good conductor of sound, and this would be an additional reason why it ought not to be used for partitions between different tenements, since people generally prefer not to hear, or at least not to be heard, from one tenement to another. Again, a glass floor in a family, where young children are tumbling around and bumping their skulls, would hardly be deemed a source of peace and comfort in the house. The floor could stand it, but other far-reaching complications might arise, necessitating the re-writing of the whole science of Phrenology, and the devising of some means of distinguishing between essential bumps of character and bumps accidental. For the outer walls, however, we still vote for glass, and for glass only.

Suppose, now, all the streets of a city were lined with houses built in the way proposed. During the day there would be plenty of light everywhere, and it would last to a somewhat later hour than it does with us now. During the evening, however late that might be protracted, the lights of the streets would give a helping hand to the indoor lights, and the indoor lights would repay in kind, and so add considerably to the illumination, and consequently to the beauty as well as to the safety of the streets.

Yet, as we have already hinted, there are times when we wish to be left in darkness and alone. When, therefore,

"The waning hour to bedward bids,  
And gentle sleep sits waiting on our lids,"

all we have to do is to draw the curtains, and retire in peace, to dream of another City where there is no night, but always light, and where the very streets themselves are of pure gold *as transparent as glass*.

Another purpose for which it is proposed to employ glass is for the construction of monuments, especially such as are used in cemeteries. For this the glass should be plate-glass, polished and transparent, colored or colorless according to the taste of the owner. Tombstones and monuments of this kind would be indestructible, and the inscriptions thereon, barring external accidents, ought to last easily to the end of the world.

#### WOOD-PULP.

According to one Mr. Hesiod, some time deceased, the course of time on this little planet should be divided into five periods, or what he calls ages. The first of these, under the tutelage of Saturn, was named the patriarchal, or Golden Age; the second, ruled by Jupiter, son of Saturn,

was the luxurious age, or Age of Silver; the third, presided over by Neptune, another son of Saturn, the warlike, or Brazen Age; the fourth, the Heroic Age, was managed by Mars, son of Jupiter and grandson of Saturn; the fifth, the Age of Iron, was under the especial care of Pluto, Saturn's third son. Now, although we look upon the stories of the gods of the Gentiles as mere fables, myths and allegories, they, nevertheless, when rightly interpreted, represent the origin of man and his journey through time in a far truer light than the fables of our modern self-styled scientists who would trace back our ancestry to frogs, fishes, lizards and baboons.

But the men of our times, passing over the allegorical meaning, and taking, for the moment, the whole thing in a literal sense, often call the present century the Age of Steel; and it seems really to have deserved the name. The new uses to which steel has been applied during this century are almost beyond our powers of computation. We are therefore willing to concede the title, but when we went about preparing to carve an inscription for the tombstone of the dying Nineteenth Century, before laying him decently away to rest, the inscription took, ever and anon, in spite of us, the following form:

Here Lies  
THE AGE OF STEEL,  
Born the First Instant  
of  
January 1st, 1801;  
Died the Last Instant  
of  
December 31st, 1900;  
Aged 100 years.  
This Monument was Erected  
by His Son,  
Who Hereby Assumes the Name and Title  
of  
The Age of Wood.

Is, therefore, the coming century to be the Age of Wood? At first our pride rebelled against the thought, but on mature examination, we not only became convinced ourselves, but we think we can convince our readers that such will indeed be the case. Let us to our task.

Wood in its crude state, as hewn from the forests, or in its more elaborate condition as worked up into infinitely varied forms by the tools of the artisan and of the artist, had already been in use for ages before the "Father of History" was rocked to chronological dreams in his wooden cradle. From the first wooden fork and spoon, to the wooden



ships that have ploughed every sea and breasted the billows of every ocean is a long, long stretch, and one would think that in so long a time no possible use for the material could have been forgotten. But it is not of the uses of wood in its natural state that we are to speak at present; that part of the subject has been pretty well threshed out by others already.

Our object is to record something not absolutely new, it is true, but still newer than carpentry, and far less known. We are going to speak of the means that have been devised during these latter years of treating wood so as practically to change its nature, and make of it, as it were, a new substance, and thus render it suitable for a number of purposes, for which, before such treatment, it was totally unfit. The general treatment is quite simple and easily understood, but the details are very numerous, and vary greatly according to the uses for which the material is ultimately intended. Sometimes, moreover, these details are carefully guarded as trade secrets.

The general treatment to which we refer consists in reducing the wood to the condition of a smooth pulp. There are two methods of doing this, the mechanical and the chemical. The mechanical process consists in grinding the wood to a fine powder in the presence of plenty of water. In the chemical process the wood is disintegrated and reduced to pure fibre by boiling it in caustic soda. The material obtained by this second process differs somewhat from that obtained by grinding, and is technically termed "wood-fibre," but the general name "wood-pulp" is a sufficient designation for both kinds. This wood-pulp is the basis, or raw material, for a considerable number of more or less important industries, and their number is continually increasing. The subsequent treatment of the pulp in detail depends on the object which the manufacturer has in view.

In the January number of this REVIEW we mentioned the employment of wood-pulp for the manufacture of artificial silk, and it seems that the industry is in quite a flourishing condition, especially in France. We hope to see it better known and more extended in the near future.

Another use for wood-pulp, and one which has only quite lately been brought to light, is for the production of lining for carpets. It is a popular fallacy, shared in by many who in other things have plenty of knowledge to spare, and who keep it always on tap, that all, or nearly all, inventions and discoveries have been the result of lucky accidents. The fact is that most of them have been about as accidental as the solution of a problem in geometry. The inventions of Mr. Edison, for example, for which he has taken out 711 patents in the last 25 years—thus averaging more than one every two weeks—were all arrived at by hard thinking and persevering experimentation on definite, self-imposed problems. But let that pass; for we know, at any rate, that this new application of wood-pulp has by no means been the outcome of chance.

Everybody knows that the hard canvas lining of carpets will cause them to wear out rapidly when they are laid directly on the bare floor. Hence the practice of underlaying them with some yielding material,

such as cotton batting, or the like. Even this does not preserve its elasticity very long, but soon gets hard, especially in those spots where it is most trampled on. Moreover, even this half-measure cannot be resorted to when carpets are used as they regularly ought to be—that is, in isolated strips, here and there, where really needed, and where alone they do any positive good, without at the same time doing positive harm. Knowing these things, some one, whose name unhappily we have not learned, conceived the bright idea of making an elastic backing a part of the carpet itself.

Knowing also that the properties of wood-pulp can be very closely regulated by proper admixtures and manipulations, he set to work to experiment. He reasoned that, to be elastic, the carpet lining must be made porous. This end he accomplished by incorporating with the pulp, at the proper stage of its manufacture, some albuminous substance, which could be made to ferment and give off carbonic acid, and so produce the same effect that is produced in the raising of dough. He knew also that the lining must be insoluble, firm and durable, and, withal, pliable. These properties are secured by the admixture of well-known hardening chemicals, such as bichromate of potash, alum, etc., in exactly the correct proportions. He reasoned again that it would be desirable to have his carpet lining proof against moths and other insects, and therefore incorporated into the pulp such substances as asafoetida, camphor and chicle. He has even gone so far as to perfume the pulp with monobromated camphor and menthol. Concerning this last point, though we agree with the poet (revised edition) that

“A little perfume now and then  
Is relished by the most of men,”

yet for everyday wear the best of all perfumes is no perfume at all.

Well, having added to the pulp all the necessary ingredients that experiment and experience have shown to be good and desirable, and all in the very best proportions, the manufacturer works the whole mass, through a system of cylinders and pipes, over and over again, until it is perfectly homogeneous and exactly of the right consistence. When applied to the carpet the liquid portion of the mixture evaporates and leaves behind a firm and firmly-adhering, pliable, durable, noise-destroying, elastic backing. It will be a pleasure ever after for grown people to walk on it, and generations yet unborn will in after life look back and bless the happy days they spent in the nursery whose hemlock or glass floor was covered with such an ideal carpeting.

The two uses just enumerated for wood-pulp are good enough in their somewhat limited ways, but are much less important than its use for the manufacture of paper. All of us who are on this side of fifty remember the time when paper for writing and printing was made exclusively from cotton or linen rags. A cheap kind of wrapping-paper was, indeed, made from straw, but it was a marvel of uselessness.

Nowadays, in this country at least, by far the greater part of all our paper is made from wood-pulp. The poorer grades, such as are used for



newspapers, is from the pulp made by the grinding process; the better grades, those used for writing and for good book-work, from the chemically prepared stuff. It is not our purpose to describe the details of paper-making. Suffice it to say, in this place, that the introduction of wood-pulp as a basis for paper and the recent improvements in machinery have resulted in a great increase of speed in the manufacture, a great amelioration in the quality, and a reduction of at least fifty per cent. in the price. Whereas, in the earlier machines, a speed producing forty linear feet of paper per minute was the maximum, the perfected American machines of to-day frequently reach two hundred and fifty feet per minute, and even more.

We have not at hand the latest reports of the paper trade, but it is certainly within the mark to say that the number of pulp-mills and paper-mills in the United States at the present time is fully 1,200, employing about 50,000 hands, and turning out yearly about 1,500,000 tons of paper, valued at over \$100,000,000. It may also be worth while to put on record, in this connection, that a firm in the State of Maine, called the Rumford Falls Paper Company, is just adding to its plant a new machine which is the largest in the world. It weighs 1,200,000 pounds, or 600 tons, and is capable of producing a roll of paper 12½ feet wide and of any length at the astonishing rate of 500 linear feet per minute, or in a complete day of 24 hours it will turn out 9,000,000 square feet. The paper manufactured by this machine, in a year of 300 working days, would, therefore, cover a surface of nearly 62,000 acres.

In the days of Pliny, paper made from the pith of the papyrus plant had a maximum width of 9½ inches, and yet he says: "On the use of paper depends in a very great degree human culture and the memory of the past." And again: "On paper depends man's immortality." What a vast amount of culture there must be among us now!

Finally, an indirect way of making use of wood-pulp is by first putting it into the form of paper, then reducing that back to the state of a stiff pulp again, mixing it with some adhesive material, moulding it under strong pressure into various forms, and then coating it with some protective varnish, such as asphalt, or ornamenting it with various pigments. The material thus produced is termed *papier-maché*. It is extensively used in the manufacture of boxes, snuff-boxes included, trays, toys, interior decorations of houses, in imitation of stucco-work, for cornices, ceilings, and even walls. Likewise for making water-buckets, bottles, barrels, boats, car-wheels, etc., almost to no end. All the things we have enumerated from the beginning, and hundreds of others besides, come ultimately from the trees of our forests, and we therefore do not think it too much to claim that the twentieth century ought to be called the Age of Wood. What else the next century may have in store for our successors on this ever-shifting stage, finite intelligence will seek in vain to foretell.

T. J. A. FREEMAN, S. J.



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INSTITUTIONES THEOLOGICÆ DOGMATICÆ. Auctore *Petro Einig, D.D.* Tract. de  
Deo Uno et Trino. Treviris, Ex-officina ad S. Paulinum. 1897. Pr. 2.80 marks.

The closing decades of our century bid fair to rival in fertility of theological literature the prolific years of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The yield of works on dogmatic science has in recent times been truly wonderful, and though the product may not be compared for breadth and depth with the giant tomes of the classical age of theology, still the present literature of the subject reflects a marked rigidity of method and a special adaptation in selection of details to contemporary phases of science and philosophy. Some even professional students of theology question the utility of the increasing multiplication of texts of theology. Works of this kind cover practically the same subject-matter, and exhibit little variation in method of exposition, so that if one were to take a mere utilitarian view of the subject there would indeed appear no tangible plea to favor the increasing supply that would seem to be running beyond an answering demand. On the other hand, it should be remembered that theology more than any other science is a living habit. Vitalized in the mind of its possessor, it must ever keep adjusting itself to its environment, assimilating herefrom new points of view from which to regard its aggregate of truths, seeking for fresh analogies to illustrate those truths and to bring them home to the consciousness of the student. The sum total of growth which any one theologian may add to his science may not lend itself to exact measurement, but the multiplying products from so many sources are a sign of vigorous life and analogous to the contemporary development of the literature of physical science make steadily for the broadening and deepening of theological truth directly amongst professional students, seminarians, and the clergy—and indirectly amongst the laity.

Some such general remarks have seemed almost necessary to the present writer as a sort of apology for introducing several recent text-books on dogmatics in the wake of the oft-repeated appearances of similar works in these pages.

To the first work on our list a passing reference was made in the January issue of this REVIEW. In the meantime Father Tepe's "Institutiones" has been commented on by the higher Catholic periodicals in Europe and in this country, and from every quarter has received high encomia. One need read but little in any of its four volumes to find a justification of this universal approbation. Embodying as the work does the substance of instruction in dogmatic theology, given by the author during the last quarter of a century, to the scholastics of the English province of the Society of Jesus, one naturally expects to find in it those perfections which adapt it thoroughly to its purpose as a guide to the candidate for the priesthood. One estimates a work of its character by its possession

of these well-marked qualities. Firstly, it should present its subject-matter with such fullness as to afford the student a complete survey of dogmatic truths, with the apposite arguments clearly and solidly expounded whereon such truths are based. Secondly, it should enable the student to become sufficiently familiar with the questions freely agitated in theological schools, so that he may unerringly discern the limits of faith and certainty on the one side and the outlying domain of opinion and varying degrees of probability on the other. Thirdly, it should marshal fully and cogently and refute convincingly the leading objections made against the dogmata of the Church, especially in our day.

Judged by these criteria, Father Tepe's work deserves strong commendation. In the four compact volumes, averaging more than seven hundred pages each, sufficient space has been allowed for a comprehensive exposition of dogmatic teaching. In the unfolding of this content the usual method of the schools has, of course, been rigidly followed—the theses, state of the question, the arguments from the various sources forming the closely-linked chain with which every student of theology is familiar. In the development of the arguments the author's theological habit is seen to advantage. The scriptural texts are not simply cited and allowed to impress their implications in the student's mind. The author is careful to bring out by an acute and sustained dialectic the real inwardness of the inspired passage and its bearing on the pertinent theses.

The second and, we may conjoin, the third excellence of the work are apparent in the careful segregation of the positive teaching of the Church from the counter-attacks of heresy and infidelity on the one hand and the controversies of the schools on the other. The numerous scholia appended to the central theses offer the appropriate places for these conflicts and side-issues. Thus the student is not carried away from what is essential to the theological habit to what is at most but of secondary importance.

The second work on our list covers the same ground as the preceding, though in a somewhat more synoptical fashion. The compression in bulk has, however, sacrificed nothing essential to comprehensive treatment. The curtailment is done chiefly in the Patristic and Conciliar citations. The specially noteworthy feature of P. Herrmann's "Institutiones" lies in the use he has made of St. Alphonsus. St. Thomas has, of course, been in the main the author's guide and source of material, but he appeals largely to St. Ligouri as an exponent of the Angelic Doctor. Students who are familiar with the writings of St. Alphonsus in moral theology alone are not aware of the rich dogmatic material contained in his many works. It is, however, to this characteristic of his works that Pius IX. appeals in his brief conceding the title of doctor to the saint: *Hoc prædicare veriissime potest, nullum esse vev temporum nostrorum errorem qui maxima saltem ex-parte non sit ab Alphonso refutatus.*

It might be interesting to compare the unity in variety exhibited by the two works under notice, in a question such as the Mosaic cosmogony. In both one sees the large liberty enjoyed by theologians on this subject. Father Tepe, for instance, gives his authority to the opinion which regards the Genesiacal days as ideal rather than as physical—as indicating, that is, degrees in the cosmical process at which there occurred special intervention of Divine Providence in bringing about a higher stage of development. Father Herrmann makes no express mention of this view, but whilst showing some preference for the period theory emphasizes the fact that the literal interpretation has not been as yet apodictically refuted. Neither author makes any concessions to transform-



ism. Father Tepe regards the proposition that denies the evolution of Adam's body from a brute organism as *de fide*. P. Herrmann says: *alii eam dicunt de fide, alii tantum certam vel fidei proximam*.

A few words in conclusion on the third work on our list. We have in a previous number of this REVIEW spoken of the first of Prof. Einig's Theological Tractates—that, viz., dealing with Grace. It is the author's design to publish singly the integral tracts of his course of theology delivered by him during the past ten years in the diocesan seminary of Treves. The present treatise on the Unity and Trinity of God is the second to appear in the order of publication. Like the preceding, it reflects the qualities that make the serviceable text-book—comprehensiveness of material, lucidity of definition, solidity and yet brevity of exposition. The author has not only drawn extensively from St. Thomas, but has assimilated much of the speculative spirit of the Angelic Doctor. He accordingly makes considerable use of the *rationes theologicae* taken from the Summa, frequently assigning to them the first place in the order of his arguments.

We notice that in the first part of his tract Dr. Einig has had his eyes on the Ritschlian theology. In this respect the work should have a special interest for students of theology in Germany. F. P. S.

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PRIMER OF PHILOSOPHY. By Dr. Paul Carus. Revised edition. Chicago: Open Court Pub. Co. Pp. vi., 232.

It is difficult to judge this book impartially. The author shows such an oracular spirit, such a gentlemen-you-are-all-wrong-and-I-am-going-to-set-you-right sort of an attitude, that one has to brace himself up and steady his arm with determination before he places the book in the scale of justice, lest he unconsciously tilt the balance too much on the adverse side. Having gotten ourselves in as equal-minded a state as possible, let us weigh the work as fairly as we can. And first it deserves an allowance of praise. *Apriori*, its origin ought to favor it. Dr. Carus is well known in the United States, particularly in Chicago, as editor of the "Monist," a quarterly review devoted to philosophy, religion, science and sociology, and also as editor of the "Open Court," a weekly publication, the leading feature of whose program is this: "The 'Open Court' does not understand by religion any creed or dogmatic belief, but man's world-conception in so far as it regulates his conduct. The old dogmatic conception of religion is based upon the science of past ages (sic ?); to base religion upon the matured and truest thought of the present time is the object of the 'Open Court.'" Now, any one who has followed these publications during the past six years is aware how indefatigably their editor has labored to fulfil their program. Besides his uncounted contributions to these periodicals, Dr. Carus has written many books on cognate lines. All this experience of things philosophical should certainly qualify him to produce a primer of philosophy—a task, let it however be noted, by the way, more difficult of proper accomplishment than the writing of a small library—especially when the term is taken in the sense defined by our author—not, that is, as a book of instruction for "beginners in philosophy" (though he regards it as "eminently available for that purpose"), but "a presentation of the subject in the plainest and most lucid form . . . with great simplicity, so that its leading idea can be gathered by a mere glance at its contents."

As an adjunct to his experience in kindred lines of thought, Dr. Carus brings to his present task a most earnest zeal for the advancement of philosophy. He bewails the present decadence of philosophy, which, he



says, "is like a ship run aground. Her helmsmen themselves have declared that further headway is impossible; that philosophical problems in their very nature are insolvable, and that there can be, therefore, but one true philosophy—the philosophy of agnosticism, which indolently acquiesces in the profession of a modest *ignorabinus*. It is but natural that under such circumstances the proud craft was abandoned by the most gallant of her crew" (iv.). "Philosophy in former ages boldly led the van of human progress, but it has now ceased to be considered of any practical importance. The public smile sarcastically at the perplexities of its hopeless condition, and the scientist has got into the habit of ignoring it entirely. And why should he not? Philosophy has become more of a hindrance than a help to him, blockading his way and spreading a mist before his eyes. Thus, to the detriment of true science, the sciences have gradually degenerated into mere specialties; with their philosophical background the various branches of scientific inquiry have lost all intercoherence and deeper significances" (*ib.*).

This is all truly and strongly said, and none will refuse to mingle their tears with those of Dr. Carus over the decline and fall of philosophy. But we are aroused to a new hope and fervor by the manly tone of our leader: "All this must change," he cries. "A new vista is opened before our eyes in which philosophy will become what it ought to be. Philosophy is no longer doomed to lie in the stagnant swamps where progress has become impossible, but strikes out boldly for new fields of noble work and practical usefulness" (*ib.*). If to the subjective merits—experience and zeal in the author—we seek to add another title in which to commend the book itself, we may find such in the fragments of tangible thought scattered here and there over the pages. Reading the book, it is true, is rather tedious, unhelpful placer-mining. Still one picks up here and there a nugget worth the keeping. The style is sententious, and the epigrams that abound are often suggestive.

To this triplet of commendatory titles we can add but one more to round off an harmonious quartette, viz.: the natural make-up of the book. The arrangement of the subjects is orderly, the paper good, the letter-press clear and attractive. With this we have exhausted the category of praise, and would fain stop right here. Our readers, however, may be desirous of having some specimens of the author's philosophy. There is such vagueness of thought pervading the chapters whose titles would lead one to expect clean-cut philosophical analysis that we must confine ourselves to the author's definitions, for they, above all logical processes, are indexes of a mind's grasp of objects. *Imagination* the author defines as "The free play of ideas of that quality of thinking beings which allows images or ideas to enter into all possible combinations" (p. 193). "*Intellect* is the presence of such conditions as make cognition possible" (p. 194). "*Reason* is (1) that quality of sentient beings which make thought operations possible. . . (2) The method of thinking, the purpose of which is the economy of thought" (*ib.*).

"*Thought* or thinking is the interaction that takes place among sentient symbols" (192). "*Soul* is the name given to the system of sentient symbols as a totality" (*ib.*). "By *person* we understand the totality of the memory-structures and composite images interrelated among each other in an individual organism" (p. 191).

From these definitions the reader will easily infer the author's point of view, which, as he says, "is new to the extent that it cannot be classified among any of the various schools of recent thought. It represents rather a reconciliation of rival philosophies of the type of Kantian apriorism and John Stuart Mill's empiricism. The reconciliation reached disposes for good of a number of fundamental problems," etc. (p. 3.)

Dr. Carus devotes the latter portion of his book to religion. His definition of religion is marked by the individuality which characterizes his philosophical conceptions. "Religion," he says, "is not identical with science; religion is the enthusiasm of applying that knowledge, of whose truth and potency we are unwaveringly convinced, to practical life. . . . Science is of the head, religion of the heart" (p. 207).

Christianity, we are informed, is of two kinds: "The one is the spirit of the lesson taught mankind in the life and death of Christ, the other is a church organization which historically originated with Jesus and claims that the acceptance of certain dogmas is the indispensable condition of salvation. The former is the very soul of civilization, the latter an embarrassing dead weight on the feet of mankind, obstructing all progress and higher development" (p. 196). Our Lord "has nowhere, so far as our maturest biblical criticism can pierce, established any dogma" (p. 206). "To look upon prayer in any other light than as a self-discipline is to share the superstition of the medicine-man who still believes in the spells by which he thinks to change the course of nature" (p. 202).

Does the "Religion of Science" commit its followers to such *dogmata*?  
F. P. S.

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LA FRANCE ET LE GRAND SCHISME D'OCCIDENT. Par *Noel Valois*. Vol. I.-II. Paris: Alphonse Picard et Fils, 82 Rue Bonaparte. 1896.

A new treatise on the thorny subject of the Great Schism of the West from the pen of the conscientious and erudite M. Valois is a veritable literary treasure; and the present reviewer has perused his latest and most valuable contribution towards the clearing up of one of the most troublesome of historical questions all the more eagerly because when we ourselves ventured, some years ago, to tell the story of the origin of the Schism, or rather to point out that the story as commonly told ought to be received with considerable caution, we found ourselves opposed by the authority of the great name of Valois. And now, after so many years of additional study and research, the illustrious French writer states his verdict upon the evidence in terms almost identical with those employed by us. On page 82 of his first volume, after a remarkably able sifting of the testimonies of Urbanists and Clementines, he sums up: "Il en résulte que la question est loin d'être aussi simple que le prétendent, d'une part, les défenseurs des papes de Rome, d'autre part, les partisans des papes d'Avignon." He pronounces the legitimacy of the opposing claimants a "question encore douteuse," concerning which "l'Eglise s'est toujours abstenue de trancher la question." He maintains with us that "la neutralité que l'Eglise gardait dans ce débat laissait libre carrière aux erudits" (p. 4).

Our own deliberate opinion on the juridical aspect of the question has always been that the violence of the populace was sufficient to affect the validity of the election of Urban, but that the subsequent action of the cardinals in adhering for months to one whom, without any co-operation on his part, they had chosen as the only available candidate, abundantly healed all the illegalities of the proceedings. But we give this opinion for what it is worth, and are far from wishing to dogmatize or to restrict the liberty of others.

The violent scenes enacted at Rome during the conclave of 1378 were by no means a novelty in the turbulent capital of the Christian world. Other conclaves had been accompanied with similar or greater disturbances. That which gave to this conclave its fatal importance was the firm determination of Christendom, and particularly of the



French nation, to finish, once for all, the unruly interference of the Roman mob in the election of the Supreme Pontiffs. The sojourn of the Popes in Avignon, far from lowering the prestige of the Papacy, had vastly increased its dignity in the eyes of the European nations, as it had permitted them to study it at closer range and to gain a more vivid realization of its immense influence for good upon the public life of the world. No one was more keenly sensible of the importance of the Papacy than the sage and religious monarch, Charles V. of France, who from the beginning was looked upon as the mainstay of the seceding cardinals. Rinaldi and other historians who based their judgment on the vehement diatribes of Urban have not hesitated to accuse Charles of having, for selfish political purposes, fomented the whole disturbance. M. Valois, following the course of events step by step with microscopic diligence, seems to have established beyond doubt the following facts: That Charles was nowise responsible for the initial steps of the cardinals, who proceeded on their reckless course of appealing to Christendom and electing Clement VII. without his knowledge, much less instigation; that he was, at an early date, prejudiced by the cardinals, who were more active than Urban in setting their version of the story before the French monarch and enlisting his sympathies; that Charles was personally convinced of the justness of the claims made by the Sacred College, and esteemed it his duty as a Catholic monarch to lend them the full support of his realm. His protestation that, had the Cardinals legally elected even an Englishman, one of his inveterate foes, he would be the foremost in yielding him homage and obedience, manifests the attitude of his mind, and proves that he was only unconsciously biased by national sympathies and antipathies. However disastrous, therefore, the decision and consequent conduct of Charles may have been, we are compelled to give him credit for good faith and purity of intention.

The remaining part of Valois' first volume, and the whole of the second, are devoted to an equally careful and impartial study of the progress of the Schism within and outside the realm of France, with special reference to the countries which were most subject to French influence. Without any further words of commendation from us, the work will be cordially welcomed by all those who are interested in original historical research.

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"LES SAINTS : " PSYCHOLOGIE DES SAINTS. Par *Henri Joly*. Paris: Victor Lecoffre. 1897. Pp. ix. 201. Price, 2 francs.

Most readers familiar with hagiography have felt the injustice of Mgr. Dupanloup's criticism—"Il y a bien peu de vies de saints écrites comme elles devraient l'être." How such lives should be written no one has better described than the same eminent critic. The biographer must love his subject—must devote to it a thorough study in its sources and contemporary documents—must picture the soul of the saint in its struggles, in the interrelations of nature and grace—must tell the story with simplicity, truth, dignity, with insight into such detail of life as shall make the saint and his times stand out in relief, yet not so as to hide the personage behind the collateral facts of history and to take second rank in the narrative—must present authentic facts, yet artistically grouped and disposed in that judicious order which illumines the whole drama of the saint's life; the style must be simple, grave, and yet penetrating and moving. These are the qualifications Mgr. Dupanloup demands of the hagiographer. They are found verified in such biographies as Montalambert's *St. Elizabeth*, Fouard's *St. Peter and St. Paul*,



Le Monier's St. Francis of Assissi, Bougaud's St. Monica and St. Jane Francis, Miss Drane's St. Dominic and St. Catharine of Sienna, to mention but a few of the better known works of the class. Biographies, however, such as these are all too extensive to meet the wants and tastes of the majority of readers. In view of this fact, an undertaking has been inaugurated in France to issue a series of lives of the more prominent saints written on the lines drawn by Mgr. Dupanloup. The author of the work here at hand is editor-in-chief of the series, and has secured as collaborators many of the most eminent writers amongst the clergy and the laity of France.

His "Psychology of the Saints" furnishes a solid introduction to the series, of which, by the way, four volumes have thus far been issued—Sts. Augustine, Clotilde, St. Augustine of Canterbury, and the Bl. Bernardine de Feltre.

M. Joly opens his work with an inductive study of the conception of sanctity in the light of its history, especially in the Old and the New Testaments and in the bosom of the Church. He compares the conception with that of the hero and the mystic—the outcome of his analysis being the true definition of the saint: "Un homme qui sert Dieu héroïquement et par amour."

The psychological work proper begins with the second chapter, by a search into the natural endowments of the saint, showing how they subside and develop under the action of supernatural grace. The author examines the various theories that have been advanced by modern unbelief to account for the extraordinary phenomena in the lives of the saints—their revelations, visions, prophecies, ecstasies. These phenomena he proves to be explicable by no abnormal state of the nervous system. They differ essentially from their natural analogues, clairvoyance, telepathy, hysteria, etc. Lastly, he subjects to a detailed review the various psychic faculties of the saint under the influence of grace—the senses, imagination, intellect, the feelings, and especially the will dominated by love.

In following this surface current of the author's thought the reader may be tempted to regard the work as touching close upon the irreverent. Psychological analysis of an heroic soul quivering under the life of divine grace does indeed appear a hazardous work, whose promise would seem to be merited failure at best. It looks like bringing to the scales of earth the things of heaven. This, however, is not the impression the intelligent student will take from the book itself. The author is conscious of the delicacy of his task. Whilst analyzing the human faculties of the elect of God he is alive to the transcendent influence of the Holy Spirit breathing into and through the subject under dissection. Indeed the whole scope of his work is to establish this presence of the supernatural, and viewed from this standpoint it serves to strengthen the apologetic argument for the divine origin and maintenance of the spouse who alone is the fruitful mother of the heroes of sanctity.

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LEO XIII. AND MODERN CIVILIZATION. By *J. Bleeker Miller*, of the New York Bar. New York: Eskdale Press.

J. Bleeker Miller, Esq., a hardy, if not illustrious, member of the New York bar, has undertaken, in the absence of more remunerative labors, the task of demolishing Pope Leo and the Roman Catholic Church, all in a duodecimo volume of 185 pages. He has no apprehension as to his qualifications for the feat; for by the extreme courtesy of His Grace Archbishop Corrigan, of New York, who (to borrow one

of his classical terms) "loaned" him a copy of the "Metaphysics of the School" by "the Jesuit Father Harper," and likewise a "publication containing the official text of the writings of Leo XIII.," our valiant champion was fully armed. It was just as well that he did not waste his time over a multitude of controversial folios. This would have distracted his attention from the main issue. By a close study of the Pope's Encyclicals, illumined by the able work of Harper, the New York barrister was enabled to discover Rome's radical error. All glory to the New York bar! One of its lights has flooded Romanism with a single word, *Peripateticism*! Why were Protestants so slow in discovering the true source of Roman corruption? It was clear to demonstration. Pope Leo has been corrupted by "the Aquinate," who, in turn, was perverted by "the heathen Aristotle." Read Harper and the Pope's Encyclicals, and you will understand it all. For this brilliant discovery the name of J. Bleeker Miller, Esq., New York bar, will go rumbling down the pages of history as that of the social Columbus of modern times.

Possibly some of our readers have not fully appreciated the magnitude of Mr. Miller's discovery. In a nutshell it is this: Aristotle taught "that all motion must come from above." The *primum mobile* sets the whole universe a-going. This is truly alarming, even in the physical world. But when transferred to science and human society it becomes positively atrocious, "for it is by analogy to this alleged universal principle that the dependence of the individual, family, guild, and state (in short, of all laymen) upon the priesthood, and of the latter upon the papacy, is proved." And, since our barrister is eminently of a practical turn of mind, he wants to know "will Roman Catholic schools make good citizens?"

The quarrel, then, as Mr. Miller apprehends it, is not so much between Pope Leo and modern civilization as between the latter and Aristotle, against whom our amusing barrister harbors a resentment bordering on insanity. It is a pity that the Sage of Stagira or his admirer, "the Aquinate," could not give our author a lesson or two in a more elementary science than "misty metaphysics," namely, logic.

We should not have deemed this book worthy of a serious notice were it not accompanied with commendatory words from so eminent personages as the Episcopal bishops of New York and Albany. In the estimation of Bishop Potter, "it is a very timely and suggestive book, not merely because it traces the principles of a great ecclesiastical policy to its pagan source, but because it reveals the hostility of that policy to American ideals, whether of the state, the family, or the freedom of the individual. It is a book for statesmen, for workingmen, for parents, for all loyal citizens to read and ponder," etc., etc. Bishop Doane commends its "startling and important facts to the attentive study of our citizens." When two responsible churchmen can lend the authority of their approval to a rhapsody like this, why need we wonder at the extravagances of the common herd? And what becomes of the jejune prattle about "Reunion of Christians?"

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ANSWER TO DIFFICULTIES OF THE BIBLE. By Rev. John Thein, Priest of the Cleveland Diocese, Author of "Christian Anthropology." St. Louis: B. Herder.

The appearance some years since of the work entitled "Christian Anthropology," from the pen of Father Thein, prepared all who may have read it to welcome any contribution of his to the never-ceasing discussion of burning questions in the realm of theology and philoso-



phy. The volume whose title is given above will justify the expectations entertained. As the title indicates, the work is a defence of the Holy Scriptures against the attacks of Rationalism. To the openly-declared purpose of the latter to discredit every vestige of the supernatural, Father Thein throws down the gauntlet, while he stoutly beats back, with weapons forged by geology, biology, palæontology, ethnology and profane history the attacks made by infidel philosophy upon the Bible verities.

As a work to be read by those who take it up in the spirit of that obedience of faith commended by the Apostle, it will prove a valuable and satisfactory commentary upon obscure and disputed portions of the Holy Text. What the author states in the initial chapter is undoubtedly true: "The most efficacious means to dispel the clouds which gather around our Sacred Books is not to carry therein the flame of discussion. . . . Men cannot resist the divine charm of the words of Jesus Christ when they are upright enough to impose silence upon their prejudices."

The truth of this statement, however, suggests what we think is perhaps disappointing in the work itself—probably because the task of discussing the difficulties of the Bible is too gigantic an achievement for a volume of the modest character of the one before us. The treatment of the questions at issue between the believer and the rationalist will in few cases avail to convince, or even to silence, the latter. In illustration, one might turn to the chapter on the Book of Jonas. The history of the prophet is a frequent target for the attack of those who would discredit the Bible. Father Thein first quotes instances of modern date to show the possibility, from a natural standpoint, of a great fish having swallowed the prophet alive, while he closes the chapter with a statement, covered by only two or three lines, that the presence for three days of Jonas within the fish can be accounted for only by recurrence to a miracle. To the critical reader, there is a puzzling confounding of the natural and the supernatural. The obvious explanation of this defect is the necessity the author writes under of consulting for a literal interpretation; but this merely confirms our judgment that a book of this kind, while eminently useful for the well-disposed reader of the Bible, whose *pia credulitas* will avail more for attainment of truth than pages of polemics and exegesis, will hardly take a prominent place in the mass of controversial works, the product of the relentless warfare between faith and unbelief.

Here and there are evidences of unfamiliarity with English idioms, but these to no great extent retard flow of style, much less mar its clearness.

To the student of Holy Scripture whose primary object in exegetical work is to discern the baseless character of the assaults made against the Word of God, and whose aim is to dispel any obscurity that may rest upon the truths he holds *aliunde*, Father Thein's work will prove a treasury of valuable facts and extensive erudition not heretofore open to the English reader. As such we cordially welcome it and bespeak its use, especially in the reading circles which follow biblical study as a line of work.

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PURCELL'S "MANNING" REFUTED. Life of Cardinal Manning, with a critical examination of E. S. Purcell's Mistakes. By *Francis de Pressensé*, a French Protestant. Translated by Francis T. Furey, A.M. 12mo., pp. 214. Philadelphia: John Jos. McVey. 1897.

When Cardinal Manning died, on January 14, 1892, the world wept because one of the greatest men of the nineteenth century had passed



away. Intellectually and morally he was a giant. As priest, as cardinal, as philanthropist, as Christian socialist, his individuality has stamped itself upon the century, and he has taken his place forever in the gallery of its great men.

This was the opinion of the world that wept at his bier. The world of London, which assembled in the Brompton Oratory, and which crowded the streets through which his body was borne to its last resting-place, included all classes. The rich, the educated, the refined, the powerful; the poor, the ignorant, the crude, the weak—all bent their heads in sorrow and gave voice to the verdict of the larger world, "he was truly a great priest." The world is jealous of its heroes. It erects monuments to them of bronze and marble, and enshrines their images in the hearts of the people. He is indeed a daring man who attempts to cast down these monuments and to despoil these shrines. Woe to him if he act from malice or ignorance, for in him one is scarcely more pardonable than the other.

Hardly had the emaciated form of the Cardinal been laid to rest when Mr. E. S. Purcell mounted his tomb and said: He was not a giant, he was a pigmy. See, here is his true portrait. He was proud, unyielding, ambitious; a schemer, a politician; one who loved power, distinction, honor, and would sacrifice others to gain them. These, said this trumpeter, are the proofs. And then he placed before the world a mass of so-called evidence, made up of letters, public and private, leaves from diaries, contemporaneous documents, histories of kindred events drawn from various sources, all so clumsily put together as to create the impression that they had been carried to the printing-office in a basket and put into type at random. Behold, said Mr. Purcell, as he drew aside the veil, behold the true Manning! Are canvas and paint the only requisites for a portrait? Does he who places the colors on the canvas so as to produce the features of a man set before us the likeness of an individual? Should not the true artist study anatomy, drawing, color, light? Should he not be a master of expression? Should he not know how to distinguish between those passing shadows on the faces of men that indicate conquered passions and that habitual cast of the features in repose that tells of the calm, virtuous soul? He who has not these qualifications should not touch brush or pen. Mr. Francis de Pressensé says that Mr. Purcell does not possess them, and therefore he should never have attempted to write the biography of Cardinal Manning.

The author of this refutation is a Frenchman, a Protestant, and the son of a Calvinist minister. He is certainly entirely disinterested, and writes from the pure motive of telling the truth.

This book is divided into three parts, consisting of an "Introduction," and treating of "Manning as an Anglican," and "Manning as a Catholic."

It is very interesting to all who wish to know the real Manning. Mr. Furey has very successfully introduced the French author to English readers, and the publisher has brought the book from the press in most becoming form.

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PRIMAUTE DE SAINT JOSEPH D'APRES L'EPISCOPAT CATHOLIQUE ET LA THEOLOGIE.  
Par C. M., *Prof. de Theologie*. Paris: Victor Lecoffre, Rue Bonaparte, 90.  
1897. Pp. 513. Price, 6 francs.

One of the signs of the continuous adjustment to the social needs of humanity in the devotional life of the Church is the growing and deepening veneration paid by her children everywhere to the Holy Family,

and particularly to its human head, St. Joseph. How devotion to the foster father of Jesus Christ and the spouse of Mary develops and preserves the true ideal of family life—how it binds husband and wife and child into the closest union of a real home, no one with Christian instincts can fail to recognize. At a time, therefore, when this ideal is more and more disappearing from society, and respect for family ties is steadily diminishing, it is significant of the divine providence governing the Church that she should turn the minds and hearts of her children constantly, lovingly and actively to the true ideal of the family as reflected in the home of Joseph, the carpenter of Nazareth. The literature tending to foster the devotion to St. Joseph is not meagre, particularly in the various European languages, but the work here at hand is an addition thereto of quite a unique character. No devotion can solidly thrive and fruit unless it strike its roots deep into dogmatic truth. The appearance, therefore, of a work of this kind is a healthy sign of the strength and promise of endurance of the growing cult paid to St. Joseph, for the one purpose of the book is to unfold the theological principles in which that cult is rooted. The treatise falls, according to its title, into two main divisions. The first, on the Primacy of St. Joseph according to the teaching of the chief pastors of the Church, presents the conciliar and extra-conciliar acts of the universal Catholic episcopate, and of the sovereign pontiffs on this head. All this furnishes a basis for the succeeding theological argument. The second, and by far the larger part of the work (pp. 61-510), is taken up with an analysis of the theological principles bearing upon the paternity, dignity and sanctity of St. Joseph, his relation as spouse to Mary, his ministerial office, and the worship accorded him by the Church. The principles at the root of the three subjects are gathered, of course, from the Gospels, and unfolded in the light of ecclesiastical tradition. The work is not an aggregate of sermons, in the ordinary sense of this term, but a series of interconnected essays in which the doctrine of the Incarnation and the truths of ascetical theology are systematically expounded in their bearing on the primacy of St. Joseph. One who reads the book carefully will realize that much more is knowable about the head of the Holy Family than lies on the surface of the Gospel record. The deeper meaning and far-reaching consequences of the sacred texts are here brought out, and in such matters it is the *non multa sed multum* which has highest value.

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THE PROPHETS OF ISRAEL. Popular Sketches from Old Testament History. By Carl Heinrich Cornill, D.D. Translated by Sutton F. Corkran. Second edit. Chicago: The Open Court Publ. Co. 1897. Pp. xiv., 194. Pr. .25.

Prof. Cornill holds the chair of Old Testament history in the University of Königsburg. Though an "orthodox Christian," in the sense in which the qualification is taken in Germany, he is a worker in the fields of the "Higher Criticism," and in his present popular lectures on the Prophets of Israel has embodied the theories of Wellhausen, Kuenen, Duhm, and others of like tendencies. He writes reverently and with high admiration of the prophetic office, which, however, he deprives of its main supernatural function. The term prophet is ordinarily used of "one who predicts the future"—and the history of the Old Testament confirms this acceptation. "But, however widespread this view may be, and however generally the interpretation be accepted, it is nevertheless incorrect and in nowise just to the character and to the importance of the Israelitish prophecy" (p. 5). Though Prof. Cornill does not ex-



PLICITLY deny the popularly—we would prefer the traditionally—recognized element of prophecy, the inference from his etymology of the Hebrew *nabi* as synonymous with the Greek conception of *προφήτης*—that is, a messenger or an interpreter of the divine commands—practically ignores the element of prediction in prophetism.

Other traces of the results of the "Higher Criticism" are visible in his denial of the Mosaic authorship of the Ten Commandments, which latter he claims "were written in the first half of the seventh century, between 700 and 650 B. C." (p. 17), in his assertion of the Canaanitic origin of the Sabbath, but especially in his extremely positive pronouncement concerning the authorship of the latter portion of the Book of Isaiah. "It is now *generally admitted*," he says, "and may be regarded as one of the best established results of Old Testament research, that the portion of our present Book of Isaiah, which embraces Chapters 40 to 66, did not emanate from the prophet Isaiah known to us, but is the work of an *unknown prophet of the period towards the end of the Babylonian captivity*" (p. 131). When we couple this oracular statement with another no less final—namely, that "we know the very day, almost, when the Book of Daniel was written—*i.e.*, January, 164" (p. 177)—during the reign of the Maccabees—we cannot but infer that the author's restricted interpretation of prophetism is meant to serve the rationalistic theory which denies the prophet's prevision of future events, and this breaks down one of the main supports of supernatural revelation.

The work has the fault that is likely to go along with all small books on great subjects—considerable obscurity of thought and the bald assertion of unproven theories.

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EDMUND CAMPION—A Biography. By *Richard Simpson*. New edition. John Hodges, Bedford Street, Strand, London.

This is a new and revised edition of the life of the English martyr. The author admits that Blessed Edmund Campion has had so many biographers that a new one may be expected to state his reasons for telling again a tale so often told. He says that in the course of his researches he found a quantity of unpublished matter that had never been seen by former biographers, and that in the earliest and most authentic memoirs many points were obscured by phrase-making, misunderstood through ignorance of England or misrepresented through the one-sidedness of those whose information was depended upon. Despite these reasons for the book's existence, the reader is surprised that this work forms one of the Catholic Standard Library—a collection of reliable, valuable books. There is something so unsatisfactory in its tone, that, coming from a Catholic writer, jars strangely upon us. Every attempt is made to clear the character of Elizabeth from the charge of cruelty or persecution, and she is represented as having little to do with the sufferings and death of the martyr. In almost every page the author practically admits that the Government was in a great measure justified in shedding the blood of the martyrs, for many of them were engaged in a treasonable conspiracy against the State. To give an example of the author's strange confusion of thought we will quote one of his pronouncements: "If Henry VIII. and Elizabeth had been treated with the same delicacy and circumspection that Lewis XIV. experienced, the end might have been different to what it was; and if Lewis had been treated like Henry VIII., the most Christian king would probably have proved as bad a churchman as the 'Defender of the Faith.'" No one who has the slightest



knowledge of history or of the totally different characters and circumstances of the monarchs compared will need comment on this.

Truly, if the writer's version were correct, the history of England would have to be re-written. As all the martyrs who are charged with being conspirators have been solemnly beatified, it is needless to say anything about them. Had Mr. Simpson lived to witness the verdict of the Holy See upon the most illustrious of them, and about whom he wrote so lightly, this work would never have been reprinted without correction. The erudition of the book is really remarkable, and will furnish, we hope, material for some future biographer.

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SCIENCE AND THE CHURCH. By *Rev. J. A. Zahm, Ph.D., C.S.C.* Chicago: D. H. McBride & Co. 1896. Pp. 299. Price, \$1.50.

Doctor Zahm here brings together the essays which he had contributed during the past few years to various reviews and magazines. There is a certain generic unity running through them all that justifies the title "Science and the Church." A very slight change in the order of the chapters would have exhibited a perfect synthesis of thought in the first half of the volume and an analytical verification of the same in the second half. The two first chapters treat of the attitude and action of Leo XIII. in relation to science and the social question. Passing by the third chapter, the fourth and fifth show the genuine and large liberty enjoyed by the Catholic in the pursuit of science. The sixth pleads for a more thorough study of the physical sciences in our ecclesiastical seminaries. Thus far we have what we might style the synthetic portion of the work. The third chapter, on the history and present working of the Vatican Observatory, the seventh and eighth, on the two eminent Catholic scientists of recent years, Van Beneden and Pasteur, present the analytical data. One need not go beyond the life and work sketched in these chapters for verification of the principle unfolded in the preceding part of the book, that between true science and true faith there is truest harmony. The ninth chapter describes the system of writing for the blind invented by Mlle. Mulot. The tenth, on the Omar of the New World, is an able vindication of the venerable pioneer bishop of Mexico, Zumarraga, from the charges made against him by Robertson, Prescott, Hubert, Howe, Bancroft and other recent historians, of having been "an ignorant, fanatical iconoclast, the destroyer of a nation's records and the treasures of a new world's literature." The closing chapter presents the arguments for the opinion as to the site of the Garden of Eden, which places the terrestrial paradise at the head of the Persian Gulf, to the extreme south of ancient Babylonia.

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HIS DIVINE MAJESTY, the Living God. By *William Humphrey, S.J.* London: Thomas Baker; New York: Benziger Bros. 1897. Pp. xxiii, 441. Price, \$2.50.

Father Humphrey has enriched the literature of Catholic theology and devotion with a number of solidly instructive works. Foremost in the former category are "The One Mediator" and "The Written Word." In the latter his "Elements of Religious Life," and especially his Digest of Suarez's treatise on the Religious State, deserve special commendation: His most recent work on the existence and nature of God may be said to do for dogmatic theology what his preceding work on "Conscience and Law," noticed in a former number of this REVIEW,

has done for moral. The main title of the present book will be familiar to readers of the *Spiritual Exercises* of St. Ignatius, wherein the phrase occurs no fewer than twenty-four times. It signalizes the spirit in which the author has written. The sub-title, however, emphasizes more explicitly the strictly theological character of the work, which deals first with man's knowledge of God's existence and nature, then sets forth the theology of the divine essence and attributes of God's relation as Creator, as author of the natural and supernatural orders, and closes with an exposition of doctrine concerning the B. Trinity.

The author has gathered from dogmatic theology, following, as he tells us, particularly Frauzelin and Palmieri, the leading concepts and distinctions pertinent to these subjects, and explains them in terse English. The book will be of service to the serious student, who is unable or unwilling to study the matter treated in Latin works. It will interest not only Catholics but earnest Protestants of every denomination, and, let us hope with the author, "not only those who make profession of the Christian religion, but Jews, Mahommedans, Buddhists and other Unitarians—and even those to whom God is as yet unknown as a personal God, but who are seeking God, if, happily, they may feel after or find Him."

ABBE DE BROGLIE: QUESTIONS BIBLIQUES: ŒUVRE EXTRAITE D'ARTICLES DE REVUES ET DE DOCUMENTS INEDITS. Par M. l'Abbé C. Piat. Paris: Victor Lecoffre. 1897. P. vii., 408.

THEOLOGIA FUNDAMENTATIS AUCTORE IGN. OTTIGER, S. J. TOM I. DE REVELATIONE SUPERNAT. Freiburg; Herder. St. Louis: 1897. Pp. xxiv., 928.

SOCIALISM AND CATHOLICISM FROM THE ITALIAN OF COUNT EDWARD SODERINI, By Richard Jenerly-Shee. With a preface by Cardinal Vaughan. Longmans, Green & Co. New York: 1896. Pp. x., 343.

We are obliged to postpone to our next issue adequate reviews of these three important works. The first is a timely addition to the literature of Biblical Criticism. The editor, M. l'Abbé Piat, has made a systematized collection of the Abbé de Broglie's essays concerning the rationalistic theories centreing in the Pentateuch, the Origin of the Hebrew Nation, and the Prophets. It is hardly necessary to say that these essays are marked by that learning, argumentative force, originality of view, felicity of illustration and transparency of expression which characterized all the apologetical writings of de Broglie.

The second of the works at hand is the first in order of publication of a promised tri-volume course in Fundamental Theology. Judged by the character of this volume, the work bids fair to be a most exhaustive contribution to Apologetics.

It is well known that in Count Soderini's "*Socialismo e Cattolicismo*" the ethical and sociological principles of the Encyclical "*Rerum Novarum*" have received a luminous interpretation. English-speaking Catholics now possess a good translation of this important discussion of the Social Question in the light at once of sound ethical and economical principles and of the authoritative teaching of the Church.

THE FORMATION OF CHRISTENDOM. By T. W. Allies, K. C. S. G. London: Burns & Oates, Limited. New York, Cincinnati, Chicago: Benziger Brothers. 1897.

All lovers of solid Catholic literature will give a cordial greeting to the reappearance, in a cheap and popular edition, of Allies's great work, which has hitherto appealed only to a select audience, owing to



the costliness of the first edition. As Cardinal Vaughan has justly observed, "we have nothing like it in the English language;" nor, we may add, in any other language except the Latin of the *De Civitate Dei*. Allies is a noble follower of St. Augustine, and his volumes have the additional merit of supplying present needs without obliging us to linger over the long refutations of old exploded errors which makes his great master so difficult to read. The subject treated by both authors is the same, namely, the revolution effected in the individual and in society by the introduction of Christianity. All the literature pertaining to the theme has been carefully studied and skilfully employed by Allies, and his work approaches as near to perfection as it is given to human energy and eloquence to attain. It is truly a monumental work, and will grow in general esteem with the advance of thought. There is no prospect that it will ever be superseded.

To date, three volumes have issued from the press. The subject-matter of the first volume is "The Christian Faith and the Individual." The second treats of "The Christian Faith and Society." The third discusses "The Christian Faith and Philosophy." The remaining volumes will appear in the near future, and the total will furnish our ecclesiastical students and cultured laity with an impregnable and exhaustive series of arguments to the truth of Catholic Christianity. We cheerfully re-echo the wish of His Eminence of Westminster that the work be adopted as a text-book in all our seminaries. Let it at least be read repeatedly in the refectories.

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GESCHICHTE DES DEUTSCHEN VOLKES seit dem dreizehnten Jahrhundert bis zum Ausgang des Mittelalters. Freiburg and St. Louis: Herder. 1897. Von *Emil Michael, S.J.*

The distinguished Professor of Church History at the University of Innsbruck has undertaken to do for the Germany of the Middle Ages the same work of careful and detailed investigation which the immortal Janssen performed for the Germany of the Reformation era. His labors are professedly an introduction to Janssen, and in every respect modelled after his master. We congratulate him upon his subject; for, with every reservation demanded by history, the period he treats of was pre-eminently a glorious one, and his narrative chronicles the vast advance made in Central Europe under the benign influence of the Christian Church. Even the first volume—necessarily of a preliminary character—shows the vital indebtedness of Germany to the Church for the progress made in the social, economical and legal conditions of the nation from the twelfth to the fourteenth century. The enfranchisement of the peasantry, the cultivation of the soil, the formation of the cities, the improvement in the arts and sciences, the pushing forward of the boundaries of the empire was mainly the work of the Church through the agency of her religious orders, her strict organization and her unwavering promulgation of the principles of Christian civilization. Whilst, therefore, Janssen was the chronicler of the decay of German culture under the withering blight of Lutheranism, Dr. Michael has chosen the better part, and narrates the story of constant progress during the ages of divine faith.

We recognize in Dr. Michael a worthy disciple of Janssen. He has the same painstaking spirit, and displays an erudition which is simply amazing. We shall look forward anxiously to the completion of the great work, which will undoubtedly effect as complete a revolution in the popular estimate of the condition of things in mediæval times as the labors of his predecessors did with regard to the consequences of the Lutheran Reformation.



THE JESUIT RELATIONS AND ALLIED DOCUMENTS. Travels and Explorations of the Jesuit Missionaries in New France, 1610-1791. The original French, Latin and Italian Texts, with English Translations and Notes; Illustrated by Portraits, Maps and Facsimiles. Edited by *Reuben Gold Thwaites*, Secretary of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin. Vol. V. Quebec: 1632-1633. Vol. VI. Quebec: 1633-1634. Cleveland: The Burrows Brothers Company.

The learned editors and the enterprising publishers of this great undertaking are fulfilling all their promises with remarkable dispatch and conscientiousness. The fifth and sixth volumes are already before us, and the most fastidious critic would find it difficult to speak of them otherwise than in words of enthusiastic praise.

The hero of the present volumes is Father Le Jeune, who was appointed superior of the Jesuit mission in New France in the year 1632, and whose Relations to his Provincials are models of simple and unaffected correspondence. We doubt whether it would be possible for the greatest masters of style to improve upon his unambitious narrative, which places the weird scenes through which he passes so vividly before our eyes. With each succeeding volume the ever-changing and ever-widening drama of the evangelization of the American savages increases in interest.

ROME AND ENGLAND; OR, ECCLESIASTICAL CONTINUITY. By *Rev. Luke Rivington, M.A.* London: Burns & Oates, Lim. New York: Benziger Brothers.

A new work by Father Rivington is an event of extreme interest in the controversy between the Apostolic See and the schismatical Church of England. The subject treated by the distinguished convert from Anglicanism is one of which he is thoroughly master, and therefore he wastes neither his own time nor that of his readers in the discussion of secondary issues, but comes at once to the point, clearly lays down his thesis, and proceeds with his proofs in a manner that must carry conviction to every mind pervious to argument. His present thesis is the utter lack of continuity between modern Anglicanism and the Church of the Anselms and Grossetestes of ancient days. A wonderful amount of erudition and logic has been condensed into this little book of less than two hundred pages. The only way to answer such a treatise is the way which Father Rivington's opponents invariably adopt, that of silently ignoring it.

NOVA ET VETERA: Informal Meditations for Times of Spiritual Dryness. By *George Tyrrell, S.J.* London: Longmans, Green & Co.

Under this unpretentious title Father Tyrrell furnishes us with a very valuable remedy against a widespread complaint, for spiritual dryness is a dreary malady of frequent occurrence. Though our author calls his work a book of meditations, it is such only in the sense in which Pascal's "Pensées" or the "Imitation" could be so denominated. There is a total absence of the formalities of preludes, colloquies, and the like. The thoughts are presented without preface or ceremony, and each one is permitted to evolve it according to his spiritual needs. Neither is there any pretence at method or consecutiveness, for, as the author wisely observes, "In hours of dryness and weariness we naturally turn from the monotony of method to seek relief and variety in the unexpected, as one might occasionally fly from the geometrical precision of a Dutch garden to the freedom of some pathless wilderness." It is a book which one can open anywhere, with the certainty of finding something that will afford him consolation and instruction.

PIUS VII., 1800—1823. By *Mary H. Allies*. London : Burns & Oates, Limited, New York, Cincinnati, Chicago : Benziger Brothers.

Any one who has read Miss Allies's "Pre-Reformation England" will gladly welcome this addition to the world of books. In sixteen chapters she tells the story of twenty-three years of the Church's trials. So vividly is the life of the Holy Father portrayed that the interest and feelings of the reader are constantly with him, from the memorable coronation scenes of Napoleon at Notre Dame to the lonely old man exiled at Savona. Pius VII. was certainly not the man that human wisdom would have suggested for Pope, yet his simplicity and holiness of life overcame the most forceful worldly-wise character of the world. One closes the book with the words of the Holy Father ringing in one's ears : "No material force in the world can combat a moral force," and the heart beats faster with love for the Holy Catholic Church.

There is a pleasure in store for the readers of Miss Allies's "Pius VII."

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#### BOOKS RECEIVED.

CHRISTLICHE IKONOGRAPHIE. Ein Handbuch zum Verstaendniss der Christlichen Kunst. Von *Heinrich Detzel*. Zweiter (Schluzz) Band : Die bildlichen Darstellungen der Heiligen. Mit 318 Abbildungen. Freiburg and St. Louis : Herder. Price, net, \$3.25.

MANUAL OF THE HOLY EUCHARIST. Conferences on the Blessed Sacrament and Eucharistic Devotions, with Prayers for Mass, etc. *Rev. F. X. Lasance*. New York, Cincinnati, Chicago : Benziger Brothers. Price, 75 cents.

CARDINAL MANNING. From the French of Francis de Pressensé. By *E. Ingall*. London : William Heinemann. Received from B. Herder, St. Louis. Price, \$1.25.

LIBRI LITURGICI BIBLIOTHECÆ APOSTOLICÆ VATICANÆ MANUSCRIPTI : Digessit et Recensuit *Hugo Ehrensberger*. Freiburg and St. Louis : Herder. 1897. Price, \$8.25.

CATHOLIC EDUCATION AND AMERICAN INSTITUTIONS. By *Rev. John F. Mullany, L.L.D.*, with preface by the *Most Rev. Francis Janssens, D.D.*

SAINT JOSEPH'S ANTHOLOGY. Poems in Praise of the Foster-Father, Gathered from many Sources. By the *Rev. Matthew Russell, S.J.* Dublin : M. H. Gill & Son. 1897.

CATHOLIC GEMS AND PEARLS. A Variety of Articles on Catholic Subjects with Miscellaneous Readings. By *Rev. J. Phelan*. Vol. I. Chicago : J. S. Hyland & Co.

HEART TONES AND OTHER POEMS. *D. O'Kelly Brandan*. The Peter Paul Book Company : Buffalo, N. Y.

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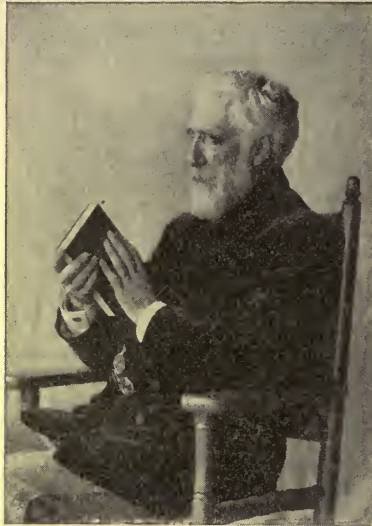
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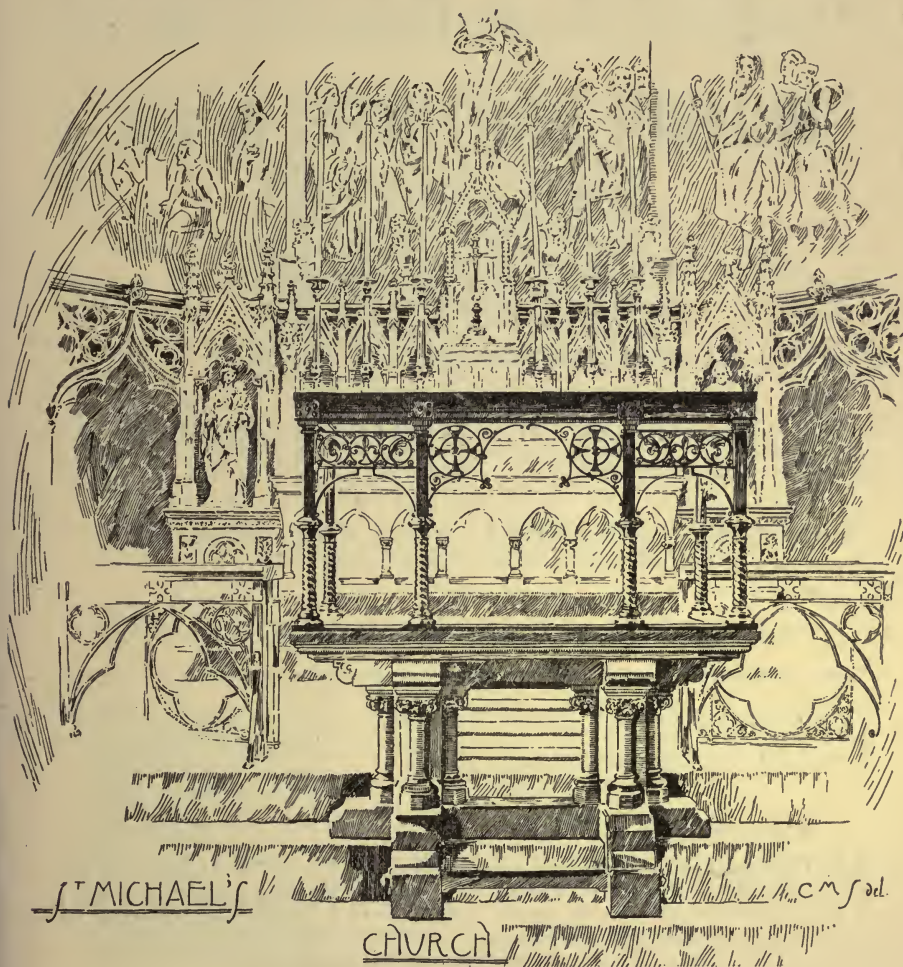
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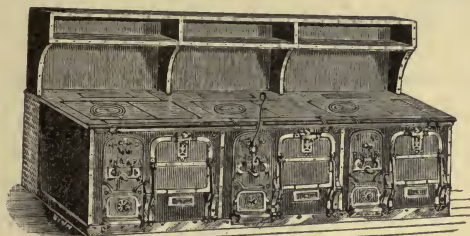


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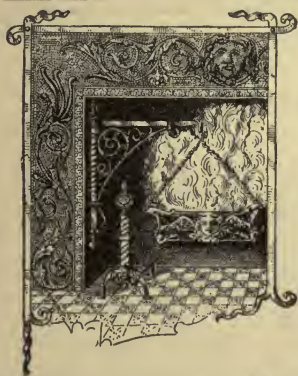
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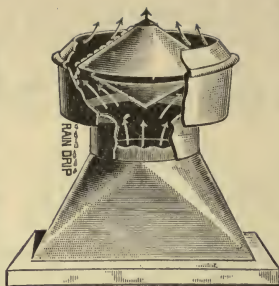
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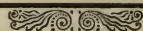
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THE  
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Bonum est homini ut eum veritas vincat volentem, quia malum est homini ut eum veritas vincat invitum. Nam ipsa vincat necesse est, sive negantem sive confitentem.

S. AUG. EPIST. ccxxxviii. AD PASCENT.

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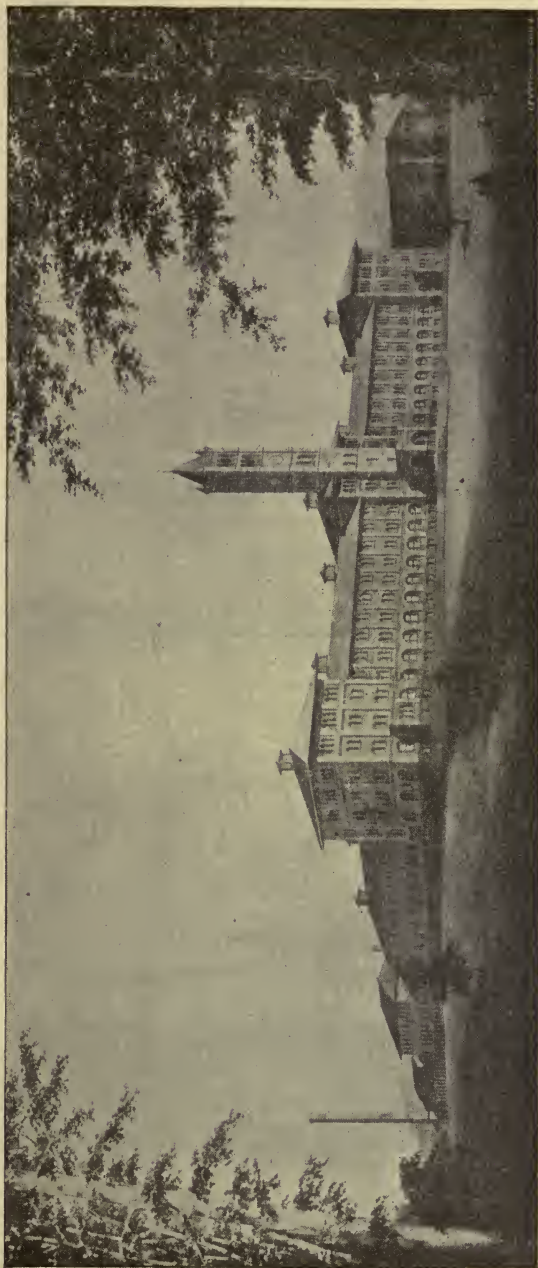
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# THE AMERICAN CATHOLIC QUARTERLY REVIEW

VOL. XXII.—OCTOBER, 1897.—No. 88.

## WHAT DO WE READ?

“Variæ profecto atque innumerabiles sunt inimicorum calliditates artesque nocendi : sed cum primis est plena periculorum intemperantia scribendi, disseminandique in vulgus quæ prave scripta sunt. Nihil enim cogitari potest perniciosius ad inquinandos animos per contemptum religionis perque illecebras multas peccandi.”—*Const. Apost. de prohib. et cens. libr.*, viii. Kal. Febr., 1897.

THE new Apostolical Constitution on the prohibition and censure of books has met a want long felt by Catholics at large, and particularly by those who are charged with the direction of consciences. It was evident to them that some of the laws bearing upon this subject were no longer applicable, but it was equally evident that the danger of indiscriminate reading was never so great as it is in our age, in which, as the Holy Father reminds us, “almost every doctrine entrusted by our Saviour to the keeping of His Church, for the salvation of souls, is questioned and attacked.” Thence arose in the minds of many a feeling of uncertainty and perplexity, which has now been removed by the authoritative declaration of the Church. She is the divinely constituted guardian of faith and morality, and in that capacity she has the right and the duty to censure and prohibit such writings as endanger either the one or the other, and to remove the censure and prohibition when the danger has ceased to exist.

This principle, unhesitatingly admitted by all Catholics, underlies the General Decrees, published together with the new Apostolical Constitution. All those Decrees, as will appear at a glance, fall quite naturally under the two heads of faith and morality. Those relating to morality, in so far as morality, in its restricted sense, is synonymous with chastity or modesty and is directly opposed to lasciviousness or indecency, do not concern us at present. They do not perceptibly modify previously existing laws, nor do they particularly affect English-speaking Catholics ; but



the Decrees bearing directly on faith, and therefore indirectly also on morality in its broader sense of conformity to the whole law of God, have a special relevancy. They are chiefly the following :

1. All books condemned before the year 1600, either by the Sovereign Pontiffs or Œcumenical Councils, and not mentioned in the new Index [to be published hereafter], are to be considered as condemned in the same manner as formerly, excepting such as are permitted by these General Decrees.
2. Books of apostates, heretics, schismatics and all writers whatsoever which champion the cause of error, or which in any way undermine the foundations of religion, are absolutely forbidden.
3. Books of non-Catholics, treating *ex professo* of religion, are likewise forbidden, unless it is certain that they contain nothing contrary to Catholic faith.
4. Books, of the aforesaid authors which do not treat *ex professo* of religion, but touch only, in passing, upon truths of faith, are not to be considered as forbidden by ecclesiastical law until they are condemned by a special decree.

The first three General Decrees just quoted call for no comment, but the fourth needs a word of explanation. It is to be remarked, in the first place, that formerly all books written by "heretics," even though they did not treat *ex professo* of religion, were prohibited "until examined and approved." This law, which was considered by theologians as already tacitly abrogated, is now explicitly repealed; and happily so, because, without some relaxation in this matter, English-speaking Catholics would be in a state of perpetual anxiety. For not only are most of the books at their disposal written by non-Catholics, but they frequently treat, in passing, of religion and the truths of faith. Even the atheistic scientist cannot wholly prescind from religion or avoid all allusion to it. The reason is obvious. We meet God everywhere in His creation; to meet Him is to be put in relation with Him, and to express our relation to Him in words is to treat of religion.

It is to be further remarked that the Decree under consideration refers to a prohibition by the positive law of the Church, and not to a prohibition by the natural law; for it is expressly stated that the books in question "are not to be considered as forbidden by *ecclesiastical* law until they are condemned by a special decree." Now, it is plain that, previous to any special decree of the ecclesiastical tribunal, some books which treat only incidentally of religion may be forbidden by the natural law, because they may be an occasion of grave danger to souls. However well-intentioned non-Catholic writers may be, they are liable, when treating of religion, to fall into many serious errors against Catholic faith and morality; and errors incidentally, and perhaps inadvertently, introduced are often the most pernicious.

If in the very title of a work the writer's bigotry betrays itself, if definite charges are preferred which can be traced to their source, if Catholic tenets are openly assailed or Catholic practices

grossly travestied, the sincere Catholic is instantly upon his guard. Disgusted by the absurdity of the allegations or the coarseness of the language, he will fling the book aside; or if with due permission he has the courage to wade through it, he will find little difficulty in clearing the Church from the vulgar imputations which are cast upon her. But if a tone of friendliness is affected, if hackneyed calumnies are carefully discarded, if insinuations and innuendoes are substituted for direct attack, if, under the garb of literature or science, plausible misrepresentations of Catholic doctrines are stealthily introduced, the ordinary reader is thrown off his guard. Fascinated by the novel way in which the subject is presented, he loses sight of its religious aspect. He is not shocked by the grossest blasphemies because they are clothed in decorous language; he accepts the merest sophisms as arguments because they appeal to his vanity; and, before he is fully aware of it, he is half won over. Soon he surrenders himself completely to the spell. He is like one hypnotized by another; he sees with the eyes of another, he hears with the ears of another, he thinks with the thoughts of another. Now, in this respect English-speaking Catholics are at a great disadvantage, which must not be lost sight of.<sup>1</sup>

They are constantly exposed to a thousand subtle and perilous influences which must be counteracted and, if possible, neutralized by a judicious application of the principles either explicitly enunciated or at least implicitly contained in the New Apostolical Constitution. It will be useful for us, therefore, to make an accurate study of the situation in which we find ourselves and of the duties which it imposes upon us.

### I.

Some have called the English language a Protestant language. Others have considered this assertion so absurd that they have thought it sufficiently refuted by saying that it is just as reasonable to talk of Protestant arithmetic or of Protestant penmanship as to talk of a Protestant language; and, sooth to say, the assertion does seem a little harsh. Nevertheless, there is a sense in which it is perfectly correct.

"Certain masters of composition," writes Cardinal Newman, "as Shakespeare, Milton and Pope, the writers of the Protestant Bible and Prayer-Book, Hooker and Addison, Swift, Hume and Goldsmith, have been the making of the English language. . . . Men of great ability have taken it in hand, each in his own day, and have done for it what the master of a gymnasium does for the bodily frame. They have formed its limbs and developed its

---

<sup>1</sup> *Dublin Review*, 1840, "Prejudices, etc."

strength; they have endowed it with vigor, exercised it in suppleness and dexterity and taught it graces."<sup>1</sup> Most of these have been Protestants, and they have impressed upon the language a distinctively Protestant character, just as the great pagan masters of Latin composition impressed upon the language of ancient Rome a distinctively pagan character.

The Protestant character of the language shows itself both negatively and positively. Negatively it shows itself in the absence of appropriate words to express, with precision, the ideas that we mean to convey, when writing on Catholic subjects. A language, like a people, is not Christianized or Catholicized at once. Only after a long and gradual absorption and assimilation of Catholic thought is it fully adapted and consecrated to the service of God and of the Church. How slow and tedious this process is will be readily understood by any one who reflects how many centuries it took before Latin became, in the hands of the Fathers and theologians of the Church, the vehicle that it now is of Catholic doctrine and devotion. The same thing may be said of English; our philosophical and ascetical writers have only just begun to build up a terminology which is both English and Catholic. Positively the Protestant character of the language shows itself in the presence of words designedly offensive to Catholic feeling. Words often have a meaning not warranted by their derivation or composition, but due solely to the use that has been arbitrarily made of them. An obvious example is furnished by certain nicknames which, apart from the association of ideas, seem harmless enough. Those whose memory goes back to the days of "Know-Nothingism" or "Native-Americanism" may recall the irritation of a German or Irish boy when his companions dubbed him "Dutchy" or "Micky." Unless he was of a very pacific disposition, he thought a youthful duel quite in order. He was stung to the quick, not so much because the epithet was meant to express the deliberate contempt entertained for him by the speaker, as because it was supposed to be proof sufficient that he was a foreigner, who deserved to be outlawed on the free soil of America. Somewhat in the same manner, there are numerous words in our vocabulary, such as "Romanist" and "Papist," which not merely imply bigotry and contempt, but which appeal so strongly to inherited prejudice that they pass as arguments admitting of no reply.

What is true of language is still truer of literature, as distinguished from mere language. Literature is the thought of past ages preserved in print. It is not a few random words, cast upon

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<sup>1</sup> *Idea of a University*, "English Catholic Literature, 3."



the air and lost in empty space, but a force stored away in the library, as the electric spark is stored away in the battery, ready to burst forth and do its work when it finds materials properly disposed. Rousseau's mad paradoxes, preserved in print, kindle revolutions in the boulevards of Paris; Proudhon's communistic maxims raise a storm in the haymarket of Chicago. True, they have been refuted a thousand times over. But, all to no purpose. Let some demagogue repeat them to the hungry mob, and depend upon it that they will produce their necessary effect. Such as is the thought of a people, preserved in its literature, such, as a rule, will be its social, moral and religious condition. It is like an element in solution which you can neutralize, but which you cannot destroy.

Now, English thought, as expressed in literature, has been, and still is, mainly Protestant. "We [Catholics] are but a portion of the vast English-speaking, world-wide race," again writes Cardinal Newman, "and are but striving to create a current in the direction of Catholic truth, when the waters are rapidly flowing the other way. In no case can we, strictly speaking, form an English literature; for by the literature of a nation is meant its classics, and its classics have been given to England, and have been recognized as such long since. . . . We must take things as they are, if we take them at all. . . . We Catholics, without consciousness and without offence, are ever repeating the half sentences of dissolute playwrights and heretical partizans and preachers. So tyrannous is the literature of a nation; it is too much for us."<sup>1</sup>

An ancient general is said to have conquered and almost annihilated a nation by poisoning the wells and water-courses of the country; so that, while the men fell upon the battle-field, the women and children wasted away with disease in their homes. In civilized warfare such a practice has long since been abandoned. But in English literature it has been systematically pursued up to a recent date. From the very beginning of the so-called Reformation, the English press and pulpit became the ready tools of royalty, and overflowed with falsehood, calumny and ridicule of everything that was most sacred to Catholics. They represented belief in the papal supremacy as treason to the country, construed recusancy into idolatry, and spiced their denunciations with blasphemous attacks upon the doctrine of transubstantiation, the "worship" of the saints, the "adoration" of relics and images, the sale of indulgences carried on by the "Popish" priests, and the license to commit sin granted by the "Romish" Church. Meanwhile Catholic works were excluded from the English realm by

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<sup>1</sup> *Id. ibid.*, I, 3.

royal order. An especial license of the pseudo-Archbishop of Canterbury was necessary, in order to import any "Popish book or pamphlet published beyond the seas"; and such license was granted "upon this condition only, that any of them be not dispersed or showed abroad, but first brought to him [the intruded archbishop] or to some of . . . [the] privy council, that so they may be delivered, or directed to be delivered, forth unto such persons only as by them or some of them shall be thought most meet persons, upon good considerations and purposes, to have the reading of them."<sup>1</sup>

In this manner English literature, during the period of its formation and development, was placed under exclusively Protestant influence. The "well of English undefiled" was poisoned, and its waters have come down to us impregnated with Protestant thought, Protestant views and Protestant principles of action. History, works of general information and education, philosophy and physical science, light literature and the newspaper, have all been enlisted in the service of error, and made to do battle against the Church.

## II.

History, according to Cicero, is the "torch of truth"; but during the last three centuries, so far from answering to this definition, it has been, in the words of De Maistre, "a conspiracy against truth." Until recent years this was the case especially with English history. "It would seem," wrote an able critic in 1840, "as if the writers of England had acted under a sort of necessity of fate; as if their pen, like Anacreon's lyre, had a will of its own, independent and uncontrolled by the writer, and [had given] forth its voice but to a single theme, turned by a hidden instinct to the one subject, and made all others subject to it alone."<sup>2</sup> History written from a Protestant standpoint—and scarcely any other was accessible to the English reader—was not merely fiction, but a tissue of lies manufactured out of whole cloth. Conjecture was offered instead of recognized authorities; coarse and scurrilous declamation was substituted for solid proofs; isolated facts, misconceived or misinterpreted, were made the basis of the crudest speculation.

Not only bigoted partisans, like Hume and Gibbon, but authors who are generally considered reliable, did not scruple, when treating of Catholic subjects, to pervert and distort facts, to garble and invent with more than poetic license. Thus, Hallam, whom the English "*Quarterly Review*" once denounced as "blindly partial to the Catholic party," writes, in his "*Constitutional History*":

<sup>1</sup> Strype's *Life of Archbishop Whitgift*.

<sup>2</sup> *Dublin Review*, as above.

"The saints, but more especially the Virgin, are almost exclusively popular deities of that religion (*i.e.*, the Catholic). All that *Polytheism* was swept away by the Reformers."<sup>1</sup> Even Blackstone, in his "Commentaries on Law," by way of a little historical digression, entertained his readers with the "importation from Rome of the whole farrago of superstitious novelties engendered by the blindness and corruption of the monks—transubstantiation, communion in one kind, the worship of the saints and images." . . . "Newfangled theories," he solemnly added, "were invented, and indulgences were sold to the wealthy *for liberty to sin without danger* . . . . penance was enjoined . . . . and that penance was commuted for money . . . . men were taught to believe that *founding a monastery a little before death would atone for a life of incontinence, disorder and bloodshed.*"<sup>2</sup>

Examples of this kind, which might be indefinitely multiplied, show what extravagant fables were related and accepted as historical truth. They are a sad commentary on the prejudice of the writers and on the credulity of the readers. At the same time they are very instructive, because they explain the mental attitude of the English-speaking public towards the Catholic Church. Fortunately, a feeling of honesty and fairness is beginning to prevail over narrow bigotry and partisan spirit. Since the state archives have been thrown open and state papers have become public property, history is being rewritten, and the unjust verdict of the past is being reversed. German Protestant historians like Hurter, Voigt, and others, gave the death-blow to romancing in history, A German Protestant historian has vindicated the Church in the Galileo question, and an English clergyman of the Established Church has painted the characters of Henry VIII. and Elizabeth in darker colors than Catholic writers had ventured to do. But even before their day our own Catholic Lingard had led the way and partly disarmed prejudice by his publication of original documents. Within the last few years the learned Catholic historian, Janssen, and his continuator, Dr. Pastor, have shaken Protestantism, and especially Lutheranism, to its foundations in its very stronghold, by bringing to light the hidden things of darkness, hitherto carefully kept from the public gaze. In brief, the new critical school of historians, who are ransacking all the libraries and archives of Europe in search of original manuscripts, comparing texts, weighing authorities and sifting evidence, has already rendered great service to Catholic truth, and the probability is that it will render still greater service in future. Who now would

<sup>1</sup> Vol. i., p. 93.

<sup>2</sup> Italics are ours.



picture the Middle Ages as an unbroken night of ignorance and corruption? Who would represent the "Sicilian Vespers" and "St. Bartholomew's Day" as instances of wholesale butchery instigated by the sanguinary policy of Rome? Who would refer to the Inquisition as to a "tribunal of horrors," in which the cruel Church authorities condemned and wantonly tortured innocent men for maintaining their right to worship God according to the dictates of conscience? Who would write a book on the "Alliance of Popery and Heathenism," or on the "Apostasy of the Pope, the Man of Sin and the Child of Perdition"?<sup>1</sup> Who would call the Popes "pageants or monsters that commonly owed their rise or downfall to crime," or represent St. Gregory VII. as the heartless Hildebrand, who made a great emperor go to Canossa and shiver in the cold of winter, for courageously defending his civil independence? Who would describe Henry VIII. as the "bluff and honest Hal," or Queen Elizabeth as the "good Virgin-Queen Bess," or Mary Tudor as "Bloody Mary," or Mary, Queen of Scots, as a "fiend in human flesh"? None but history-mongers, who make up by unblushing effrontery for want of research, and by a flippancy style for want of fairness. Nothing but bad faith or gross ignorance can explain the rehearsal of tales which have been blown to the winds and burst like soap-bubbles. Most of the so-called "Controverted Points of History" are no longer controverted by writers who value their reputations as historians. Documentary evidence is so strongly in favor of the Catholic side as to remove all reasonable doubt.

A great change of tone is also noticeable in works of popular information, such as dictionaries, encyclopædias, miscellanies, libraries and school-manuals. It has not been many years since writers of that sort of books, instead of giving us correct definitions of Catholic terms or explanations of Catholic practices, went deliberately out of their way to malign the Church and represent her doctrines as "unchristian," "blasphemous," "corrupt," "absurd" and "monstrous."

Not only D'Israeli's "Curiosities of Literature," which used to serve the half-educated as "a repertory of all sorts of scraps, odds and ends of learning," but also "Chambers' Encyclopædia," formerly kept on almost every bookshelf as a source of general

<sup>1</sup> Subjects like these entered into the current literature of England and America, and were read as so much inspiration by devout Protestants scarcely more than a hundred years ago. Nowadays they are either wholly avoided or presented in less offensive language, and the attack is directed against Christianity in general almost as much as against Catholicity in particular. Thus, Draper, in his *Conflict of Religion and Science*, while aiming his shafts mainly at the Catholic Church, would have us believe (p. 42) that even from the very earliest days there was an amalgamation of Christianity and paganism. Mr. Draper trips frequently upon history as well as upon logic.

information, and even the "British Encyclopædia," called with pride "a national work," indulged in ill-digested tirades against Catholics, and repeated nursery-tales as historical facts. "Transubstantiation" was called "that arch-legerdemain of the Romish priests." "The worship of the true God," we were informed, "was exchanged [by the Romanists] for the worship of bones, bits of wood (said to be of the true cross) and the images of saints." "The genuine religion of Jesus was utterly unknown." [In the opinion of Catholics] "an accumulation of crimes can be dissipated by a few orisons," and the "venal priest, claiming to hold the place of God, can traffic with the divine power at a very moderate price." The Jesuits, we were assured, had *Monita Secreta* (secret instructions) communicated to the leading men, but carefully kept from the public, and even from the common members of the order. The published constitutions, except for the fact that they made the rank and file blind tools of designing leaders, were fair enough; but the *Secret Instructions* were a mystery of cunning and iniquity. Cardinal Bellarmine (a Jesuit, of course) taught that, "if the Pope forbid the exercise of virtue and command that of vice, the Roman Church, under pain of sin, is bound to abandon virtue for vice." "The worship paid to the Virgin Mary in Spain and Italy exceeds that which is given to the Son or the Father"; so says D'Israeli, who goes on describing that worship in terms which a sense of propriety prevents us from quoting.

These are a few extracts from books, at one time regarded as standard works. That such things should have been written when bigotry had shut out the light of reason is not surprising. That some of them should have been reprinted in a recent edition of the "British Encyclopædia" needs no other explanation than that they were supplied by that most unreliable of authorities, the Rev. Mr. Littledale. That they should be believed, in the face of the evidence now accessible to all, argues a degree of credulity not reached even by those good folk who still persist in believing in the existence of "Diana Vaughan" and in her satanic revelations. In striking contrast with the books referred to is the "American Encyclopædia," whose articles upon Catholic subjects are mostly, if not exclusively, from the pens of Catholics.

What has been said of works of popular information may likewise be said of school-manuals and text-books. Time was when it was a part even of secular education to distort and pervert the language of Catholic devotion, and to ridicule the usages and ceremonies of the Church. Here are some specimens, familiar to every scholar. Campbell in his "Rhetoric," still in use as a book

of reference, approvingly selects, as a specimen of the humorous, a coarse extract from "Hudibras" about

"Crosses, relics, crucifixes,  
Beads, pictures, rosaries and pixes:  
The tools of working out salvation  
By mere mechanic operation."

Whately, in his "Rhetoric," gives as an example of a metaphor, "the *polluted* stream of *Romish* tradition"; and in his "Logic," taught not many years ago in Catholic institutions, he adduces some misconceived or misinterpreted doctrines of the Catholic Church as an exemplification of a *sophism*, and warns the reader against some ridiculous ambiguity, which, he adds, "has greatly favored the Church of *Rome*."

The text-book of geography, formerly in common use in our Catholic schools, after instructing the pupil that the nations which ranked highest in point of culture are called *enlightened*, informed him that among those which had attained to this excellence in the social scale were the "*Protestant* cantons of Switzerland." Why not the Catholic cantons as well? However, discrimination of that sort, though embittering, is harmless as compared with the bigotry which is condensed into some manuals of history specially prepared for the use of the public schools. All the venom contained in a diluted form in the larger volumes of some discredited writers of history is carefully extracted and administered in strong doses to the youth of the land. Surely, it needs no special rule of the "Index" to convince Catholic parents that they cannot in conscience allow their children to read such parodies of Catholic doctrine and Catholic morals as are found in the historical compendiums by Myers and Freeman, and in the "Story of Liberty" by Coffin. The discussions in public print called forth by these books have made it evident to all how many snares are laid for the faith of Catholic children. But they have also made it evident how willing our non-Catholic fellow-citizens are to do us justice, if our grievances are calmly and clearly represented to them. The "Resolutions" lately passed by an overwhelming majority of votes in the Indiana House of Representatives against "a certain book entitled 'The Story of Liberty'" are an eloquent tribute to the fairmindedness of the whole body, no less than to the intrepidity of the Catholic member who introduced them, and to the zeal of the priest who first exposed the fraud practiced upon the community.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> The Hon. Peter Wallrath and the Rev. A. B. Oechtering, both of Indiana.



## III.

The signs of the times are certainly hopeful. Still it is not prudent to trust them too much. While the anti-Catholic bias is, on the whole, weakening and gradually disappearing, it is as strong and unreasonable as ever in the domain of science, both metaphysical and physical. And naturally so. The early Protestant Reformers had an instinctive dread of philosophy. They decried clear statements, accurate distinctions and close reasoning as scholastic subtilities, metaphysical hair-splitting and logic-chopping. Of the English Reformers, in particular, it has been said that if they deigned to employ arguments against Catholics they resorted to it, not for the sake of discovering the truth, but solely, in the spirit of Luther, "for the lust of triumph and to annoy the Pope." The consequence has been fatal to philosophy; indeed, it is scarcely too much to affirm that, outside of the Catholic schools, philosophy has ceased to exist in England. The decline began with Lord Bacon, whom Cardinal Newman calls "the most orthodox of the Protestant philosophers." For, though he undoubtedly rendered great services to the natural sciences by the stress which he laid on observation and experiment, he also did no little harm by his apparent disregard for analytic principles, without which observation and experiment have no scientific value; so that, in a certain sense, the fruit already contained the worm which was some day to consume it. Those who followed the sage of Verulam were sciolists, without the mental discipline required for philosophical speculation; they were empiricists who relied upon their own observations, without sufficient knowledge of metaphysical principles to interpret those observations correctly. They observed the phenomena, now of the material world, now of their own minds, and they ended by becoming materialists who admitted the existence of matter only, idealists who recognized the existence of mind only, or sceptics who doubted the existence of both matter and mind. From Hobbes, Locke, Berkeley and Hume, down to the present, the descent has continued with an ever accelerating speed.

Meanwhile the natural sciences have become the battle-ground of irreligion. Men of undeniable industry and talent for research, but poorly equipped with philosophical principles and often bitterly hostile to the Church, enter the field and strive to occupy every vantage-ground. Many of them make it their aim to show, by a long array of so-called facts, that there is an irreconcilable conflict between science and Christianity; and Christianity with them means Catholicity.<sup>1</sup> Geology, palæontology, biology, an-

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<sup>1</sup> Draper: *Conflict of Religion and Science*, Preface, pp. 10, 11.

thropology, ethnology, archæology are all called upon in succession to do battle against the Church. When the facts discovered do not lend themselves readily to the task they are carefully manipulated, or others that have no actual existence are fabricated to suit. It is never admitted that the real facts are susceptible of various and contradictory explanations, and that, therefore, they prove nothing. It is not hinted that, though some new researches have been made, all the difficulties that can be legitimately drawn therefrom against religion were substantially brought forward and answered ages ago. Often it is not even seriously attempted to prove the pretended conclusions of science. The object is to undermine the foundations of religion and to disturb the minds of the faithful; and as solid arguments are wanting, recourse is had to sophistry. Such is the temper in which Dr. Draper, of New York, and Dr. Andrew White, late President of Cornell University, wrote the one his "History of the Conflict Between Religion and Science," the other "A History of the Warfare of Science and Theology in Christendom."<sup>1</sup>

Natural science, having become largely materialistic, has, in its turn, reacted on philosophy, until the true notion of philosophy has been lost. Physics are confounded with metaphysics, physiology with psychology, matter with spirit, manners with morals. Cut loose from the ancient moorings, men have drifted about upon a sea of doubt until they have landed in hopeless agnosticism and pessimism—the philosophy of nescience and the ethics of despair. This is the sort of thing which is palmed off on the world as the wisdom of the nineteenth century, which is purchased as such by the great libraries and taught as such in the universities of the country. There is now before us the *prospectus* of a "School of Philosophy" attached to a well-known university.<sup>2</sup> The school has a rich endowment and a long list of salaried professors. It claims to be "devoted to the free and unhampered quest and propagation of truth." Its courses of instruction embrace "a complete, if tentative, system of psychology, based on the results of the experimental investigation of consciousness"—"a drill-course on the psychology of sensation"—"a drill-course on the psycho-physics of action"—"lectures on psycho-physical measurement-methods"—"a rapid survey of philosophy during Greek, Roman and mediæval periods, the greater part of the year [being] devoted to the theories and problems of modern speculation . . . and especially to an examination of the philosophical meaning and

<sup>1</sup> Such books seem to us to fall under the second rule of the General Decrees cited above, and therefore to be absolutely forbidden to all who have not obtained leave from the proper authority.

<sup>2</sup> "Sage School of Philosophy," Cornell University.

importance of the notion of Evolution and Development"—"lectures on the Development of Moral Ideas among mankind in primitive, ancient and modern times . . . primitive Religion, the origin of religious ideas, cults, rites, etc." Among the authors to be read or studied are the chief materialistic psychologists of modern times, besides Locke, Hume, Berkeley, Kant, Fichte, Hegel, Schelling, Schopenhauer, etc. Some slight notice is taken of Aristotle and Plato, but not a word about the great Catholic thinkers and master-minds—not one of them is so much as mentioned by name. The *prospectus* closes with an advertisement offering to supply the universities and schools of the country with professors and teachers, who are apparently being manufactured in large numbers and at short notice. "*Sapienti sat.*"

In our high-schools the case stands even worse. The philosophy taught in them is commonly nothing but a history of false systems, with all the vagaries and aberrations of the human mind, to some of which the learned professor gives his adhesion. Said a bright lad, presumably a Catholic, to a professor who had been expounding Spinoza: "I understand you to hold, professor, that you are a part of the divinity." "Correct." "And that I am a part of the divinity." "Correct." "But you also told us that we must worship the divinity; must I worship you, sir?" The professor felt decidedly uncomfortable; the pupil left the school-room, never to reappear in it. There was in the same school at least one other Catholic pupil, a girl, who laid her case before the writer of this article. She was preparing for a teacher's certificate. If she did not follow that course of pantheistic philosophy, she had only one alternative: to take anatomy instead, which was seemingly regarded as a cognate science, not very dissimilar from experimental psychology, which is looked upon as advanced philosophy; but her maidenly modesty shrank from that study. How mighty is modern science! It can replace, or displace, almost anything! True, it has been pronounced "bankrupt" by a very competent authority, and some of its latest conclusions are manifestly an insult to common sense; yet, for all that, we may take it for granted that its terminology will be perpetuated, to the great detriment of true science and the embarrassment of real scholars. The "*survival of the fittest, struggle for life, natural selection, anthropoid ape,*" and other terms equally *scientific*, will continue to figure in science-primers, and will be explained as expressive of the highest modern wisdom to the callow youth of our public schools; and at the same time there will be sown in their minds the seeds of materialism and agnosticism, together with a hatred of the Catholic Church, the inveterate enemy of science and progress (!).



## IV.

But if philosophy is banished from the schools, it seems to have found a refuge with tourists and travellers, with novelists and journalists—in brief, with the writers of light literature. Without having a university degree, they all wear the doctor's cap and philosophize, after their own fashion, about the Catholic Church. They interpret her doctrines and her ceremonies, and portray the baneful effects of her devotions upon the multitude or upon the heroes and heroines of their stories in so lively a manner that the incautious reader is in danger of accepting as facts what are merely the hallucinations of a morbid imagination. Here is an amusing instance in point: A writer who makes great pretensions to scholarship visits Spain, and, as a matter of course, publishes his valuable experience among the benighted "Romanists" of that country. Very soberly he assures us that they not merely practically make the Virgin Mary the "equal of God," but that they actually call her so in their prayers. He had heard them invoke her as "Deipara." He remembered enough of Latin to know that "Dei" means "of God," and that "par," to which our English word "pair" is related, means "equal;" therefore he concluded that "Deipara" means the "equal of God." But he did not know or remember that "para" is derived from a Latin root, signifying the same thing as our English word "parent," and that "Deipara" means not the "equal," but the "parent or mother of God." The enterprising tourist might hear us invoking the Blessed Virgin daily by the same title.

The daughter of an Anglican minister, well known by her writings, composes a novel in which there occur several Catholic characters. They are well drawn and have many amiable qualities; but unfortunately, like all Catholics, following the teachings of their Church, they are constantly doing wrong that good may come of it. They can't help it, you see; it is the effect of Catholic training.

But why multiply examples? Protestant fiction, no matter under what name it disguises itself, from the "revelations of converted priests" or of "escaped nuns," for "men" or "women" only, down to the goody-goody narratives in children's story-books, is the stronghold of anti-Catholic traditions. According to these *veracious* accounts, "Romanists" are either wilful idolaters and worshippers of "graven images," who lead licentious lives and purchase the forgiveness of their crimes from the priest, or else they are innocent dupes who have never yet seen a Bible, and who become Protestants as soon as they begin to read the "holy book." Nuns are either "witches" who "kidnap" or "decoy" young maidens from the fair world into the gloomy cloister, or they are

deluded victims, detained against their will, imprisoned, immured, and praying for some vigilance-committee to come and set them free. Priests are rude and imperious task-masters who extort money from their flocks, or they are sleek and unscrupulous courtiers who wear the clerical gown in order to pose before the world and win its applause. The members of the religious orders are "coarse, uncouth and unwashed monks," too ignorant to administer the sacraments validly; or they are "sly and designing Jesuits," who approach you with a "soft, velvety, cat-like step," then suddenly pounce upon you and hold you tightly in their clutches. With the advance of civilization this latter type is naturally becoming more common. Indeed, according to the Protestant notion, "Jesuits" are ubiquitous and omnigenous. They are not merely the members of the religious order, known as the Society of Jesus; they are all the special agents of Rome, public and private, and these are legion. There are clerical Jesuits and lay Jesuits; there are male Jesuits and female Jesuits; there are avowed Jesuits among the "Romish" priesthood and crypto-Jesuits among the Protestant clergy; there are Jesuits in the United States' Senate and in the English House of Lords, as there are Jesuits in the sculleries and nurseries of devout Protestant families, whose children they seek to pervert. "They are rapidly winding their net around the liberties of the nation."<sup>1</sup>

Here we have struck the key-note of Protestant fiction, and that suffices to determine its character. We need no more. But what of periodical literature, which has assumed such proportions in our days that it usurps the name of the *press*? "Great is journalism," exclaims Carlyle. "Is not every editor a ruler of the world, being a persuader of it?" There is no denying the fact that the *press* has grown to be a mighty factor in human affairs. It creates public opinion, controls politics, dictates laws, makes and unmakes governments. It invades the privacy of domestic life, and even the sanctuary of religion; it presumes to prescribe, not only what men are to eat and drink, but what they are to believe.

Now, it is a subject of complaint the world over that in many lands the secular *press* is in the hands of the bitterest enemies of religion, and that, as a rule, its spirit is decidedly anti-Catholic. Many ponderous quarterlies and monthlies teem with long and malicious articles, whose object is to undermine the foundations of religion. Many weekly and daily newspapers treat the reading

<sup>1</sup> We quote these words, after Mr. James Britten, from a book commented upon by him in one of his interesting articles on "Protestant Fiction," published as a serial in *The Month*, beginning November, 1895. The extracts which he has made are as amusing as a "Joke-Book."

public to a periodical instalment of crime, sensation and scandal; they insult the feelings of all right-minded men by low and vile caricatures of religious persons and practices, and by the altogether unchristian tone in which they write about all things whatsoever; and, in particular, they disturb the consciences of Catholics by false reports and forged despatches about the Holy See and Church legislation generally, and by articles manifestly intended to foster religious animosity and discord. Yet, on the whole, the secular *press* in this country is, perhaps, quite as respectful to the Church as it is to the Protestant sects; or if it does her the honor of making her the object of special attacks, the reason is it that looks upon her as the only genuine representative of Christianity.

## V.

In general, we are justified in saying that the tone of English literature is far less hostile towards the Church than it used to be. To be sure, Protestant Tract Societies go on reprinting the old stories about the Pope being anti-Christ and the Catholic Church being the "scarlet woman" and the "beast" of the Apocalypse, for the special edification of hymn-singing spinsters and Sunday-school teachers. Protestant religious papers still bristle with anti-papery articles, and Evangelical Alliances draw up and distribute "Resolutions" for the suppression of "Romanism." But ordinarily such things have the same effect on the intelligent public as Burchard's cry of "Rum, Romanism and Rebellion"; the poison contains its own antidote.

As a rule, the attitude of non-Catholic writers towards the Church is not positively aggressive. Like Frederick Harrison, when pushed to the wall by Mr. Wilfred Ward, they affect to ignore the Church altogether as an antiquated system, beneath the notice of our progressive age; or, like Charles Dickens, they make it a point "never [to] publish anything, fact or fiction, which [gives] a favorable view of any one under the influence of the Catholic faith . . . anything which [can] possibly dispose any mind whatever in favor of Romanism, even by the example of a real good man."<sup>1</sup> Such tactics, adopted by well-known writers, are an indication of the general trend of popular literature; or, to use a homely expression, they are "straws which show what way the wind blows." When the non-Catholic secular literature of the day does not openly advocate infidelity, when it does not try to enlist our sympathy and our love for what is condemned by the laws of the Church and of right reason, it at least inculcates indifferentism and naturalism. Running through it all there is a vein

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<sup>1</sup> Miss Martineau's Autobiogr., American edition, vol. ii., page 93.



of anti-Catholic thought and, consequently, of anti-Catholic principles of morality. Nor is the so-called Catholic popular literature quite free from the infection. Many nominally Catholic newspapers, as the learned Dr. Brownson remarked in his day, unknowingly uphold Jacobinical or Protestant principles. The Fathers of the Third Plenary Council of Baltimore are no less emphatic when they warn us that not all newspapers which profess to be Catholic really deserve that name, because, though the editors boast of being Catholics, they discredit the Church by their example and their writings, and expose her to ridicule; because they uphold and spread heretical and infidel views, calculated to undermine the authority of the Church and of the State.<sup>1</sup> Many nominally Catholic novels hold up to our admiration characters whose excellence is made to consist in what the laws of the Church and right reason must alike condemn as immoral and vicious.<sup>2</sup>

Literature of this kind, if not worse, is the ordinary mental pabulum of the so-called reading public, and is devoured, especially by the young, with a morbid appetite, which is one of the worst symptoms of our age. Carlyle did not put the case too strongly when he wrote: "Not the wretchedest circulating-library novel which foolish girls thumb and con in remote villages but will help to regulate the actual practical weddings and households of those foolish girls. So 'Celia' felt, so 'Clifford' acted; the foolish Theorem of Life stamped into those young brains comes out a solid Practice one day." The newspaper and the novel are the sources from which many persons draw almost all their information and the rules for their guidance through life. As these abound in error, it is not surprising that even such as are at heart very earnest Catholics often unknowingly hold views at variance with their religion. The poison is so dexterously mixed with the food that the ordinary reader fails to distinguish it. He takes it into his system in infinitesimal doses, and, like the opium-eater, gradually grows so accustomed to it that he is not aware of the effect which it has upon him. It affects his whole mental constitution, shapes his thoughts and his conduct, and forms, or rather deforms, his character. Like the man in the French comedy who had spoken prose for thirty years without knowing it, many Catholics are constantly speaking a Protestant language and defending Protestant principles without in the least suspecting it. Their error is blameless, but it is not harmless. For, as Dr. Brownson

<sup>1</sup> Tit, VII., *De Libr. et Ephem.*, p. 126, n. 228.

<sup>2</sup> Dr. Brownson finds this fault even with Lady Fullerton's *Grantley Manor*, which many readers probably regard as a model Catholic novel. Marion Crawford, likewise, is severely and, we think, deservedly censured by several Catholic writers.

observes, "no [such] error is harmless . . . ; every error is, at bottom, an error against the faith or the truth taught by the Church. . . . Errors . . . which do not kill the faith outright may yet impair its soundness, render it weak and sickly, and hinder the free, healthy and vigorous growth of Catholic piety. Even these indirect and remote errors against faith, which may coexist in the mind with a firm faith in the Christian mysteries, conceal the germs of heresy, which some acute, bold and self-willed reasoner may one day develop and mature into a doctrine formally heretical, and which may prove the destruction of thousands, perhaps millions, of souls. All heresies take their rise in popular literature or science. No heresiarch sets out with the express and formal denial of the faith; for no man, in the outset, intends to be a heresiarch—ever says to himself, 'Go to, now; let us found a heresy.' His heresy is only the logical development of principles which he finds already incorporated into popular literature and science, already received as axioms by the popular mind, and held by persons of unquestioned orthodoxy. . . . The danger becomes especially great in a Protestant country where we breathe constantly the atmosphere of heresy, and form our literary and scientific tastes and habits by the study of heretical writings."<sup>1</sup>

To put it briefly: The evil adherent even in our least objectionable secular literature is not simply the absence of distinctively Catholic thought, but the presence of anti-Catholic or Protestant thought in a diluted form. The ordinary reader imagines it to be harmless because it seems neutral and colorless; but just as the spectroscope manifests, in the white light of the stars, the presence of a variety of elements not detected by the naked eye, even so a careful analysis manifests, in the current literature of the day, the presence of many erroneous principles. The evil cannot be altogether prevented, because, as Cardinal Newman remarks, we cannot create a strictly Catholic English literature. If we read English literature at all, we cannot avoid reading much that is more or less at variance with Catholic truth and Catholic thought.

What, then, are we to do? Shall we confine ourselves to translations from the French, Italian and German? If we do, we shall fare no better, perhaps worse. Shall we abstain from reading anything except a few pious ascetical works? No, certainly not. In our days and in our country men and women, boys and girls will read, must read, unless they wish to be considered behind the age. For Catholics it is not a matter of choice, but of duty towards themselves and their religion, not to be outdone by their Protestant or infidel countrymen in acquiring the information befitting

<sup>1</sup> *Brownson's Review*, 1848. Not having by us the doctor's works, we cannot give more exact reference for this extract, made years ago.



their position in society. What, then, are we to do? This is the practical question which we propose to answer briefly before concluding, and if we succeed in doing so satisfactorily, we shall consider that we have done some substantial good. We say, therefore, in the first place, that we should cultivate Catholic instincts and Catholic habits of thought, which will enable us to discern almost spontaneously what is conformable or opposed to the spirit of the Church, to the dogmas of Catholic faith and the laws of Catholic morality. We say, in the second place, that from the mass of non-Catholic publications we should select the least objectionable, and read even these with much caution and discernment.

And what is meant by Catholic instincts? The eagle is said to tend instinctively towards the light of the sun. Just so the mind trained to Catholic habits of thought tends, by a sort of intuition, towards the light of faith. "So alert," writes Cardinal Newman, "is the instinctive power of an educated conscience that by some secret faculty, and without any intelligible reasoning process, it seems to detect moral truth wherever it lies hid, and feels a conviction of its own accuracy which bystanders cannot account for; and this especially in the case of revealed religion, which is one comprehensive moral fact—according to the saying, 'I know my sheep and am known by them.'" Catholic instincts are the result of a thoroughly practical Catholic life, and they are often found in the simple faithful quite as much as in the highly educated; for the mind discerns, without any labored process of reasoning, what is in harmony with its general habits of thought, and the heart is naturally drawn towards what is in sympathy with its virtuous inclinations.

But if our Catholic instincts are to be of any real service to us in detecting and avoiding concealed dangers to faith and morality, we must be able to give a rational account of the faith that is within us. For this purpose it is not sufficient to have attended the parish-school in childhood, to have learned our Catechism, to have said our prayers morning and night, to have heard Mass on Sundays and holidays of obligation, and to have frequented the sacraments, if between times we read nothing but the cheap literature which weighs down the shelves of public libraries and school libraries, and if, in maturer years, we confine ourselves to the daily paper, with its stock of scandal, irreligion and falsehood, and to the thousand and one works of fiction offered for a song by cheap book-stores and news-venders at the street-corners. The Fathers of the last Plenary Council of Baltimore, fully alive to the wants of the times, insist strongly upon this point. In their *Pastoral Letter* they appeal to Catholic parents in the following language:



"Remember, Christian parents, that the development of the youthful character is intimately connected with the development of the taste for reading. Of books, as well as of associations, may be held the wise saying: 'Show me your company, and I will tell you what you are.' See, then, that none but good books and newspapers, as well as none but good companions, be admitted to your homes. Train your children to a love of history and biography; inspire them with the ambition to become so well acquainted with the history and doctrines of the Church as to be able to give an intelligent answer to every honest inquirer. Should their surroundings call for it, encourage them, as they grow older, to acquire such knowledge of popularly mooted questions of a scientific or philosophical character as will suffice to make them firm in their faith and proof against sophistry."

This earnest recommendation of the American hierarchy is not so difficult to observe as some parents may perhaps imagine; for though we have not and cannot hope to have, strictly speaking, a Catholic English literature, we already have a host of thoroughly Catholic writers who may well challenge comparison. In point of style and literary merit Cardinal Manning and Dr. Brownson have few, if any, superiors among modern English writers, while in point of profound thought and close reasoning Dr. Brownson stands forth among his non-Catholic American contemporaries as "an Apollo among satyrs." Around these two great luminaries there cluster many others, and their number is growing so rapidly that to the unprejudiced mind they seem a galaxy brilliant enough to attract the notice of the least observant. We Catholics sometimes complain, and with reason, that our writers are ignored by the Protestant literary world, or, at least, that they are not assigned the place which they deserve among the literary celebrities of the age. But possibly we ourselves are chiefly to blame for this apparent slight. Too often, it is to be feared, we do not appreciate our writers at their full value; too often, perhaps, we are ignorant of their works and even of their names, while we are fully conversant with the non-Catholic literature of the day. If so, it is not a little to our discredit; for surely, before making the acquaintance of strangers, we ought to be familiar with the members of the household.

Once educated, by the study of Catholic authors, to habits of Catholic thought, and well informed upon the questions at issue between ourselves and our adversaries, we shall run less risk by reading non-Catholic writers, because we shall have the principles by which to test them. Yet even then we should select from the mass of non-Catholic publications such as are least objectionable. "Happily," as the Fathers of the Council of Baltimore remind us,

"the store of Catholic literature, as well as works which, though not written by Catholics nor treating of religion, are pure, instructive and elevating, is now so large that there can be no excuse for running risk or wasting one's time with what is inferior, tainted or suspicious."

Finally, we should not forget that whatever does not bear clearly stamped on its face the seal of Catholic orthodoxy should be read with much discernment. However fair a non-Catholic writer may wish to be, his own habits of thought are apt to betray him into involuntary misrepresentations of Catholic principles. Let us, therefore, apply to everything the touchstone of Catholic truth, and rest assured that whatever cannot stand this test is an error, for truth can never be at variance with truth. Above all, let us never allow the religious doubts that may arise to fix themselves in our minds; and if we do not ourselves find the solution, let us seek it from those who are able to give it. Catholic truth may be temporarily obscured by the clouds of error which pass before it, but it can no more be extinguished than the sun in heaven. "Magna est veritas et prævalebit."

R. J. M.

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## THE STRUGGLE OF POLISH CATHOLICITY WITH RUSSIAN "ORTHODOXY."

**J**UST as to the sword of France the Europe of the early Middle Age owed its escape from imminent Mussulman domination, so does modern Europe owe to Poland the fact that it is not to-day either Turkish or Muscovite. Few publicists of the nineteenth century, that century of superficialities which is ever prone to ignore all that is truly grand, care to remember this fact; and still fewer ever note that the Holy See—always ready to perpetuate a nation's title to the gratitude of Christendom—conferred on the Polish kingdom, almost from its inception, the designation of "Most Orthodox," just as it had rewarded the zeal of the first French monarch with the style of "Most Christian." From the reign of Boleslas the Great<sup>1</sup> to the crime of 1772, the chivalry of

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<sup>1</sup> It was only during the reign of Boleslas (992-1025) that the work of converting the Poles was terminated. Christianity had been brought into Eastern Poland during the latter part of the ninth century by Bulgaro-Greek monks, sent by St. Ignatius, patriarch of Constantinople, the victim of Photius (see our "Studies in Church History," vol. ii., p. 56). These missionaries introduced the Slavo-Greek rite into Moravia, whence they passed into Chrobatia (Western Galicia), and shortly afterward their disciples introduced the same liturgy among the Poles along the Dnieper. The Latin rite was propagated among the Poles along the Oder and the Vistula toward the end of the tenth century, having come into Poland with the Czeck (Bohemian) princess, Dombrowska, when she espoused the duke, Mieczyslas I., the first Christian prince of the country. For many years the religion of the Poles was a mixture of Christianity and idolatry; but Boleslas witnessed the disappearance of the last remnant of paganism. Boleslas was one of the greatest princes of the Middle Age, whether he be regarded as warrior, legislator, or administrator; in fact, he was the Polish Charlemagne. He guaranteed his people against the onslaughts of their Russian, Bohemian, and German neighbors by subduing Chrobatia, Silesia, and Pomerania, and incorporating them into the new kingdom of Poland, which came into existence in the year 1000, when the emperor Otho III. crowned Boleslas at Gnesen, expressly avowing that Poland should never owe any vassalage to the Germanic empire. A few years only passed, and Boleslas had extended his dominions from the Dnieper to the Elbe. Boleslas was not satisfied with his coronation at the hands of Otho III., even though that monarch was the Holy Roman Emperor; he again and again despatched embassies to Rome, soliciting royal consecration from the Head of the Church. But as all these messengers were captured by the Germans, with whom after the death of Otho III. the Poles were continually at war, Boleslas received the royal unction from his own bishops toward the end of his life. Boleslas II., the third successor of the great Boleslas, lost the royal dignity because of his crimes. With his own hand he murdered at the altar the holy bishop of Cracow, Stanislaus, who had reproved him for his immoralities. Excommunicated and deposed by Pope St. Gregory VII., he died miserably in Hungary, and as the Pontiff had reduced Poland to the rank of a duchy, in order to teach other monarchs a lesson, there were no more kings of Poland during the next two hundred and forty years. Then Pope John XXII. yielded to the prayers of the nation and allowed the duke, Ladislas Loketek, to don the royal crown.



Poland repelled ninety-one Tartar invasions, any one of which, if successful, would have at least jeopardized the existence of European civilization. For many centuries that chivalry was the sole barrier of Europe against the triumph of Muscovite ambition; and the reason of the Polish success is to be found, not in the unquestionable valor of the Polish heart, not in any solidity of the government which directed that valor, but in the religious tie which bound the Poles together—the only tie which this restive people have ever regarded as unbreakable. This is the most salient fact in all Polish history. The political constitution of Poland was the most faulty in Christendom, probably in the world; and precisely because of that constitution, her history is that of an almost continual civil war—a condition of things which in any other land would have rendered foreign invasion synonymous with national ruin. But so long as the religious tie remained, Poland could have a hundred thousand masters in the persons of her fractious nobles; the entire *people* could be serfs; and there would be but one law and one country for every Polander. For many centuries the battle-hymn of this warlike race was a beautiful canticle in honor of Our Lady, which had been composed by the martyr St. Adalbert, the first apostle of Northern Poland; and to mention only one of the many customs which show how the Catholic spirit was identified with Polish patriotism, what a lesson the Polish boy received when, while assisting at Mass, he noticed that at the reading of the Gospel every noble drew his sword half-way out of the scabbard, in sign of his sworn devotion to the faith, even unto death. The enemies of Poland, both Prussian and Muscovite, fully realized that in that devoted land the names of Catholicism and country invoke each other; that, as the idea has been well expressed by Poland's latest panegyrist, "from St. Adalbert to Mgr. Felinski, these words have one and the same sound. Not one step can be taken against the national liberty without treading on the corpse of a bishop; and never is religious liberty demanded, without a simultaneous effort for the national independence. Only this close connection between the principles of the faith and Polish nationality can explain the otherwise inexplicable resistance of Poland to all the political combinations, and to all the onslaughts, which to this day have tended to reduce her to the condition of a simple province of the Russian empire. The political hostility is nothing when compared to the violent antipathy which the difference of religion induces in the two peoples—an antipathy which renders a fusion impossible, unless at the price of a veritable metamorphosis of conscience, that is, of a sincere conversion of Russia herself. For we must remember that if the national spirit of Poland, such as ten centuries of history have

made it, is absolutely antipathetic to any assimilation with Russia, just so the national spirit of Russia, such as schism has made it, is no less incompatible with Polish civilization. This fact politicians refuse obstinately to acknowledge; and, therefore, no progress is made in the ways of a diplomacy which is indifferent to the demands of a people's conscience, and which is blinded by rationalistic impiety."<sup>1</sup> In fact, the crime of 1772, had scarcely been consummated, when Catharine II. realized that there can be no medium between an absolute dependence of the Church on the State and an absolute distinction of the two powers;<sup>2</sup> that if

<sup>1</sup> Lescœur, *The Catholic Church in Poland under the Russian Government*, vol. i., p. 14, Paris, 1876.

<sup>2</sup> Originally the Muscovite schismatic bishops enjoyed a quasi-independence, since they depended from the distant patriarch of Constantinople. But when the patriarch, Jeremiah II., sold the patriarchal dignity to the Metropolitan of Moscow in 1588, the Russian prelates became mere instruments of the czar. It was not the simoniacal Jeremiah who gave the investiture to the new patriarch, but the grand-duke of Muscovy himself in these words: "Most worthy patriarch, father of all the fathers, first of all the bishops of Russia, I give thee precedence over all the bishops; I give thee the right to wear the patriarchal mantle, the cap of a bishop, and the great mitre; and I order that thou be recognized and honored as a patriarch, and the brother of all the patriarchs" (Theiner, *Vicissitudes of the Two Rites*, i., 18, Paris, 1843). The principle here implied has been ever recognized by the schismatics of Russia. The author of the *Life of St. Josephat* cites the following declaration of a Bulgarian archbishop: "The emperor is placed over all the churches. He is, and he is styled, the prince of wisdom; and consequently he presides over synods, and gives force to their decisions; he deposes the ministers of the Church; he prescribes the rule of life for the ministers of the altar; he even sanctions the judgments of the bishops. In fine, in one word, *in everthing except the power to sacrifice, the emperor exercises publicly all the pontifical functions; and he does so legitimately and canonically*" (Guepin, *St. Josephat Kunciewicz, Archbishop of Polock, Martyr for Catholic Unity, and of the United Greek Church in Poland*, vol. i., p. 44, Paris, 1874). The name of this Bulgarian prelate was Demetrius Chomatenus; and his decision is given at length by Lequien, in his *Oriens Christianus*, vol. ii., p. 295. The bloody Ivan IV., surnamed the Terrible, was very fond of exhibiting himself pontifically. "Ivan believed that kings are also pontiffs in their own states, and often he officiated pontifically with exemplary devotion. He used to prepare himself for these pontifical functions by a retreat in the monastery of Alexandrowa" (Ivan Ivanovich, *Memoir on the Reign of Peter the Great*, vol. i., p. 180. The Hague, 1725). The East was always prone to recognize the right of the emperors to interfere in the things of the sanctuary. In the days of St. Athanasius we find the same forces at work which we now discern in Russia; an emperor grasping the crozier, servile schismatic bishops, and resisting Roman Pontiffs. In 355, at the Council of Milan, the Emperor Constantius, tempting the bishops to condemn St. Athanasius, said: "*My will ought to be a law of the Church for you; such is the power which the bishops of Syria recognize in me. Obey, therefore, or go into exile.*" However, neither Constantius nor any other Arian emperor ever attempted such usurpation as the schismatic, or rather heretical so-called "Orthodox" Church condones in the Russian czar of our day. By the institution of the Holy Synod, Peter the Great became the sole effective patriarch in his dominions, the real guide of consciences; and this power has been exercised ever since, whether by the prostituted Catharine II., or by the maniac Paul, or by the cruel Nicholas, or by the comparatively decent latest emperors. By its very constitution this Holy Synod is completely dependent on the czar, and its president is ordinarily a soldier. This tribunal is



Poland was to continue subject to Russia, either Poland should become schismatic, or Russia should become Catholic; that, therefore, all the Russian promises concerning religious toleration in Poland should be trampled under foot.

Before we approach the main subject of this article, the persecutions visited on Catholic Poland by "Orthodox" Russia, a few words must be devoted to a point which, when not understood, is apt to induce confusion in the mind of the tyro who starts on an investigation into the ecclesiastical conditions of Eastern Europe. We have observed that a portion of Poland received Christianity from missionaries who, although in communion with Rome (for the schism had not yet been effected), belonged to the Greek rite; that is, who, while in strict subjection to the Roman Pontiff, used the Greek liturgy in the Mass, and followed a discipline which differed from that of Rome in several unessential points, as, for instance, in the matter of the celibacy of the secular clergy. So long as the patriarchate of Constantinople continued in the Roman obedience, there was no friction between the Poles of the Latin and those of the Greco-Slavonic rite, nor was there any immediately after Cerularius withdrew the peoples of his immediate jurisdiction from the unity of the Church (y. 1054), for it is certain that it was only at the beginning of the fourteenth century that the Greek Schism prevailed in the Muscovite and contiguous regions. But when that Schism attacked the eastern provinces of Poland, the Latin Poles began to look askance at their brethren of the Greco-Slavonic rite, even when these latter were as devotedly Roman as themselves. In the minds of the Latins the Greek and

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really the chief engine of the imperial machinery; the most powerful instrument wielded by the Russian police. As an instance of the way in which religion is made a mere instrument of Russian statecraft, we may adduce the formal obligation laid upon confessors, under pain of death, to reveal to the government any conspiracy which may come to their knowledge in the tribunal of penance (Tondini, *The Pope of Rome and the Popes of the Orthodox Church*, p. 166, Paris, 1874). It certainly seems strange that the prelates who sit in the Holy Synod, who term themselves the successors of Sts. Athanasius and John Damascene, can take this oath when they assume office: "I profess and swear that the supreme judge of this Synod is the most clement emperor of all Russia." The newspapers of Russia regard the slavery of the Holy Synod as a matter of course and an excellent thing. When Protasoff, a colonel of hussars, and president of the Synod, died in 1860, the very orthodox journal, the *Nord*, of February 2d, thus eulogized him: "He was in fact, if not in name, the head of the Orthodox Russian Church. With his firm and energetic will he knew how to gain victory over the retrograde tendencies of the elder clergy. By means of the Synod, of which he was the veritable head, he distributed the bishoprics among the young and civilized clergy, he reorganized completely the system of education in the seminaries and academies," etc. With a colonel of hussars at its head it is no wonder that the Russian Church began to exhibit a "young and civilized clergy" impregnated with anti-Christian rationalism. Tolstoy, the successor of this Tartar rough-rider, was not a colonel, but although a mere lay civilian, he was able to prosecute the work of "civilization" among his subjects.



its derivative rites began to be synonymous with schism and heresy, and in the course of time this feeling was intensified, especially after the collapse of the reunion which had been proclaimed by the General Council of Florence in 1439, and which had been announced at Moscow by the patriarch Isidore. In 1595 several Polish schismatic dioceses, nearly all Ruthenian, returned to the fold *en masse*, having become disgusted with the exactions of the patriarchs of Constantinople and Moscow.<sup>1</sup> Unfortunately, the converts did not experience at the hands of the Polish senate and aristocracy—all the members of which bodies were of the Latin rite—the consideration which they deserved; even the Latin clergy were more or less suspicious of a rite which seemed to render the Ruthenians akin to the schismatics. Both laity and clergy were less wise than the Holy See, which has ever strenuously defended the attachment of the orientals to their ancient rites, and has wished to perpetuate those rites as living testimonies to the Apostolicity of Roman doctrine. The result of this coolness toward the United Greeks was the gradual passage of all the Ruthenian nobility to the Latin rite, so that at the time of the partition of Poland the United Greek rite had come to be regarded as peculiar to the serfs, and therefore did not enjoy that perfect equality with the Latin before the law to which it had a right. However, the Poles had never persecuted either the United Greeks or the schismatics, as is asserted by Golovine, Dimitri Tolstoy and other "orthodox" writers, in an endeavor to justify the bloody deeds of the children of the Holy Synod in Poland. In spite of the repugnance of both the nobility and the serfs for everything which smacked of Constantinople or Moscow, the Polish kings allowed a schismatic hierarchy to subsist among the Ruthenians at the side of the Greek United. The schismatic University of Kiew was endowed by Ladislas IV. in 1645, with immense wealth, and he established in it a complete printing-plant. John Casimir, who was a cardinal before he became king, allowed the schismatic metropolitan of Kiew to place himself under the jurisdiction of the patriarch of Moscow. This toleration did not injure the Catholic cause in Poland. It was only when Poland was dismembered that the steady progress of the United Greeks was reversed; then, indeed, had not some of the United Greek dioceses fallen to the share of Austria, nearly every vestige of Ruthenian Catholicism would have vanished.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Rahocza, primate of Kiew, had convoked all his suffragans to a council in Brzesc, and there they proclaimed their submission to the Holy See. These bishops were those of Kiew, Wladimir and Brzesc, Luck and Ostrog, Polock and Witepsk, Przemyl and Sambor, Leopold, Chelm and Belz, and Pinsk and Turów.

<sup>2</sup> Whenever the student faces a question involving the relations between the Holy See and any of the oriental Christian peoples, or any of the peoples who have de-

At the time of the first partition of Poland between Russia, Austria and Prussia (August 5, 1772) the doomed kingdom had eighteen millions of inhabitants, of whom twelve millions were Catholics, about three millions were "Orthodox" schismatics, about one million Protestants, and the remainder either Jews or Mussulmans. In the supplementary treaty between the royal brigands, which was dated September 18, 1773, the Russian empress promised full toleration to her new subjects of the Catholic faith; but the Poles had not forgotten the words with which Catharine had despatched her Zaporogue Cossacks into Poland in 1768: "We have ordered Maximilian Zelezniak, colonel of the Zaporogues, to lead into Poland his men, together with the Cossacks of the Don, and with the grace of God to destroy all the Poles and Jews who are traitors to our holy religion—those miserable assassins, men of perfidy, audacious violators of every law, who protect the false religion of the Jews and oppress a faithful and innocent people. We order that this invasion into Poland destroy forever their name and race." The Poles remembered that these Zaporogues had slaughtered, under the guidance of their "popes," 200,000 defenceless victims of both sexes and of every age,<sup>1</sup> and therefore they were not astounded when, the ink of the treaty of toleration being scarcely dry, out of 1900 churches which the United Greeks possessed in Ukraine, more than 1200 were handed over to the schismatics, their priests being persecuted and sometimes tortured until they signed promises of fidelity to the Church of Holy Russia. Facts like these had been sufficiently eloquent to justify the words of Maria Teresa: "It is very embarrassing to negotiate with the czarina, because she promises mountains and wonders, and then orders her ministers and generals to do the contrary of what she promised, as we have seen too frequently in the matter of the persecutions visited by the Russians

rived their rites from the East, he must bear in mind one eloquent fact: Many years before the separation of the Constantinopolitan patriarchate from the centre of unity the orientals had begun to think more of their rites than of dogmas, and since the religious idea was with them the idea of country, their peculiar rites became, perhaps more than did their dogmas of faith, their symbols of nationality. Very easily, therefore, they began to regard peoples of different rites from their own as both heretics and political enemies. In illustration of what is more interesting to us—their proneness to think more of rite than of dogma—we shall cite a couple of cases. When Michael Cerularius separated definitively his patriarchate from the Chair of Peter, he assigned as his chief reasons the use of unleavened bread by the Latins as matter of the Eucharist, their use of *lactinia* in Lent, their suppression of the *Alleluia* during that season. The great reformer and robber of the Muscovite Church, Ivan the Terrible, in an edict of 1551, ordered his subjects to credit the following absurdity: "Among all the customs of heretics none is so condemnable as that of shaving the beard. (Peter the Great, another Head of the Russian Church, thought differently.) The effusion of all a martyr's blood would not atone for this crime."

<sup>1</sup> The Russian official reports spoke of 50,000.



on the persons and churches of the United Greeks."<sup>1</sup> Such facts, however, had caused Voltaire to write to the "Semiramis of the North" that happy indeed would be the man who would write her history (December 3, 1771); and, again, those words which would be blasphemous if their author had not been animated, in all probability, by the spirit of *opera bouffe*: "I have only a little of the breath of life left in me; but while dying, I shall use it to invoke you as a saint, certainly the greatest saint ever produced by the north" (July 13, 1772). But the twenty years that intervened between the first and second partitions of Poland were years of calm for her Catholics, when compared with the sufferings which the "divine" czarina inflicted on them after the latter robbery. By the treaty of Grodno, concluded in 1793, Prussia obtained a compensation for her Rhenish provinces, just subjugated by France, in the acquisition of all that is now the province of Posen, while Russia received half of Lithuania, together with all Volhynia, Podolia and Polish Ukraine. Again Catharine II. promised perfect toleration to "the Roman Catholic religion of *both rites*"; but immediately after the signing of the treaty she convoked an assembly of "Orthodox" prelates at St. Petersburg for the purpose of devising sure means for the severance of the Uniates from the Roman communion. That plan seemed most feasible which was devised by Eugene Bulgari, a native of Corfu, whose philosophic sympathies had won for him the friendship of the Prussian Frederick II., and whom that prince had recommended to the notice of the czarina. By the advice of Bulgari, an establishment of "missionaries," richly endowed, was founded in the newly-acquired provinces, and placed under the charge of a bishop named Sadowski. This apostle of "Orthodoxy" announced his arrival to his new flock by a violent pastoral against all communion with Rome, in which he promised great rewards to the Uniates who would join the Church of Holy Russia, and soon afterward bands of soldiers, each accompanied by one or more Russian popes, began the work of "conversion." Every Ruthenian priest who remained faithful to the Chair of Peter was either thrust into prison or was banished, and ere long there were few Uniates, publicly known as such, in the dioceses of the Ukraine or in those of Luck, Wladimir, Chelm in Volhynia, or Kamieniec in Podolia. Only in the diocese of Polock did the "Orthodox" missionaries meet with many failures, for there the civil authorities proved less docile instruments of the czarina than their colleagues—a fact which would have entailed their ruin had not Catharine died in 1796.

No narrative of the relations between Catharine II. and her

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<sup>1</sup> Theiner : *Pontificate of Clement XIV.*, vol. ii., p. 437.



Catholic subjects would be complete without some account of the too famous Siestrzencewicz. This unfortunate personage was born in 1731 of Calvinist parents; and after some studies in Germany and England, undertaken with a view of becoming a Protestant minister, he suddenly entered the Prussian army as an officer. He soon abandoned the service of the Brandenburgers for that of Poland; and he had attained the rank of captain, when he resigned and became a tutor for the children of Prince Radziwill. Perceiving a chance of obtaining the hand of a wealthy lady, he abjured Protestantism; but the chance having disappeared, he followed the advice of the Uniate bishop of Wilna, and received Holy Orders in 1763. When the first partition of Poland took place, the bishop of Wilna, who had the utmost confidence in Siestrzencewicz, desired to have him as a suffragan, charged with the administration of that part of the diocese which had been annexed to Russia. At this time the Latin Catholics of White Russia had no bishop of their own rite; they were under the jurisdiction of the Uniate bishops of Wilna, Livonia, and Smolensk. But scarcely had Catharine taken possession of the country, when, on September 14, 1772, she announced that the Latins would soon receive at her hands a bishop for themselves; but in fact another ukase soon informed all the Latins of the Russian empire, whether they were Poles or not, that her majesty's solicitude for their spiritual welfare had prompted her to place them under the episcopal care of Siestrzencewicz. This imperial appointment was, of course, null in the eyes of Garampi, the papal nuncio at Warsaw; but this prelate devised a means of preserving the dignity of the Holy See, while at the same time he obviated the anger which, were Catharine thwarted, would be visited on her Catholic subjects. He ordered the United Greek bishops of Wilna, Livonia, and Smolensk, to delegate to Siestrzencewicz their own jurisdiction over the Latins of White Russia, while he conferred upon him spiritual faculties for the other Latins of the empire. In 1776 a new nuncio, Archetti, arrived in Warsaw, and he at once realized that one bishop was not adequate to the needs of all the Latins in Russia. He found, however, that Catharine was determined to allow only two Catholic bishops in her entire empire—one Latin, and one United Greek. In 1779, wishing to reward Siestrzencewicz for having helped her in snubbing the court of Spain,<sup>1</sup> she announced him as archbishop of Mohi-

<sup>1</sup> The reader must know that Catharine had refused to allow the promulgation, in her dominions, of the Brief whereby Pope Clement XIV. had suppressed the Society of Jesus, on July 21, 1773; and that the Jesuits in Russia had continued in the exercise of their rule. When consulted by Siestrzencewicz as to how these clergymen should be regarded, the nuncio replied that they were secular priests, and should be regarded as such. This decision was ratified by Opizio Pallavicini, the papal secre-

lew, and demanded the pallium for him from the Holy See. On September 16, 1780, the Pontiff wrote to the empress trying to dissuade her from the promotion contemplated; and Catharine replied, reiterating her demand, and promising that if it were granted, she would indeed protect her Catholic subjects. The Pope considered the matter during ten months, and finally, in October, 1780, he consented to erect Mohilew into a metropolitan see, but he refused to grant the pallium to Siestrzencewicz. Two years of fruitless negotiation now passed; and one day Count Stackelberg waited on Archetti, and read to him, in accordance with Catharine's commands, a letter which he had just received from her. In this document, dated November 15, 1782, Catharine impudently declared that if the Roman Pontiff exercised any authority in Russia, it was by her favor; and that if her demands were not satisfied immediately, she would suppress the Catholic worship in every quarter of her dominions. Of course the Pontiff yielded; the debated point was not an essential one, and there was a question of the salvation of souls. On January 11, 1783, Pius VI. wrote to Catharine that for the sake of religion he would forget the injuries which the Holy See had received from Siestrzencewicz, and would make that prelate metropolitan of Mohilew. In order, however, that Catholic discipline might be thoroughly observed, he would appoint as nuncio to St. Petersburg the present nuncio at Warsaw, Mgr. Archetti. In the beginning of the following July Archetti arrived in the Russian capital, and was received by the empress in full court.

When the Holy See consented to make Siestrzencewicz archbishop of Mohilew, it also appointed, at the request of Catharine, a coadjutor to him in the person of Benislawski, an ex-Jesuit; and this appointment proved providential, for in later days the coadjutor often neutralized the evil influence of his superior. In the ukase whereby Catharine "erected" the archbishopric of Mohilew, we read two articles which fully illustrate the pretensions which she advanced, and which the Russian government of to-day advances, to a right of interference in the religious affairs of even the Catholic dioceses of the empire. "Art. 12. The archbishop is commanded to send to the court a detailed account of the state of all his religious; he will describe those who teach the young, those who aid the sick and poor, and who thus merit the protection of the government; he will also make known those who pass their

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tary of state. Very soon, however, Siestrzencewicz, who had hitherto been hostile to the Jesuits, manifested great affection for them, in order to please his imperial protectress. He issued an order, authorizing the Jesuits of White Russia to open a novitiate in Polotzk. This action greatly disturbed Pope Pius VI.; for the Spanish court was as indignant as the Muscovite autocrat was elated.



time in idleness, and are of no use to their fellow-men. Art. 13. *The reception of Bulls and Briefs from the Pope is prohibited.* Such Bulls and Briefs are to be sent immediately to the Senate, which body, after it has seen that they contain nothing contrary to the laws of the land or to the power which God has given to the monarch, will communicate them to the throne, and wait for permission to publish them." Siestrzencewicz complied with these and similar demands; and therefore it is natural that the apologists of the Russian Establishment should laud him, as does Dimitry Tolstoy, procurator-general of the Holy Synod under Alexander II., when, in his "History of Roman Catholicism in Russia" (1864), he represents the courtier-prelate as sharing the glory of Catharine II. in laboring for "the reformation and civilization of the Catholic clergy," rendered hitherto so vile and barbarous by the influence of Rome. Tolstoy says that "*to the great astonishment of the Latin fanatics*, Siestrzencewicz never veiled his sympathies for a *wise civilization*; and this was so strange in the eyes of his brethren, that they could explain it only by the supposition that he had secretly apostatized from the Roman communion, for, *according to them, intellect and science are incompatible with faith.*" This judgment of a Muscovite on the countrymen and fellow-clerics of Copernicus may cause a smile; but one is disgusted when the practical head of the Russian Church asserts that "this enlightened bishop was capable of appreciating the eminent sovereign, and of *seconding her benevolent intentions for the good of her Roman Catholic subjects.*" Count Joseph de Maistre had come to know Siestrzencewicz well during the years that he spent in St. Petersburg as the ambassador of the king of Sardinia; and in 1819, seven years before the death of the prelate, he wrote, in his letter on *The Condition of Christianity in Europe*, the following estimate of the character of Catharine's adjutant in the religious campaign against the Poles: "There is at present in Russia a very fantastical personage who could not be found in any other time or country. He is the archbishop of Mohilew, the Catholic primate of all the Russias, who was a Protestant and an officer of cavalry before he became a bishop. He is an instrument in the hands of our enemies, and a thousand times more dangerous than if he were a Protestant by profession. His servility would disgust a *noble* government, one for which mere obedience suffices. He is always ready to contradict, and even to defy the Holy See, because he knows that he will always be sustained. It is he who, one day as the emperor passed, cried out: 'Behold my Pope!' The witnesses of this admirable profession of faith are still living in St. Petersburg. In one of his pastorals this strange bishop presumed to falsify a text of the Council of Trent, and also a passage from a let-



ter of Pope Pius VI. Because of this double *mistake*, if that word suffices, the reigning Pontiff (Pius VII.) could not avoid sending to him a Brief of reprobation, ordering him to retract; but he, knowing that he would be upheld, laughed at the Brief, and made no retractation." Tolstoy reproduces a long memorial by Siestrzencewicz on *The Hierarchy of the Catholic Church in the Empire*, from which we take the following passage as illustrative of the prelate's appreciation of Canon Law, and of his conception of the proper relations between Church and State: "In return for the daily bread which nourishes him (Catharine paid *him* 60,000 roubles a year), and because of the security allowed him in the empire, an ecclesiastic owes obedience and fidelity to the sovereign. He is not obliged to know all the laws, but only those which concern him, and which regard the maintenance of the Church and the clergy. Consequently, the Canon Law must be taught in the seminary, *within the limits which will be prescribed by the sovereign.*" The reader will take notice that this last clause is italicized, not by us, but by the procurator-general of the Holy Synod; and he quite properly asked for special attention to it, for it is an epitome of his hero's entire episcopal teaching. In this memorial there is another passage which also merits italicization, and chiefly because it sounds like an excerpt from Voltaire. Just as Tolstoy contends that "in the schools of the Latins the intellect is purposely obscured," so Siestrzencewicz emits this raving: "In our day, *when men so justly complain of the decadence and corruption of the monastic classes*, and when scarcely any one thinks of some way of rendering them useful to the country, Providence has designed that *in the Golden Age of Russia, Catharine the Immortal should make them benefit her other subjects.*" It is no wonder that Catharine found in Siestrzencewicz an accomplice in all her schemes for the reduction of the Latin Catholics to servitude, for the absorption of the Uniates by the "Orthodox" Church, and for the utter annihilation of the pontifical authority in her dominions.

Throughout his work Dimitry Tolstoy shows us that he cares more for the fancied interests of his imperial master than he cares for the real rights of conscience, and that his inveterate prejudices, nourished in the darkness of schism, dread the light of historical truth. The following passage is interesting, both because of its naive admissions and because of the inconsistency of which it is redolent:

"By the first partition, in 1772, Russia acquired White Russia, which formed only a part of the diocese of Wilna. The first act of the Russian government was to guarantee freedom of worship in those provinces, *and to organize the hierarchical administration of the Roman Church.* . . . Far from attacking the dogmas and rites of the Latin population of White Russia, Catharine, on the contrary, strengthened them by

the institution of a hierarchy; *but she refused to recognize the right of Rome, under pretext of religion, to have anything to do with the discipline of the Latin Church in her empire.* Following the example of the principal states of the Roman communion, she ordered, in 1772, that no Bull or Brief from the court of Rome, no commands of foreign ecclesiastical authorities, should be published in White Russia without the permission of the governor-general and the sovereign sanction. *This important measure, which utterly reversed the relations of the Polish higher clergy with the government and with the court of Rome, which hitherto had ruled absolutely through its nuncio at Warsaw, became a fundamental law of the empire.* This law was always confirmed by all the successors of Catharine, despite certain variations in the administration of the Church. *It exists at present, and it is to be hoped that it will never be changed in the future."*

According to Tolstoy, therefore, Catharine is to be praised for a spirit of toleration, when she violated her solemn promise of toleration by "reorganizing the hierarchical administration of the Roman Church"; when she effected this "reorganization" in such a manner that she "utterly reversed the relations of the Polish higher clergy with the court of Rome"; when she absolutely severed the tie of obedience and respect which bound her Catholic subjects to the earthly head of their Church; when she took as her guides the philosophistic, Febronian and Josephistic (nominally Catholic) statesmen, whose maxims the Church condemned. This conduct of Catharine, according to Tolstoy, was "not an attack on the dogmas and rites" of Catholics, but rather a "strengthening" of them; and, nevertheless, Tolstoy knew that the supremacy of the Pope—and, consequently, his right to command in matters of discipline, just as in matters of faith—forms part of Catholic dogma. But Tolstoy held a brief as an advocate of the State Church of Russia. And he was faithful to his commission when, with an audacity which has been rarely equalled, he declared:

"We should not forget that the regeneration of the Catholic Church in Russia, whose decadence was so manifest at the end of the last century, was inaugurated by a sovereign who did not belong to that Church."

Tolstoy proclaims the name of this murderous and lubricious woman as "venerable"; but Catholics remember that when she left the embraces of her last paramour for those of death—a death which reminds us of that of Arius—she could reflect that since the Treaty of Grodno, signed three years previously, she had forced four-fifths of her Uniate subjects into the ranks of "Orthodoxy." She had strangled their faith as remorselessly as she had strangled her imperial husband; and the hundreds who had perished on the scaffold or under the knout, the fourteen thousand who were undergoing a living death in Siberia, the other thousands whose noses and ears had been cut off after they were de-



prived of their flocks—their sole means of subsistence—would scarcely have termed her “venerable.”

Paul I., the successor of Catharine II., ridded the administration of nearly all the creatures of his abominable mother, but, among the few who succeeded in retaining their positions was the infamous Siestrzencewicz. Paul would have enforced the provisions for toleration which Catharine had signed and then ignored, had he not been influenced by the wily prelate, who hoped to secure for himself a patriarchate under the ægis of the civil power. When Paul requested and obtained from Pope Pius VI. the residence of a papal nuncio in his capital, Siestrzencewicz used every means to thwart the prelate, and finally procured his dismissal. He then drew up a series of regulations for the government of the Catholics in the empire, which rendered him, under the czar, their absolute master. Thus, every appeal from an episcopal decision was to be addressed to the Catholic Department of the College of Justice, and the president of this tribunal was Siestrzencewicz himself. For a time the Catholics breathed more freely, when Paul, heeding the complaints of the Jesuits, deprived his Grace of Mohilew of the presidency in the college, and conferred it on his coadjutor, Benislowski. But with the accession of Alexander I. to the throne, Siestrzencewicz returned to power. By a ukase of November 1, 1801, the Catholic Department of the College of Justice gave place to a Catholic College, which, sitting at St. Petersburg, was to be for all the Catholics in Russia what the Holy Synod was in regard to the schismatics. In the formation of this new tribunal Siestrzencewicz carefully ignored all who had any reputation for morality or honor. One of the members was his brother, a Protestant, and of very evil repute; another, a notoriously dissolute monk, apostatized and married soon after his appointment. However, in spite of the all-but openly schismatic tendencies of their primate, the Catholics of Russia complained but little during the reign of Alexander I. So far as his surroundings would permit, this czar ever manifested a sincere desire to respect the religious convictions of those whom his “popes” represented as the most dangerous enemies of his empire; and it is not strange that during the last years of his life there were rumors of his conversion, and that when he died (in 1825) these rumors attained greater consistency.<sup>1</sup>

The great work which Catharine II. had initiated, the destruction of the Greek Uniate Church, had been interrupted by the

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<sup>1</sup> Relying on the testimony of the Abbé, Prince Hohenlohe, who had been intimate with this czar, Rohrbacher says that the Catholic faith had been embraced not only by Alexander, long before his death, but also by the czarina, Elizabeth, a princess of the House of Baden.



comparatively tolerant reigns of Paul I. and Alexander I.; but it was resumed by Nicholas I., and with similar but more cunningly-devised means. Catharine began the work with the aid of that Siestrzencewicz whom De Maistre rightly termed "a Protestant in disguise," and Nicholas finished it with the aid of another Uniate traitor, Siemaszko. The plan which Siemaszko, then an assessor in the Catholic College of which we have spoken, submitted to Nicholas, has been revealed in our day by Moroschkine, a Russian schismatic priest,<sup>1</sup> and it refutes completely the assertions of Tolstoy and other official "Orthodox" writers that in the contest between Catholicism and "Orthodoxy" it was the former that first assumed the aggressive by troubling the peace of the latter. "*The Empress Catharine*," writes Siemaszko to Nicholas, "*did not hesitate to proclaim aloud that it was her intention to extirpate the Union in the annexed provinces. With this idea, firstly, she enfeebled the action, without suppressing it, of the ecclesiastical authority of the United Greeks, and secondly, she prevented the clergy and nobility of the Latin rite from exercising any influence on the consciences of the Catholics of the Slavonic rite. When, in 1794, the synod received an order to publish an appeal to the people in the newly-acquired provinces, it was to exhort them to embrace Orthodoxy. Her Majesty, on her side, ordered the governor, Toutolmine, to assist the synod. She recommended him to watch carefully, lest any proprietor or employee, ecclesiastical or civil, of either one of the rites of the Catholic religion, should dare offer the least opposition to those who might wish to embrace Orthodoxy. She added that the slightest attempt at such a thing, being a hostility to the dominant religion, and contrary to her formal desires, would be considered a capital crime, to be brought before the tribunals, and involving a confiscation of property until the judicial decision should be rendered. This menace, joined to the state of siege in which the provinces then were, produced its effect. Very soon Orthodox dioceses arose in the government of Minsk, and, above all, in Volhynia and Podolia.*" This passage needs no comment, but mark how Siemaszko admits that after the death of Catharine "conversions to Orthodoxy" almost ceased. "*After the death of the empress, the vigilance of the authorities being relaxed, a great reaction occurred. . . . The conversions of the Uniates to the dominant Church ceased, while returns to the Latin rite were numerous. From that time there was no instance of an entire parish, or even of part of one, going over to the Russian Church, but there were many instances of the contrary. . . . From time to time entire communities passed to*

<sup>1</sup> In an article entitled "The Reunion of the Union," in the *European Messenger*, of St. Petersburg, 1872, cited by Father Martinov, S.J., in his work, *The Plan for the Abolition of the United Greek Church*, Paris, 1878.

*the Uniates, leaving empty churches to the Russo-Greek clergy."* This avowal of Siemaszko scarcely accords with the claims of Tolstoy, or with the impudent assertion of Catharine, that "the Uniates awaited a propitious occasion that they might return to a Church which they had abandoned with regret, and only in order to escape persecution."<sup>1</sup> The plan of Siemaszko for the wholesale perversion of the Uniates embraced four points: Firstly, a United Greek College was to be established; that is, instead of the United Greek section in that Catholic College which managed the religious affairs of the Russian Catholics, there would be instituted a distinct College, the mission of which would be to guard against the introduction of any new features in the United Greek rite, and to watch over the exact observance of all its ancient features. Secondly, the number of Uniate dioceses was to be diminished, and only *reliable* men (that is, men of the stamp of Siemaszko) were to be placed over them. Thirdly, the ecclesiastical schools of the Uniates were to be so guarded that it would be impossible for their students to ever hold the slightest communication with those who followed the Latin rite. Fourthly, and above all, insisted Siemaszko, in order to prevent conversions from "Orthodoxy" to Catholicism, the monks of the Order of St. Basil should be reduced in number, and those allowed to subsist should be withdrawn from the jurisdiction of their provincials. In accordance with this plan, Nicholas I. promulgated, on April 22, 1828, that ukase which Pope Gregory XVI., in his Allocution of July 22, 1842, described as having, by its institution of the United Greek College, "imposed on the bishops, in the exercise of their authority, a nearly absolute subjection to the Russian government." After the establishment of this governmental bureau, other persecuting enactments appeared as its logical consequences. The bishops and superiors of religious houses were forbidden to exercise any supervision over the education of the secular or regular clergy. Episcopal sees were systematically left vacant or filled by either incapable or unworthy persons. The property of convents and monasteries was repeatedly sequestered. Thousands of children were deported to the interior of Russia, to be trained in the maxims of "Orthodoxy." Siberia was the destination of anyone who endeavored to convert an "Orthodox" person to Catholicism. All children born of mixed marriages were to be raised in the National Church. Mixed marriages were regarded as null unless celebrated before an "Orthodox" pastor. No Catholic priest could hear the confession of a person who was unknown

<sup>1</sup> In her letter to Stackelberg, her ambassador to the Roman court, November 4, 1782. The context of the letter shows that its lies were intended for the ears of Pope Pius VI.



to him, nor could he administer the Holy Eucharist to such a person. Such was the legislation which, crowned by the apostasy of three bishops in 1839, brought almost total ruin upon the Ruthenian Church.

In 1830 Siemaszko was appointed suffragan to the metropolitan of Lithuania, who consented to the governmental action, only because the ambitious prelate swore to beseech the Pontiff to grant the canonical institution. It may be superfluous to remark that the oath was broken. An apostate provincial of the Basilian monks, and a few other corrupt Uniates, were found to be willing to accept mitres in return for the sacrifice of their apostolic liberty; and the work of robbing the Ruthenians of their most precious treasure proceeded with rapidity. Like all other schisms and heresies, the "Orthodox" Church waded in the blood of Catholic martyrs ere it triumphed in White Russia. Our limits allow us to cite only a few of the more prominent illustrations of the fidelity of the Ruthenians to the Chair of Peter. In April, 1834, fifty-four priests of the district of Novogrodek handed to Siemaszko a firm protest against his innovations. The wretch proceeded to violence; a few yielded, but the majority set out on the weary march for Siberia. One of the accomplices of this Polish Cranmer, Luzien-ski, bishop of Polotsk, made a number of his clergy drunk, and then wheedled from them a renunciation of the Roman communion. When the priests of the districts of Drisna and Lepel heard of this proceeding, they protested before God and man; then the imperial authorities transferred their churches to the schismatics. The district of Witepsk had for many years been attended by the Lazarists; but these devoted sons of St. Vincent de Paul had been banished in 1832. Shortly after the Easter of 1835, an imperial commissioner, accompanied by a company of soldiers, entered the church and informed the people that it was the will of their father, the czar, that they should embrace his religion. When they refused, the military fell on them; many expired in the house of God, but many others fled to a neighboring pond, which was covered by a thin coating of ice. The commissioner ordered them to yield, but they replied that they would die rather than abandon the Catholic religion. Then the soldiers broke the ice; some of the unfortunates swam to the shore, but twenty-two found their martyrs' crowns in their watery graves. At Starosiel, a military colony, the commander informed his men, one day, that the czar had determined that they should adore his God. The simple-minded Poles replied that they did adore the same Christ, the Redeemer, whom the czar adored. "That is not enough," retorted the general; "you must adore God according to the regulations—in the manner decreed by the czar." The puzzled



men exclaimed that Christ had not instituted the czar as Chief Pastor for His flock. "I know nothing about that," returned the commander, "nor do I wish to know anything about it. I know only my orders. Obey!" Most of the soldiers declared that they would die sooner than abandon their religion; whereupon the "Orthodox" ones fell upon them with clubs and swords, and another band of martyrs ascended to heaven. After seven years of persecution of this sort, Siemaszko could boast that in White Russia and Lithuania eight hundred and eighty-six parishes had passed from the obedience of the Vicar of Christ to that of the czar of Russia; and then he and Luzienski ordered their clergy to sign *An Act of Union With the Russian Church*. In the province of Mohilew every priest spurned the document, and one hundred and sixty of them were sent to Siberia, where most of them died. In 1838 the Uniate bishop of Brest joined Siemaszko and Luzienski at Polotsk; and having signed the *Act of Union*, they endeavored to procure the adhesion of the venerable metropolitan, Bulhak, to whom Siemaszko was coadjutor. The czar tried in vain to bribe Bulhak with the *cordon* of St. Andrew, a decoration which was given only to princes of the blood, and with a promise of the see of St. Petersburg. When Siemaszko dangled this latter bait before his eyes, the old man asked: "You offer me the highest dignity in the Russian Church; but who will give me eternal salvation, if I violate my conscience?" And he immediately drew up an act of solemn protestation against the proceedings of his suffragans. That same night, Bloudow, minister of the interior, entered the bedroom of the archbishop, unannounced, and ordered him, in the name of the czar, to sign the *Act of Union*. The prelate calmly replied: "No human power shall induce me to proclaim my separation from the Universal Church—from Christ Himself. If others do so, and the government publishes their apostasy, I, at least, solemnly protest against their conduct." Siemaszko advised the czar to proceed to extremes, but Nicholas reflected that Bulhak was revered by schismatics as well as by Catholics, and he preferred to allow a natural death, which could not be far distant, to free him from the last firm support of the Ruthenian Church. The prelate went to his reward at the close of that year, and then the czar gave him a gorgeous funeral, in order that the people might believe the government's assertion that he had finally entered the State Church of Holy Russia. On February 24, 1839, the three episcopal apostates published their *Act of Union*. It was benignly received by Colonel Protasoff, the head of the Holy Synod; and from that day the apologists of the czarate have continually asserted, and Russian school children have been continually

taught, that during the reign of the ever-memorable (*nezabvenny*) Czar Nicholas I. nearly two millions of Ruthenians "returned" to the Orthodox Church spontaneously and gratefully.

The Polish Catholics of the Latin rite had their share of suffering during the reign of Nicholas I. as well as those of the Greek rite. The suppression of all the religious orders, announced in 1828, was effected in 1832. The incumbent of the metropolitan see of Mohilew, Cieciszowski, a most worthy man, a living contradiction of his predecessor, Siestrzencewicz, was prevented by the infirmities of age from administering the diocese; and when his auxiliary, Szyt, showed that his attachment to the Holy See was invincible, he was deported into the depths of Russia. When the see became vacant, Nicholas named for it the bishop of Kamieniec, Paulowski, who had been so subservient to his majesty as to order his clergy to observe the ukase of March 28, 1836, which forbade the priests of the Latin rite to administer the Sacraments to the Uniates. In 1841 Pope Gregory XVI. deemed it wise to grant a Brief for the canonical institution of Paulowski, and for this act he has been blamed by many Catholic publicists, notably by the generally judicious French historian, Rohrbacher. Certainly appearances were against the venerable Pontiff, when many devoted children of the Holy See, regarding things from a lower standpoint than that which he occupied, insinuated that his invincible opposition to all revolutionary manœuvres had rendered him an unwitting accomplice of the Russian persecutor. But listen to the apostolic simplicity and vigor with which Gregory XVI. explained his position in his Allocution to the Sacred College, delivered on July 22, 1842.

"He whose unworthy vicar on earth we are knows well that from the moment of our elevation to the Supreme Pontificate we have neglected nothing which zeal and solicitude could suggest as remedies for the ever-increasing evils of the day. But what has been the result of all our labors? Facts, and very recent ones, tell us too plainly. . . . The public has no knowledge of all that we have done, unceasingly and determinedly, in order to protect and defend, in all the regions subjected to the Russian domination, the inviolable rights of the Catholic Church. All this has been unknown, especially in those regions; and it has come to pass, for the increase of our grief, that among the faithful dwelling there in such great numbers, the enemies of the Holy See, with that hereditary deceit (*avita fraude*) which distinguishes them, have spread the report that we, forgetful of our sacred ministry, have ignored the misfortunes which have overwhelmed those peoples, and that thus we have almost abandoned the cause of the Catholic religion. So far has this matter been carried, that we have become almost a stumbling-block for a considerable portion of the flock of our Lord. . . . Since such is the state of things, we owe to God, to religion, and to ourselves, that we repel even the suspicion of so grievous a delinquency. With this object, we have ordered that there be given to each one of you, Venerable Brothers, a complete exposition of all that we have done in behalf of the Catholic Church in the empire of Russia. Thus it will be made plain to all the faithful throughout the world, that we have been in no way neglectful of our Apostolic duties."



The publication of this exposition, which was a precise and thoroughly substantiated arraignment of the Russian government before the bar of Christianity and civilization, was a fearful blow for Nicholas I. One of his greatest anxieties had been caused by the fear lest his imitations of Nero and Diocletian should become known in Western Europe. He had succeeded in hiding them, thanks to the complicity of his Protestantizing brother-in-law, the king of Prussia; thanks also to the minister of Austria, that Metternich who rivalled even Nicholas in hatred of every true independence of thought; but thanks, above all, to the interested silence of nearly the entire press of Europe, which, in the hands of Freemasons and Jews, never condemned any injuries done to Catholics, just as to-day it says nothing when Cossacks bayonet the infants of Polish Catholics, while it wails through many columns of exaggerations on the woes which Eastern schismatics have brought upon themselves at the hands of the Turks. The language of the Papal Secretary of State was calm and dignified, but it carried conviction to the heart of every reader. Nicholas thought it would be a grand stroke of policy were he to show the world that he did not hesitate to justify himself in the very face of his accuser. We do not know the details of that interview which Pope Gregory XVI. granted to his Russian majesty in December, 1845. In his "Last Four Popes," Cardinal Wiseman says:

"What were the emperor's intentions, what his ideas, what his desires in coming to Rome, and having necessarily a personal meeting with the Pope, it is impossible to conjecture. Did he hope to overcome him by his splendid presence, truly majestic, soldier-like and imperial? Or to cajole and win him by soothing speeches and insincere promises? Or to gain the interpretative approval of silence and forbearance? One must conjecture in vain. Certain it is that he came, he saw, and conquered not. It has been already mentioned that the subject and particulars of the conference were never revealed by its only witness at Rome. The Pope's own account was brief, simple, and full of conscious power: 'I said to him all that the Holy Ghost dictated to me.' And that he had not spoken vainly, with words that had beaten the air, but that their strokes had been well placed and driven home, there was evidence otherwise recorded. An English gentleman was in some part of the palace through which the imperial visitor passed as he returned from his interview, and described his altered appearance. He had entered with his usual firm and royal aspect, grand as it was from statue-like features, stately frame, and martial bearing; free and at his ease, with gracious looks and condescending gestures of salutation. So he passed through the long suite of anterooms, the imperial eagle, glossy, fiery, 'with plumes unruffled, and with eye unquenched,' in all the glory of pinions which no flight had ever wearied, of beak and talon which no prey had yet resisted. He came forth again, with head uncovered, and hair, if it can be said of man, dishevelled; haggard and pale, looking as though in an hour he had passed through the condensation of a protracted fever; taking long strides, with stooping shoulders, unobservant, unsaluting. He waited not for his carriage to come to the foot of the stairs, but rushed out into the outer court, and hurried away from the scene of a discomfiture. It was the eagle dragged from his eyrie among the clefts of the rocks, 'from his nest among the stars,' his feathers crumpled, and his eye quelled, by a power till then despised."



Probably this event induced Nicholas to enter into a Concordat with the Holy See in 1847, and to consent to satisfy a few of the claims of the Pontiff. Thus, in Article 12, it was stipulated that the czar would appoint no Catholic bishop without a previous understanding with the Pope; in Article 13 the bishop was recognized as the sole judge of ecclesiastical matters in his diocese, and he was to appoint all the members of his council; in Article 21 the bishop was allowed to supervise the instruction of the ecclesiastical students in his seminary, and he was permitted to select the professors of theology from among the members of the priesthood; and in Article 31 private individuals who wished to spend their own money in defraying the expenses of Catholic worship were graciously allowed to do so, without fear of governmental interference. But at the very moment that this "ever-memorable" head of Russian "Orthodoxy" was doling out his pitiful measure of justice to his Polish subjects in that Concordat which was designed to blind the eyes of Western Europe, he promulgated a code of criminal procedure which was almost worthy of Elizabeth of England. By Article 184 of this code any person who found fault with the "Orthodox" religion lost his civil rights and was doomed to forced labor for six or eight years, while six months or a year of imprisonment awaited him who did not denounce the person whom he had heard pronouncing such sentiments. By Article 187 the commission of this "crime" by writing or printing was punished, in the persons of author or printer, by deportation to Siberia. By Article 193 any persuasion to abandon the Church of the State entailed deportation to Tomsk or Tobolsk; any such persuasion, if savoring of "violence," was to be punished by deportation to Siberia. And the reader will please note that the deprivation of civil rights, as well as the condemnation to Siberia, entailed also a scourging with the knout, which consisted of from eighty to two hundred blows. Of course it is unnecessary to state that the imperial framer of this code did not observe the provisions of the Concordat, trivial though they were.

When Alexander II. succeeded his father, Nicholas I., in 1855, the similarity of his name, and a general belief that his nature was gentle, led the Poles to believe that his reign would be no more oppresssive to them than that of his uncle. But in May, 1856, the future emancipator of the Russian serfs thus addressed the Polish nobility in Warsaw: "I bear you all in my heart, just as I bear the Finlanders and all other Russian subjects; but I intend to maintain the state of affairs which my father established. Therefore, cherish no reveries! I shall know how to restrain those who may continue to indulge in dreams. *The happiness of Poland depends*

on its entire fusion with the rest of my empire. What my father did was well done, and I shall uphold it; my reign will be the continuation of his." Alexander II., however, wished to present an appearance of being willing to satisfy the "legitimate" reclamations of the Holy See. One of his first acts, therefore, was the appointment of a committee, consisting of Nesselrode, Bludoff, the two Kisseleffs, Lanskoï, and the Poles, Turkull and Hubé, which was charged to consider the demands which the Roman Pontiff had continued to make ever since the government of Nicholas I. had signed the Concordat of 1847. We shall notice only a few of these demands, and the treatment which the ostensibly conciliatory committee accorded to them. The first point will scarcely be understood by the Catholic reader. Just as the Holy Synod of the "Orthodox" Church is governed by the czar through the secular procurator-general whom he appoints, so the government of St. Petersburg had for many years attempted to manipulate each Catholic bishop by means of a secretary for his council whom it commissioned, and who was not only a secular, but often a schismatic. To the protest of the Pope against this absurd and outrageous practice the committee replied: "After a minute examination of this matter, the committee finds that our government, basing its action on the recognized right of all European governments to control the actions of the Catholic Church in their states (*jus inspectionis*), can, without fear of contradiction, whenever it deems the procedure necessary, appoint its delegates to watch the Catholic consistories, lest they adopt any measures contrary to the existing laws of the empire. If the court of Rome opposes this action, it is not befitting for our government to renounce its prerogatives." To the pontifical demand that when Catholics wished to contract mixed marriages they should be allowed to recur to their own episcopal tribunals, it was replied that such a pretension could not be entertained, *since the spiritual tribunals of the "Orthodox" Church alone had jurisdiction over the two communions*. With some consistency, therefore, the committee reported against granting the papal demand that the czar should withdraw the ukase of 1842, whereby it had been declared that no mixed marriage was valid unless contracted before an "Orthodox" priest. Quite naturally the committee condemned the Pope's insistence that Holy Russia should do what no modern government has yet done, that is, that she should restore the property which she had stolen from the Church. Of course the very "Orthodox" committee did not agree with the Pontiff when he said that apostate Uniates ought not to experience governmental restraint when they wished to return to the Catholic fold. Neither could the committee perceive any reasonableness in the papal wish that the spiritual wants of the



still subsisting United Greeks should be satisfied by Latin bishops, when the government refused to allow them bishops of their own rite. By adopting the advice of this committee, Alexander II. showed how sincere had been the liberal promises which he had made when he mounted the throne; and by this entrance into the way marked out by Catharine II., and so persistently followed by Nicholas I., he deliberately challenged the patience of Poland. Neither the scope of our work nor our limits permit us to detail the terrible events of the Polish insurrection of 1863, but a few words in illustration of its immediate causes will be pertinent to our present subject.

And here at once let us notice an accusation which was brought at that time against the Polish clergy by their "Orthodox" oppressors, and which has been too often repeated by ill-informed publicists in Western Christendom. The Polish clergy were and are styled revolutionists, and, quite reasonably, the European revolutionism of our day is malodorous to Catholic nostrils. *If there was then, or is now, any deficiency of proper spirit in the Polish priesthood, that deficiency exists because the Russian government has for more than a century systematically endeavored to demoralize that priesthood. It has deprived the Polish clergy of every source of instruction and piety, so far as human power could deprive it, by furnishing it with unworthy bishops in too many instances; by suppressing seminaries and religious orders, and by the corrupt maxims which Russian professors have taught to Polish youth.* But it remains to be proved that the Polish clergy have ever knowingly played the game of the Masonic Lodges. The first politico-religious manifestation of 1861 was made in Warsaw. On February 25, 1839, the Poles had defeated the Russians at the gates of Praga, one of the suburbs of the capital, and on the anniversary an immense multitude, headed by many priests, who surrounded the national banner, proceeded to the site to offer prayers for the dead. On the way all chanted the popular and patriotic hymn *Święty Boże*, which, as a rule, the Poles never sang in the streets unless in time of epidemic or other public calamity.<sup>1</sup> The

<sup>1</sup> The hymn is as follows: "Holy God, Powerful God, Immortal God, have mercy on us! From pest, fire and war, Lord, deliver us! From sudden and unprovided death, Lord, deliver us! Sinners that we are, we beseech thee, O Lord, to deign to govern and exalt Thy Holy Church! Vouchsafe to render our country to us! Deign to dispose us unto true repentance! Jesus, Jesus, have mercy on us! Holy Virgin Mary, Queen of Poland, pray for us!" Hymns in the vernacular have a prominent place in the liturgy of the Poles of the Latin rite. The custom of congregational singing in Polish was introduced in the sixteenth century, in order to combat the influence of the Reformers, who were striving to abolish the Latin liturgy. There is no choir, in our sense of the term, in a Polish church. The organist intones the first words of the *Kyrie*, *Gloria*, *Credo*, etc., in Polish, and the congregation chant the remainder. After each parochial Mass the *Święty Boże* precedes the Benediction of the Blessed Sacrament.



service on the place of battle had nearly terminated when Colonel Trepow, the chief of police, arrived with two squadrons of mounted gendarmes. Twice the inoffensive and still praying multitude were charged, and more than forty were either mortally or seriously wounded. On February 27th a funeral service was to be celebrated in the church of the Carmelites for Zawisza, one of the victims of Russian tyranny, and as the procession was nearing the church Trepow attacked it with two squadrons of dragoons. The Poles held their ground, and another procession, issuing from the Church of the Bernardines, distracted the attention of the Cossacks. Wheeling about, the soldiers of Holy Russia fell upon the latter body, forced it back into the church, and galloped after it to the very foot of the altar. Meanwhile the first procession had tried to enter the hall of the Agricultural Society, intending to protest against the sacrilegious violence of the oppressor before the distinguished men who formed that patriotic and philanthropic body, and who were then in session. The President of the Society, Count Andrew Zamoyski, true to his programme of abstention from anything which might serve as an excuse for governmental interference with the beneficent work of his organization, declared the session closed. The members retired, but as they reached the street the soldiers were ordered to fire, and five of them fell dead and more than sixty were wounded. On October 15th, the anniversary of the death of Kosciuszko, a requiem was celebrated in each parish church of Warsaw, when each was surrounded by soldiers, and an order that none of the suppliants should be allowed egress was issued. During seventeen hours the congregations were thus confined, and when, at four in the morning of the 16th, the military entered the sanctuaries, it was for the purpose of dragging more than two thousand innocents to the citadel.<sup>1</sup> The resignation of the people of Warsaw during these days of outrage approached the sublime. So funereal was the aspect of the city that the Russians might have thought their tri-

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<sup>1</sup> One of the victims of Cossack brutality on this occasion was an Englishman named G. Mitchell, and he wrote several letters to Earl Russell on the matter, from which we take the following passage: "Who could imagine that the Christian governor of a Christian city would order his Asiatic hordes of hideous savages to trample under their feet a Christian population, an inoffensive people, because it had entered or approached the house of God? When the Russian troops forcibly entered the churches they found kneeling women in the first rows, and behind them were the kneeling men. The women were beaten, and the men were thrown to the floor and trampled under foot. In front of the church of the Bernardines, in the Faubourg of Cracow, Captain Taraskewicz was seen lashing with his whip the women who were trying to escape from the Cossacks by fleeing into the church, and he ordered his men to do the same. . . . After these outrages the churches were despoiled of every object on which the Russians could lay hands."—*The Events in Warsaw on October 15, 1861*. Paris, 1862.

umph already assured, had not one venerable man raised his voice of protestation in the name of religion and of humanity. With the courage of a Roman martyr defying a proconsul to do his worst, Bialobrziski, the administrator of the diocese (Archbishop Fialkowski had died on September 25th), handed to the governor a document in which, after an allusion to the desecration of the churches, he said: "These deeds are a disgrace to the soldiers of a civilized government, and make one believe that the days of Attila have returned. But since such are the facts, and since the soldiers menace an unarmed people with their bayonets, I am obliged, in conformity with the mind of the Church, to take measures which will make this justly indignant people realize deeply the barbarity of the outrages which have been perpetrated. I therefore order that all the churches of Warsaw be closed, and I prohibit all services in them. What will be the consequence of this shutting-off from all religious consolation a people who are already so profoundly irritated? I know not; but I do know that nothing can now renew the ties between governed and governing which have been so often and so cruelly broken." In spite of every threat of the government, the order of the administrator was obeyed by the clergy, and the people began to kneel in prayer before the doors which Muscovite cruelty had closed against them. Then a governmental decree forbade all public praying, under pain of the knout and imprisonment; and on November 12th the heroic administrator was thrust into the citadel, the ordinary torments of political prisoners being increased, in his case, by his being deprived of the consolation of his Breviary.<sup>1</sup> His sufferings were of short duration, for since he would not resign his office, and the Chapter would not elect another administrator, he was condemned to death in the following December. Alexander II. now nominated for the see of Warsaw a priest in whom he fancied that he could discern one who would be, if not an instrument of Russia, at least an advocate of a policy of *laissez aller*. Felinski had been one of the few Polish clergymen who blamed Bialobrziski for closing the churches; and since he had resided outside of Poland for many years, and had judged of matters by official journals and documents, he had come to believe that the conduct of the Polish clergy had not always been noted for prudence. But Mgr. Felinski had scarcely taken possession of his see when he proved to the czar and to the world that he was of the material which furnishes to the Church her Athanasii and her Chrysostoms. At the beginning of May, 1862, the people of Warsaw having signified their intention to honor the Queen of Heaven, in that month which is specially devoted to her praises, by illuminations around

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<sup>1</sup> *Ami de la Religion*, January 8, 1862.



all of her statues, the government ordered the archbishop to forbid such demonstrations, declaring also that all ecclesiastics "would be arrested and summarily punished" who contravened the wishes of the czar in the matter. Felinski replied to this insolent command on May 5th, insisting that "it was for the ecclesiastical authorities to superintend the churches," and that "an order to publish police regulations to his flock was an outrage on his episcopal dignity." During the next few days many of the churches were invaded by the police, and in each several worshippers were arrested, in accordance with the formal orders of the chief of police, Pilsudski, to make at least five arrests in each church every evening. In the meantime the archbishop had left the capital for a visitation to a part of his diocese without the permission of the government. Luders, the governor-general, telegraphed several times to the audacious prelate, ordering him to return; but Felinski replied each time that his work was not yet accomplished. These few facts will give an idea of the state of men's minds when, on January 15, 1863, the Russian government began to enforce the law of conscription, and thus precipitated the great insurrection. On May 5th the Grand Duke Constantine, then governor-general, sent for the archbishop, and ordered him to forbid the procession of the coming Feast of Corpus Christi. When the prelate refused, Constantine threatened to place soldiers at the door of every church; then the contributing processions would be unable to join in one grand function. Felinski replied: "Very well, Your Highness. Then I, with the crucifix in my hand, shall be the first to go out of my church; I shall offer my breast to your bayonets, and men will know whether it is Your Highness or I to whom the religious war will be due." The procession took place. In the beginning of June the archbishop was asked by Constantine to degrade from the priesthood a Capuchin named Konarski, who had been condemned to death *by the grand-duke himself*, for having officiated as chaplain in the insurgent army of Langiewicz. The archbishop denied that any secular tribunal could condemn an ecclesiastic to degradation; as for the present case, he knew of no reason why such a sentence should be pronounced. On June 14th Mgr. Felinski was arrested, and soon afterward interned in Jaroslaw.

While persecution was thus raging in the kingdom of Poland, properly so called, the emissaries of the "mild" Alexander II. were carrying fire and sword into the olden Polish provinces beyond the Bug—Lithuania and the Ruthenian countries. The instrument chosen by the cabinet of St. Petersburg to stamp out the insurrection in these regions was Michael Mourawieff, a wealthy scion of a family which has ever been distinguished for its hatred



of everything Polish and Catholic, and a veritable representative of the spirit of Old Russia.<sup>1</sup> The powers given to Mourawieff exceeded any given to any general in modern times, unless we except those accorded in 1861 to the generals of the Italian revolution, in the matter of repressing all Neapolitan devotion to the exiled and legitimate monarch of the Two Sicilies. Thus, we read :

"His Excellency will employ the most energetic measures against all whom he *supposes* to be favorable to the rebellion ; he will take such measures as he may deem advisable against all *suspects*. His Excellency will use every means to instruct the peasants as to the czar's paternal intentions in their regard, and *he will represent to them that the land-owners are their enemies and oppressors*. If His Excellency deems it wise, he will furnish arms to such peasants as are attached to the czar and to Russia. *His Excellency will show the greatest possible severity toward the Catholic clergy, they being the instigators of the present rebellion*. He will cause a list of the suspected priests to be prepared, and he will proceed against these with the utmost energy. His Excellency will shoot immediately all rebel leaders who fall into his hands, and will take proper measures in regard to all other prisoners. When circumstances demand, His Excellency will proceed against families who may have relatives in the insurgent ranks. In fine, *His Excellency will adopt every means that he may deem conducive to immediate pacification*, His Majesty having deigned to confer full powers upon him."

Between June 8th and December 28th of 1863 Mourawieff either hung or shot eleven priests in Lithuania, while many scores of

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<sup>1</sup> Mourawieff prided himself on being a freethinker. After the deportation of the Bishop of Wilna, the administrator of the diocese, Bowkiewicz, had occasion to confer with the general. The discussion was fruitless, and Mourawieff remarked: "You people are ever talking about God. Now, here I am seventy years old, and I have never seen such a person." The priest replied: "Probably Your Excellency will never see Him." (Regnault: *Mourawieff and the Archives of Czarism*, p. 37. Paris, 1863.) The party of Old Russia, of which Mourawieff was a good exponent, underwent a transformation after the emancipation of the serfs. Under the influence of Michael Katkoff, editor of the *Gazette of Moscow*, it became the party of Young Russia. What does Young Russia desire? The *Journal of Paris*, on March 27, 1868, thus answers the question: "A political organization like this: At the summit of the edifice an all-powerful czar, beneath him a hierarchy of functionaries, whose mission it would be to execute the orders of the emperor, and at the bottom an innumerable multitude, among whom there would reign equality, where the citizens would be all confused in a kind of communitistic promiscuousness which Young Russia regards as democracy. All this obtained, the religion of Slavism would be pushed to fanaticism, and there would flourish a love of domination without limits and the blindest devotion to the will of the czar, the lord and father of all the Russians. This singular political system has recruited a considerable number of adherents; *it is pre-eminently the National Party*. There is to be no more influence from without; everything is to be for Russia and through Russia. To-day there still remain in the higher government circles traces of the olden German influence; all these must be made to disappear. Panslavism is a mission, and all who try to thwart it must be thrust aside; if they resist, they must be crushed. There are to be no more embarrassments; no such thing as Poland, with that phantom of independence which has hitherto been permitted to her. Panslavism is to know no obstacles, such as treaties and the respect due to them. . . . Russia represents the principle of nationalities (as advocated by Cavour); she is to deliver the Slavs of Russia and Turkey."

other priests were deported. In 1864 he closed twenty-four churches; in 1865, twenty-six; in 1867, one hundred and forty. Every Catholic land-owner and every Catholic ecclesiastic who had been allowed to remain in Lithuania was mulcted to the extent of more than a half of his revenues. In January, 1865, Mourawieff expelled all the female religious from Lithuania, not even excepting the Sisters of Charity. On September 14th Kauffmann, the successor of Mourawieff, presided at the inauguration, in Wilna, of an "Orthodox" church and two chapels which had been founded by his predecessor. On the following day the official *Courier of Wilna* published the sermon which signalized this triumph of the czarate.

"What do these monuments mean? They signify that not a stone will remain above another in all the cities of this land when Russia yields it to another. . . . On this occasion it is impossible not to glorify the late ruler of this region, the virtuous and wise Mourawieff, *who came among us like another Archangel Michael*, clothed in divine panoply, the cross on his breast, and beatitude on his forehead and lips, an olive-branch in one hand and a flaming sword in the other. . . . We see with joy this country throwing off the rags and dirt of its deplorable past as every part of it enters more determinedly into the living and potent organism of the Russian Empire. . . . A few more efforts, a few more enterprises, a little more time and patience, and on the brow of this country will be inscribed 'Holy and Orthodox Russia.'"

And a few days afterward Kauffmann thus addressed a deputation of the Lithuanian gentry:

"The severe regulations of the last few years will be maintained until I am convinced that you are thorough Russians, that you march in the way that is marked out for you by the law, and that you do so sincerely."

In plain language, Kauffmann signified the resolve of his government that the Catholics of Lithuania, like those of the other Polish provinces, and like those of the kingdom itself, were to deny their faith and their fatherland, unless they were ready for penury and deportation, and, in case of resistance, for the scaffold. When the marshal of the nobility, Krzywicki, at the head of a deputation of Lithuanian magnates, waited upon him in Wilna, the representative of the czar said:

"There is no pardon, even for those who have been condemned only to internment, so long as *Polonism and Catholicism are not totally extirpated*, so long as there remains one Catholic church in the land. *Reconciliation with the government and fidelity to the throne consist in the embrace of Orthodoxy by all, without exception.* Let the obstinate in their faith depart; for, gentlemen, I tell you again that no Catholic shall remain here, especially among the land-owners."

The determination here indicated was rendered manifest on January 8, 1866 (O. S., December 27, 1865), by the following imperial decree published in the *Gazette of the Senate*:



"Considering that in the nine governments of the West, the inhabitants of which are generally Little Russians and White Russians and partly Lithuanians and Samogitians, the population of Polish origin is comparatively small, and considering that this Polish population, composed generally of seignorial proprietors and of the middle class, impresses upon the country a Polish character—thus preventing the non-Polish inhabitants from progressing and profiting by the numerous reforms which His Imperial Majesty has granted to his other subjects—and considering that the strength of this class consists in the possession of property after the fashion of a close corporation, which admits none of any other nationality, especially none of the Russian nationality, His Majesty, the Emperor, orders as follows: While awaiting a definitive organization of the governments in the West by a sufficient increase of Russian land-owners in those regions, no persons of Polish origin shall be allowed to acquire seignorial lands in the nine governments of the West. . . . Land-owners who have been exiled from the provinces of the West may, within the next two years, sell their estates in those provinces to persons of Russian origin *who profess either the Orthodox or Protestant religion.*"<sup>1</sup>

On December 27, 1866, Meyendorf, chargé d'affaires at the papal court, was received in audience by Pope Pius IX. The Pontiff protested against the persecutions in Poland and the western provinces of the empire. Especially he complained of the exile of Mgr. Felinski; of the imprisonment of that prelate's vicar, and of the vexations visited on the faithful Chapter of Warsaw.<sup>2</sup> The

<sup>1</sup> The Paris *Monde* of January 24, 1866, states that at that time in White Russia and in Lithuania there were 21,000 Catholic land-owners to 1600 who were either Orthodox or Protestants. In Volhynia and Podolia the proportion of Catholics was larger; in the sole district of Berditchef there were 244 Catholics to 4 Orthodox.

<sup>2</sup> Many times before this formal protest, Pius IX. had defended the cause of the Polish Catholics in the most solemn manner. We cite only the following passage from his Allocution in the Consistory of April 27, 1864: "The blood of the weak and the innocent cries to the throne of the Eternal for vengeance on those who have shed it. Poor Poland! I would have wished not to speak of this matter before the next Consistory; but I have feared that were I to keep silence any longer I would draw upon myself the punishment which the prophet announces as awaiting those who allow iniquity to be committed. No! I wish not to be compelled to cry, when I stand before the Eternal Judge, '*Vae mihi, quia tacui!*' I feel myself inspired to condemn that sovereign whose name I do not now pronounce because I shall mention it in another discourse, of that sovereign whose immense empire reaches to the pole. This potentate, who styles himself falsely an Eastern Catholic, but who is merely a schismatic cut off from the True Church, persecutes and kills his Catholic subjects, and by his cruelty he has forced them to insurrection. Under the pretext of repressing this insurrection he extirpates Catholicism, he deports entire populations to the regions of ice where they are deprived of all religious consolation, and he replaces them with schismatic adventurers. He tears priests from their flocks, and exiles them, condemning them to forced labor, and to other degrading punishments. Happy are those priests who have been able to flee, and are now wanderers in strange lands! This potentate, heterodox and schismatic though he is, arrogates to himself a power which even the Vicar of Jesus Christ does not possess. He pretends to depose a bishop whom we have canonically instituted. Insane man! He forgets that a Catholic bishop, whether on his throne or in the catacombs, is ever the same, and that his character is indelible. Let no man say that we foment European revolution when we raise our voice against these iniquities. We know how to distinguish between socialistic revolution and the struggle of a nation which fights for its independence and for its religious faith. In stigmatizing the persecutors of the Catholic religion, we fulfil



envoy had the audacity to contest the exactness of the Pope's information concerning events which were but too notorious; and when subterfuge failed him, he contended that the unfortunate Catholics would have suffered nothing, had they imitated the Protestants, and sided with the government of the czar during the insurrection. Finally, the foolish and impudent diplomat remarked that, after all, the Russian sovereign ought not to have been surprised at the revolt of the Catholics, since Catholicism and revolution are one and the same thing—"giacchè il Cattolicesimo vale lo stesso che la rivoluzione." It is possible that this outrage was premeditated, but whether it was designed at St. Petersburg or conceived in a muddy brain which knew nothing of diplomacy, the Pontiff could not ignore it. "You may go," he replied. "I must believe, Monsieur, that your emperor is not aware of all the miseries which cause Poland to groan. Therefore I respect your emperor, but I cannot say the same of his representative when he insults me in my own house, and when, in my person, he insults all the faithful, of whom I am the head." The Russian government never disavowed this act of its agent, and diplomatic relations between it and the Holy See now ceased. It was at this time that Cardinal Antonelli published his official "Exposition, Accompanied by Documents, of the Continual Endeavors of the Supreme Pontiff, Pius IX., to Remedy the Sufferings of the Catholic Church in Russia and in Poland." Concluding the touching narrative, the secretary says: "The Holy Father had signed a Concordat, and he could never procure its execution. He has protested, but has received no satisfaction. Frequently he has raised his voice in public Consistories, but there has been no reduction of severity in the measures adopted. Finally he invoked directly the justice of the emperor, but in vain has he awaited a consoling reply. There remains for the Holy See, therefore, no other course for its justification than that of publishing the documents which will show how solicitous it has been in regard to this cherished portion of the flock of Jesus Christ. The picture presented is painful indeed; one needs only to glance at it in order to be convinced of the desolation to which the laws and acts of the imperial government have reduced the Church of Poland. We behold pastors snatched from their flocks, or

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our sacred duty. We give our Apostolic benediction to all who pray for Poland to-day. Let us all pray for her!" Even the enemies of the Papacy admired this protest of "the old man of the Vatican." One of the foremost leaders of the Italian Unitarian movement, Brofferio, said in the Italian parliament on May 7th, "Behold an old man, tired, sick, without an army or any resources, and on the brink of the grave. He anathematizes a potentate who slaughters a people. I am agitated throughout my entire being. I fancy that I am living in the days of Gregory VII. I bow my head, and I applaud."

despoiled of their authority; the priests either proscribed or prevented from exercising their ecclesiastical ministry; the religious expelled and reduced to indigence; the Uniate Greeks drawn violently into schism: the Latins seduced or deprived of religious aid; sacred worship suspended, the churches being either desecrated or given over to non-Catholic services; the property of the Church stolen, the hierarchy abolished, religious and secular education contaminated, schism propagated; and, finally, every means destroyed whereby the Supreme Pastor might succor, teach, or console so large a number of his oppressed children." In an attempt to counteract the impression produced by this "Exposition," Prince Gortchakoff sent to each diplomatic agent of Russia in foreign countries a "Memorandum" which seems to have been designed to flatter the Muscovite arrogance rather than to convince Christendom, for it coolly contradicts the facts of history, and is often gratuitously insulting to the Sovereign Pontiff. In the next number of the REVIEW we shall show how the "gentle" Alexander II. extirpated by fraud and violence the United Greek Church in Poland; and then we shall unfold the panorama of Poland's religious martyrdom under Alexander III., and under the present czar, Nicholas II.

REUBEN PARSONS, D.D.

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## PASSION-FLOWERS.

"WITH something of a lingering love, I read  
 The characters, by that mysterious hour  
 Stamped on the reverential soul of man  
 In visionary days, and thence thrown back  
 On the fair forms of nature. Many a sign  
 Of the great Sacrifice which won us Heaven,  
 The woodman and the mountaineer can trace  
 On rock, on herb, and flower. And be it so!  
 They do not wisely that with hurried hand  
 Would pluck these salutary fancies forth  
 From their strong soil within the peasant's breast,  
 And scatter them—far, far too fast! away  
 As worthless weeds; oh, little do we know  
 When they have soothed, when saved!"

—FELICIA HEMANS.

THE divinity that lies in nature has ever been present to men's minds the more simple their lives were and the purer their hearts. To every thinking person what we sum up in the word nature must always be at the same time supernatural; even its external aspects are so inscrutable and awe-inspiring, and its beauty so penetrating, that their contemplation makes the most flippant tongue silent in their presence, and often even reverent. It is not superior knowledge, but superior superficiality, that makes men see in the world around them nothing but "the outcome of known physical laws." It is true that law governs the universe, for "order is the first law of heaven," but to think that having arrived at this conclusion is the end of the whole matter shows how little we realize that this is the starting-point, not an end. Even to grasp what the universe means will always remain beyond our mental comprehension; when all material knowable facts shall have been gathered, we shall have but a sketch of a portion of the great picture, some of the pigments, in fact, which still need the hand and mind of the artist to make them intelligible and harmonious. This world of ours, with every element known and labelled in it, will still remain God's creation, "towards which," Mr. Carlyle says, "the best attitude for us after never so much science is awe, devout prostration and humility of soul, worship if not in words then in silence."

The earlier the record of human thought the more constantly evident is this reverence for the natural creation; Job as much as Homer is instinct with it. The most ancient oracle of Greece was that introduced by the Pelasgian settlers at Dodona, four thousand



years ago, and dedicated to Zeus, the omnipresent aether, and at that shrine the voice of the unseen divinity came to men in the rustling of the leaves of its oak trees, the song of its waters, and the melody of the birds in its groves; and in a like manner still, to many sensitively strung minds, the voices of the universe are like a Holy Spirit breathing upon the delicately attuned instrument of the soul, producing a harmony of sweet cadenced sounds that whisper of things too deep for words, but which need no priestess to interpret. We do not now deify the natural phenomena as they did in those old times; "we do not worship in that way now," Carlyle adds, "but is it not reckoned still a merit, a proof of what we call a 'poetic nature,' that we recognize how every object has a divine beauty in it; how every object still verily is a 'window through which we may look into infinitude itself?' He that can discern the loveliness of things we call him poet, painter, man of genius, gifted, lovable"; and whether it be pagan peasant of old or Christian king of the *moyen âge*, who learnt a sacred lesson from flower or bird or star, each in his own fashion, and to the extent of his own inner light of conscience, was poet and priest in one.

The Latin word for the culture of poetic life was identical with that for worship, and the term is taken from rural occupation, for men could not conceive of culture being possible without reverence, nor anything so conducive to reverence as a communing with nature. The early Teutonic races had so profound a sense of the sacredness of the very soil that we get our word earth from the goddess Hertha, with whom they identified it. These ancient Pantheisms were at least religions of the heart if not of the mind, and brought men face to face with divinity from dawn to sunset, and every mountain and river, every grove and meadow had its deity; Christianity united head and heart in regarding all nature as deriving its life from the same source as that of man himself, sharing in varying degrees in the Fall, "groaning and travailing" in pain, together with him awaiting the Redemption, since he was its perfection and head; he its complete expression uniting it to the divine; he its priest, the voice by which was offered the Benedicite to the Creator from every created phase of life.

In every form of faith that has ever possessed any living influence upon men's minds we may find abundant examples of how human nature has especially turned to trees and flowers to assist in the expression of the deepest emotions of which it was capable. Christianity is no exception, but strangely enough this is quite unknown, and is only met with in the half-a-dozen or so of instances adduced by its enemies to impress their readers with the

belief that the followers of Christ did but change pagan names into Christian ones, so lacking were they in imagination or in spontaneous devotion! The writer of this paper has devoted many years of study to this particular subject, and it would surprise anyone to learn how vast and beautiful the Christian flora really is. The lives of Our Lord and His Blessed Mother are found to be recalled in almost every known event and almost every simile or type. We might plant our gardens with trees, shrubs and herbs which would speak to us, as they did to our pious forefathers throughout mediæval Christendom, of Our Lord's Nativity, Circumcision, Murder of the Innocents, Flight into Egypt and Repose there, Lent and all its commemorations, Holy Week and the Passion, Easter, the Ascension, and even further in His Life still in the Blessed Sacrament and the Church. So large is this flora that it makes a volume of itself, full of the most lovely and tender teaching, and radiant with faith and poetic beauty. The flora of Mary is quite as extensive, and in this every type and symbol, every detail of her life in connection with her share in the work of man's redemption, memorials of the holy life at Nazareth, and much else can be found recalled, so as to form a life of Our Lady among the flowers. The Flora of the Saints is a third division, and as may be imagined, as large as the two mentioned. This delightful store has been lying scattered throughout Christened peoples, attracting only a casual notice when an individual example came prominently before the public, but existing for centuries often in the folk-lore of quiet countries or districts. No one before the present writer has attempted to collect it, no writer upon the flora sacra has made a systematic study of it, apparently; but in volume after volume appearing upon the folk-lore of flowers, when the writers come to this part of their subject, they either resort to fancy or copy others without investigating their credibility. The source of the usually reputed floral dedications to the saints was a list produced in Howe's "Every-Day Book" in 1826; they bore no author's name, but were afterwards proved to be by a Dr. Forster, who reproduced them in his own "Circle of the Seasons" in 1828, supporting them by quaintly spelt and turned rhymes, etc., the whole of which he subsequently confessed to have been his own invention. The evil had been done, and countless enlargements of his saints' flowers have been made and circulated in England, America, Italy and elsewhere. We will not pursue this further, but this warning is needful, and the assurance is given that in this extensive sacred flora existing to which we have referred as having ourselves collected, no name is found mentioned save such as have botanical words or acknowledged folk-lore authorities for their existence even to this day.



To those artists who consecrate their talents to ecclesiastical work some such collection has been sorely missed, for nothing can be more sterile than the resources for floral symbolic work in modern church art. Beyond the vine, wheat, rose, lily and passion-flower they have no variety in the detail of their sculpture, painting or embroidery, and yet among flowers and birds there is a great store of material offering its aid, symbolic as all religious art should be, full of teaching to its minutest point, and bringing with it a wealth of instruction, delight, as well as human interest, into their design. Why should we be subject to this famishment in a land of plenty when a little stirring and pruning in the vineyard of the traditions of Holy Church will produce such nourishable fruit? What an interest it would arouse if the foliage about this altar and around that sanctuary told of the dolour of the Cross; if some of the many blossoms in Mary's large garden were so found adorning her chapel. If wreaths composed of the Baptizer's flora were to be seen on the walls about the font, would not our churches once again "smell of myrrh, aloes and cassia" in the sweet fragrance of their instruction and inspiration? The lifelessness of good modern ecclesiastical work is probably more in its lack of poetry and imagination than anything else. The thought of the day is patently drawing closer to mediæval ideas, and the principles of its life and the preciousness and consistency of its faith is daily more recognized. The Christian flora was the creation of the vivid belief of those times, and has existed ever since, spreading in a language that no tyrant could silence, and with a potency that indifference and callousness alone can render helpless. The deeper religious life becomes, the more it will resort to symbolism, and the deeper the affection of an artist for nature the more sincere will become his work and the more he will seek to express his affection in illustrations gathered in her realm.

The field of nature is so wide that the student may have reasonably contended that he was unable to select one plant more than another as consecrated to Christian uses and subjects. There are, however, such to be found illustrative of every doctrine of the faith, and the interpretation is that of many generations of Christened souls whose eyes now gaze on the flowers of heaven, and their dedication, like the canonization of many a saint in the calendar, by popular acclaim and recognition.

Again, there is no excuse for a modern artist to confine himself to the narrow information of a mediæval one upon natural objects, knowledge then was so local, comparatively; but in these days, when the means of inter-communication have made continents like to countries then, and when there is little that has been thought, or is thought, in one place that is not easily learnt in all



others, there is no reason why the symbolic teaching in nature of any Christian land should not be used and known in all others. Moreover, there can be no question as to its being incumbent upon those who are desirous of making the spirit of the art of mediæval time the principle of modern work, that they should show the mark of their time not only in adapting that art to modern requirements, but also in employing, for decoration, subjects which satisfy and feed the mental demand created by the popular extension of education among all classes, and which the accumulation of literature from every country at our doors renders accessible to all students. Church art will then once again become vital and contemporaneous when it gives voice to the thought of the day and the nobler tastes of its children, not producing copies of by-gone ages. The principles of mediæval work are eternally true, but their application varies with the varying generations of human life. In the greater use of natural detail we shall but reproduce the universal taste of this present time in its keen appreciation of floral and animal life, and for the ecclesiastical designer there is a sacred fauna no less than a sacred botany from which to draw his illustrations. In his power it lies to elevate these tastes of his time, as it is seemly all the work of the sanctuary should tend to do; every detail employed will not only attract the superficial observer, but to the thoughtful it will be a voice uniting in the chorus of meaning which it will have been the artist's effort to evoke. To all true artists there must be the ardent love of natural life in every form, so that, like the Countess Matilda on the banks of the Lethe, he finds in the Psalmist's words his expression of the joy of his heart in earth's meadow sweet fields—"Quia delectasti me, Domine, in factura tua, et in operibus manuum tuarum exultabo."

If ecclesiastical artists should exclusively use the flora that has been connected in the Church with sacred associations, to how much wider a circle should that flora be known when we think of those who care for gardening as a recreation? Every finer nature is appreciative of trees and flowers, in man no less than woman. We can scarcely picture in our minds the idea of a home without flowers, and the home is woman's empire; flowers should ever surround her throne, and the most fitting setting that our thought can give a noble woman is perhaps in a garden or among the flowers, to which her grace and beauty are so constantly compared. This is a purely Christian ideal, not Greek or Roman, far less Buddhist or Mahommedan. It is a feeling now so engrained in our nature that we are apt to forget its divine origin; for God made woman of finer material than man, not of the dust of the earth, but of vitalized flesh, and her birthplace was within the

Garden of Delights itself; she was not brought there like Adam; Adam's work was to tend a garden, Eve's probably to utilize it. The Creator's plan for man's existence on this earth was not to dig for gold or play with its counters, but to be occupied mentally and physically as a gardener, and hence all ecclesiastical labor in more sincere and faithful days was agricultural—this the ancient Cistercian order still represents; and it was perhaps not without purposeful intent that the Marys at the sepulchre of the Second Adam were to mistake the risen Saviour in the character of the First.

The purer the taste for floral nature and the less vitiated it is by indulgence in only seeking to satisfy the sensuous luxury of the eye, the keener will be the appreciation and the clearer the perception of its sacredness. The humblest weed will become awe-inspiring in its marvellous evidence of the wisdom and beauty of its Maker's mind; and if these exquisite artistic specimens of the divine Craftsman be united with some person or event in sacred story, then there is added an historical interest which would prove a less abstract and esoteric attraction. All nature supplies examples of the first, but only the Christian flora of both combined; and we cannot but think that there exist a very large number of people to whom the flora sacra would be a new and healthy delight, and that they would desire to rear and develop to its greatest extent of beauty every plant that finds a place therein. Why should we not have our saints' gardens in which every tree, shrub and flower was one which generations of pious folk have christened and loved? Think what a fresh interest and what healthy thoughts would be inspired by a garden whose herbs were those of sacred association to you as they were to our forefathers. If you could see in the floramour, with its purple tail-like blossom, the blood-stained "Scourge of Our Blessed Lord," as it is still known in many lands, or "The Discipline of the Religious," as it is known in others, would not these titles give a deeper significance and the true meaning to the English name for the same of "Love-lies-a-bleeding" more touchingly beautiful than ever we dreamt of before? If the fuchsia with its gouts of pendant scarlet were to our eyes, as they were to men of old, the "Blood-drops of the Redeemer"; the monstrance-like flower of the scarlet lychnis, the "Flower of the Blessed Sacrament"; the sundew or drosera, "Gideon's Fleece," the type of the Immaculate Birth of Mary's Son; or the "Burning Bush" of holly another type of her constant virginity, would not your garden breathe a sweeter fragrance, and its blossoms sing a holier song with such associations as these? Would it not become indeed an Eden of Delights for the mind and soul of man to wander about, and a holy place for



your children? And remember, this is no fancy, it is not the poetry of an individual's private thought; these are the titles and associations left us by our Catholic ancestors, common often to all Christened Europe, and still in these super-excellent times to be heard where faith, piety and peaceful homes are found.

So, too, in our domestic use of greenery, what an intellectual charm it adds to the pleasure of its presence, if there be a reason in its use. In old time every season had its own flora appropriate to it; Christmas and Easter, Pentecost and the Assumption all had their own boughs and flowers. We can still trace signs of this in modern days in every country, especially at the Nativity. Yet even here we have lost the use and meaning of the rosemary boughs which once were always present, full of pious memories, and the Christmas roses that the Shepherd Maid offered at the crib, of the cradle grasses that formed the bed of the little Saviour, and very many others. Why do we never see St. John's worts or any of his large flora about our homes at midsummer; Michaelmas-daisies at Michaels-tyde; Stars of Bethlehem for the Epiphany; and the like? And, as we write this last, we do not only mean the pretty holly stars which are placed in the windows of many a noble mansion in New York, and which is an entirely beautiful memorial, but the flowers themselves, whether the *Ornithogalum*, originally brought to Europe by the crusading knights who found it abundant about the Manger City, or the flaming *Poinsettia* which forms so striking an emblem. There is no reason why we should not make our gardens a very calendar of the seasons and of the saints of Holy Church if we wished, and not only our homes and our families, but our churches would gain in the perfume of pious thought thus engendered. What depth of reality there would be if even the flowers used upon our altars or at our festivals, ecclesiastical or domestic, were those of these dedicated blossoms, thus consecrated to sacred uses, as everything employed in the service of the Church should be; if Mary's many buds alone were seen at her shrines, or those of the Passion and the Blessed Sacrament about the tabernacle; if those wedding-bouquets now composed of unmeaning exotics, nurtured and pampered and typical only of the luxurious wantonness of the world, bore some flowers that told that "Jesus was there and His Mother," as at far-off Cana in Galilee; or a sprig of the "Seven-years Love" were seen, to recall the perfect love of Jacob for Rachel.

There were once, it would appear, *Gardina Sacristæ*, or Church Gardens, as late Latin called them, for we find instances mentioned of one or two. For example, adjoining the Lady Chapel at Winchester there was one which long after the destruction of the



sacristy was known as the Paradise ; and again, in the will of King Henry VI. he left directions concerning a garden for the chapel of Eton College, "which is left for to sett in certain trees and flowers, behovable and convenient for the service of the same Church" (Nichols's "Wills of the Kings and Queens of England"). About Hamburg and other parts of Germany the peasants who possessed a garden never entered a church without a posy gathered from a corner reserved for the purpose, and in France they called such little beds "Les bouquets de l'Église." In England of even thirty years ago the same spirit was seen among our own country folk, who bore to church small nosegays, which in earlier times would have been laid at the feet of Our Lady of Pity or some such favorite shrine ; and much else might be said of these practices.

Perhaps once again these Church Gardens may be found in our homes, and as certainly as they are tended with mind and heart they will be found to be the creators of an entirely different and higher delight in nature than any we have hitherto enjoyed, and the petition "Come, south wind, and blow through my garden and let its aromatic spices flow forth," will be a petition for graces and virtues which the lessons learnt therein have inspired and fostered.

We have said that we could follow most of the events in the life of Our Blessed Lord in the associations that have been united to certain trees and herbs, and we should naturally expect to find that the Passion occupied the most prominent position, not only for its importance, but also because some of its chief emblems and instruments belong to this department of nature. The Olives of Gethsemani, the Tree of Judas, the Crown of Thorns, the Reed in the Hand, the Tree of the Cross, all belong to it specifically ; but besides these, pious eyes loved to trace other memorials of each event in the Holy Week, and that with such elaboration that it proved how deeply they had meditated upon them. No doubt the Passion-plays encouraged this close contemplation, for it is scarcely otherwise possible that the entire community should have been so intimately familiar with the lesser detail as they were. Let us in outline trace this flora of Lent and Passion-tyde, and we can only do so briefly, as space would not permit of our dealing with it in full, and the record of the trees, shrubs and plants connected with the cross, crown of thorns and Judas would alone occupy double the length of our present paper.

With Lent we enter upon this domain of sorrow, and scarcely have the candlemas bells (snowdrops) ceased before the Lent lilies (*Narcissus pseudo-narcissus*) appear and "fill their cups with tears." Their name is peculiar apparently to England, for other

lands know them by titles referring to certain saints' days occurring early in the year; some of their local applications tell of the season, such as "gracy days," another term for Lent as being a time of especial grace; "Butter-and-Eggs," prompted by the creamy white petals and orange nectary of some varieties, which recalled the "Butter-and-Eggs" so constantly occurring among the foods mentioned in the Lenten Indult; "Lent Cocks" tells, alas! of a cruel sport once popular at Shrove-tide of throwing sticks at cocks, for which these pretty flowers provided a child's substitute. In Portugal the *Ranunculi*—buttercups, crowfoots and celandines—are the Lent flowers; the various *Primulas*, viz., ox-lips, cowslips and primroses in Germany; but all these are no further allied to the season than by their time of flowering, and so scarcely need be mentioned. Mid-Lent Sunday, also known as Jerusalem or Rose Sunday, and in England as Mothering Sunday, had a variety of pretty customs and names originating in the Epistle and Gospel of the day. It took its name, Rose Sunday, from the custom of the Holy Father blessing a golden flower upon this day, subsequently sent to some sovereign or shrine; and it is not improbable that this is recalled in the name Jerusalem Rose found given in Switzerland to the Poetic Narcissus (*Narcissus poeticus*), whose exquisite flower then comes into blossom, and whose form is not unlike the early specimens of the Pope's gift. *Himmels mehl* or Heaven's Dust, given in Austria to the glossy golden flowered lesser celandine (*Ranunculus ficaria*), would also seem to have been suggested by its coming at this time to recall the golden streets of the heavenly city, "Jerusalem on high," the "mother of us all." "To go a-mothering and find violets in the hedge" was an old saying indicative of the custom of the lads and lassies to gather at their homes upon Mi-Carême and look for the violets—the *Viola quadragesimalis* of the old botanists—and mark where they were to be found ready to strew the Easter sepulchre a fortnight hence. The name of the day led men to unite together in thought not only their earthly parent and mother Church, but also their heavenly Mother of the Church of the Blessed, and so in this season of that Mother's dolour they sought out the flower from which she took the title of *Viola inviolata*, and called it the Violet of the Mother of God, as they do still in Spain, the Balearic Isles, and such old world spots. Palm-Sunday comes next, with its memories connected with other trees besides that from which it takes its name, and to which that term has thus become transferred, so that we have yew, olive, willow, box, and even hazel spoken of as palm; and finally we enter the Garden of Olives itself, where the memorials among the trees and herbs thicken closely around us



and continue to do so until the last sad scene of the Passion is concluded.

We could dwell a long time upon the absorbing interests that to every Christian man must gather at the Garden of Gethsemani, or of the Olive-Press, for of all the spots in the Holy Land most sought for and most appreciated, none is equal to the hillside of Olivet; we must only linger to mark its eventful connection with the flowers. In Cheshire they call the spotted orchis (*Orchis mascula*, etc.) and cuckoo-pint (*Arum maculatum*) by the name of "Gethsemani," for both appear at the spring-time with their fair green leaves stained with dark blotches, as though upon them, amid the herbage beneath the praying Saviour, had fallen the Sweat of Blood that betrayed the Agony of His Soul. In Spain the same association is found, for they call them "Sangre de Cristo," while these plants have so many other connecting memorials with this portion of Our Lord's life that they might be termed the "English Passion-flower." The pretty veronica flower (*Veronica officinalis*) has the name still in parts of Germany of *Schweitz Christ*, or Christ's Sweat, but it is more probably in reference to a later scene in the Via Crucis, when the good woman stepped out of the crowd to wipe the perspiring brow of the divine prisoner and received the stain upon her veil.

We pass by the many herbs that refer to the Jews, their staves and lanterns, the cutting off the ear of Malchus, and follow Our Blessed Lord across the Kedron to the house of Caiaphas, now the Armenian monastery on the slope of Zion, where the tombs of the patriarchs of that communion are gathered. It was here that there took place many of the most repulsive indignities offered to the sacred victim, the blindfolding, buffeting, spitting, and finally the denial of Peter. It is frequent in art to find the blindfolding of Our Lord represented in a wonderfully thoughtful manner, for through the band across the face the all-seeing eyes of God penetrate. Many a flower bears the name of Christ's Eyes, but none seem to recall this particular scene so remarkably and beautifully as the *Nigella damascena* and its varieties, for its exquisite blue flower is one shed over with a sagene of delicate fibrils, dimming, as it were, the lovely blossom and veiling its rare purity from the rude gaze. In every land they are called flowers of the Passion and Christ's Eyes, and in England we have for them besides these the poetic title of "Love-in-a-mist," a similar tender expression of the piety of our forefathers to that which suggested to them "Love-lies-a-bleeding" for the scourge stained with blood of the amaranthus flower. The buffeting and insult to the beard and face is reverently suggested in the separated bunches of the flower-head of certain plants whose tufted form recalled the cruelty



of those who "plucked out the hair." In Germany we find the blue *Phyteuma spicatum* or rampion known as *Unsers lieben Herr Gotts Bartchen*, or Our Dear Lord's Little Beard; in the same land they found like similes in their *Herr Gotts bartlein* or *Polygala vulgaris*, *Sanguisorba*, *Epilobium* and *Spiræa*, or as more commonly known, the milkwort, burvet, willow-herb and meadow-sweet. The denial by St. Peter, as illustrated by his tears of penitence, is frequently to be found memorialized in the large flora that bears his name. In Spain especially "St. Peter's Tears" is a not uncommon dedication, and from that land it has spread to its colonies. The slender and elegant grass with gently drooping head, known as the Trembling Grass and Peter's Corn (*Buza media*), in Spain is *Lagrimas de San Pedro*, and similarly they name the graceful bushy *Fuchsia coccinia*, from the axils of whose crimson-veined leaves is produced their ensanguined flower. The same people like to think of the apostle's tears of penitence springing up into those white flowers of absolution, the *Ornithogalum* or Bethlehem Stars which abound around that city and the Judæan hills; and perhaps it was this idea of the tears of earnest contrition blossoming into flowers that led the Welsh to name the Lent lily (*Narcissus pseudo-narcissus*) St. Peter's Leek, although we are aware that other explanations are as probable. In the Spanish West Indies we find the title St. Peter's Tears borne by the *Anthacanthus microphyllus*, and in Venezuela by the *Rasselia juncea*. A small chapel used to stand in the twelfth century upon the spot where the penitent Apostle is thought to have thrown himself down in the agony of his grief, and it bore the name of his tears, or sometimes of St. Peter in Gallicante. It is not improbable that many of those plants which bore in early time the name of cock's-comb were originally connected with this scene in the Passion, and although we have not hitherto found this to be so, still it is possible others may. The cow-wheat (*Melampyrum*), known as Peter's blume in Germany and Holland, has a crested species, with little brush-like heads that may have been likened to the cock's-comb, and the pretty plant known by that name (*Rhinanthus cristagalli*) is very suggestive of the same, but we have no authority for connecting it with St. Peter.

At the end of the examination before Caiaphas our Blessed Lord's hands were bound, and He was led away to Pilate, the Roman governor of the city. The hands that had only been employed in doing good we may see commemorated in many an herb and usually connected with the virtue of their touch. The marsh-cleaver (*Menyanthes*), one of the most elegant of our aquatic plants, was one of these, of the gentian family, a trefoil, and bearing the white flower of innocence. Its bitterness recalled the bitterness

of the cross, and so in Silesia they name it kreuz wurz; but its tonic properties, acting as a febrifuge and palliative in cases of dropsy, ague, gout, and the liver, made northern peoples regard it as typical of the touch of the Great Physician, and so it became also our Lord's Hand. The name Palma Christi was borne by several simples in ancient leechcraft, especially in later times by the *Ricinus*, or castor-oil tree, whose palmate leaf and the precious qualities of its fruit are still valued in the modern pharmacopœia. Those hands, too, the wells of mercy and grace, were connected with the curative efficacy of the common milfoil or yarrow (*Achillea*), and in Austria they know it as Gotteshand; the aromatic orchis (*Habenaria conopsea*) is Herrgottshändgen or die Jesushand in Germany, names also applied, as we shall see, to many of the divided tubers of the orchid family in that land, as well as in France, Norway, Sweden, etc. "The Finger of God," so mighty and venerable an eastern emblem of Omnipotence, which, with our Lord on earth, was miraculous in its touch to cure soul and body, and by which He Himself says that He "cast out devils," was united in emblem to the sweet honeysuckle (*Lonicera*). Pluck one of the petals of the curious flower-head, and place the bottom of the tube in your mouth, and see if it suggest to you the connection between the Finger of God and the miracle of the dumb man when it "touched his tongue" and he spake plain. It grows everywhere in Palestine as commonly as in our own hedge-rows. *Lilium inter spinas* was its old botanical name, and in the north of England they call it Our Lady's Fingers; and thus we find Mother and Son united together in the same flower, as occurs so beautifully and touchingly true in a large number of memorials in nature. There is some confusion and mingling of the spotted arum and spotted orchis, and the four names of one are frequently given to the other. The former is called in Gloucestershire and elsewhere (Our) Lady's Finger, and the latter is still in Denmark Vor Herres Fingre; and the English name for the arum of "Lords and Ladies," a probably modern form of Our Lord and Our Lady, seems repeated in the Scandinavian and German names for the latter of Christ or God and Our Lady's Hand. The arum has a fleshy spike enclosed in a large sheathing-leaf like a protecting mantle around and about it, called by botanists the spathe, and this spike might very well be called the finger. Some have thought that its name Lords and Ladies was in memory of the figures of Our Lord and His Holy Mother within the niched recesses and beneath canopies with which all Catholics were familiar; but more probably it was of Mary's Mantle—as they know the plant in France—shielding her Divine Son beneath its fold. This is the herb which might be called the northern passion-flower, for others



have seen in this spike the emblem of the pillar, in its roots the scourge, and in the dark stains of its leaves the blood-drops, and in the shape of those leaves the cruel lance-head; while in Cheshire it is called Gethsemani, and in parts of Germany St. Veronica's wort. The spotted orchis has a spike of flesh-colored flowers, and, together with several other of its species, has leaves spotted with scattered purple blotches, and all have very sacred memories in all northern lands. Their names range from our Lord's Finger and the marks of His tears to Our Lord's Flesh and Blood, whence is obtained its Breton title of Bleûm or Sakramant, or Flower of the Blessed Sacrament. They are also known in every land as Palma Christi, and this from the peculiarity of the root, which is like two separate roughly-cut hands, and, singularly enough, one is white and the other black. This peculiarity was seized upon by the pious minds of old to convey a holy lesson, and one is named Our Lord's Hand or the Blessed Virgin's, and the other that of the Devil. If they be cast into water, it is found that the dark one sinks to the bottom, while the white one remains on the surface, and these homely illustrations would be shown to his children by the Christian peasant as he told of the victory of the Saviour over the powers of hell or how Mary cannot consort with evil.

The hands of our Blessed Lord being bound with a rope has not been unnoticed, and the hemp agrimony (*Eupatorium cannabinum*), with its hemp-like leaves and pink flowers, is called in England The Holy Rope; the wild hemp-nettle (*Galeopsis tetralix*) has the same title. "The bark of some species of the nettle family affords an invaluable fibre, especially that of the hemp plant (*Cannabis sativa*), which has been cultivated from a remote period in temperate climates for its fibre. It is recorded as having been under culture 2500 years ago. The fibre is obtained in the same way as flax." So closely did men once contemplate each detail of the Passion that they remembered that the Divine Prisoner would be led with His hands of mercy in fetters, and that fetter would be a rope. Then they considered what plant in nature was so used, so that whenever they saw it on their path they might recall the use to which its fibres were once adapted. In Italy they call the hemp-nettle Erba Judaica or Erbe dell' Invidia, as if referring to the words of the Evangelist concerning Pilate—to whom the Saviour was now being led—that "he knew that for envy they (the Jews) had delivered Him."

While the sinless One goes to Pilate the arch-traitor goes to "his own place." The large number of trees and plants telling of the Bag or Bourse of Judas, the money paid him, the tree of his doom, and other points in connection with him we must pass over



and follow the crowd to the other side of the Holy City, where was the residence of the military governor. Bordering upon the north side of the temple enclosure, still clearly marked out as the most satisfying site in the whole city, and occupied by the mosque of Omar and its spacious courts, is the Turkish barrack, covering what was the Tower of Antonia, erected by Herod, the slayer of Holy Innocents. The Romans occupied it, as the Turks do now, as their garrison head-quarters and the residence of the governor. Here was the Prætor's Hall, or Prætorium, with its paved court, known to the Hebrews as the Gabbatha, or, in the prevailing language, Lithostratos. It is approached now by a gently-ascending plane, for the steps that were there have been removed to Rome by St. Helena—from their having been trod by the Man of Sorrows—and are preserved, as the Scala Sancta, near the Church of St. John Lateran. The early Christians covered the court with little shrines marking the traditional spots where their Redeemer had endured the scourging, the mock-crowning, and finally the condemnation to the cross. Up and down the Scala Sancta Our Blessed Lord must have gone four times, for it has been said that the making "April fools" of persons by sending them upon bootless errands took its origin as a memorial of the manner in which He was sent hither and thither—from Annas to Caiaphas, from Caiaphas to Pilate, from Pilate to Herod, from Herod to Pilate again, and from Pilate to the cross, and it is not improbable that such thought supplanted some earlier spring custom. Having, therefore, left the house of Caiaphas, where He had been blasphemed, and the house of Herod, where He had been treated as a fool, Jesus is dragged before Pilate; and here, after examination, He is bound to a pillar and scourged. "Dominus voluit conterere eum in infirmitate."

The spike of the orchis and its fibrous roots have been seen to recall the pillar and the bands that bound the divine Sufferer, just as the pistil and tendrils in the passiflora have had similar associations, but of the scourge there are more striking memorials in nature. The very pretty and interesting dwarf birch (*Betula nana*) has still in Scandinavia and its surroundings the name of Lang predagsbjörk or buske, and of it is told the legend that it was once a noble and full-sized tree, but grief at the purpose for which it was once used has rendered it thus dwarfed and humbled. The same connection has been assigned to the drooping willow (*Salix Babylonica*) which comes from the Levant, Christian legend saying that it too wept at the indignity offered to the Creator of all things, and thereafter all its species have drooped their branches in grief and shame and been called weeping-willows. Among the herbs we also find several that recalled to pious eyes the "Disciplina

pacis nostræ," as Isaias refers to this punishment, and none more appropriately and arrestively than the floramour or flower gentle (*Amaranthus candatus*), whose very name seems to tell of the gentle Lover of Souls, if we would think of it so. Its pendant racemes, stained a purple-red, have, however, very definite titles dedicating this memorial to the "Discipline of our Peace," although not now often heard mentioned, though the plant is familiar in every old garden, and few emblems can be more striking. In Sicily it is still "The Scourge of Our Blessed Lord," and in France and Northern Italy "The Discipline of Religious," while our English name for it of "Love-lies-a-bleeding" is no doubt the tender expression of the same. We have already spoken of a similar title in connection with the *Nigella*, known in England alone as "Love-in-a-Mist," and in other countries as Christ's Eyes, referring to the blindfolding or to the mist of death gathering upon the dying Saviour's eyes as they gazed from the cross in love and forgiveness, and these are very remarkable instances of the poetry of language and of thought which once pervaded Mary's dowerland.

The cruel thistle with yellow flower of Southern Europe (*Carlina corymbosa*) is God's Scourge or Fouito-Dieu in Provence; the purple Picnomon or Carlina acarna, a species (*diacanthum*) of which is found in Syria, is the Asota Christos or Christ's Scourge of Spain; the yellow *Kentrophyllum canatus*, etc., which gets its name from its sharp-pointed leaves, is the Azota Cristos of Aragon, while its red juice has prompted the name in Granada of Sangre de Cristo, and in the dialect of Southern France it is Le Trounc de Nostre Segné. So, too, the form of the various species of *Naias* readily prompted their old name of Flagellum Christi, and in France and Germany they retain that title. In the feathery topped meadow-grass (*Poa pratensis*) with its purple-hued panicles French children saw Le fouet de Jesus, while in the same land some species of lettuce (*Lactuca*) are known as La plagellée and La laitua de la Passion, either from the rugged shape of their leaves or from appearing about that season.

Such associations are of interest to old and young who possess any intellectual vitality, but to simple hearts and pious minds they must be more than this.

"Si virga pœnitentiæ  
Cordis rigorem conterat."

We must pass over the large flora connected with the Crown of Thorns, one of those culminating events concentrating in itself the mockery and cruelty of the Passion upon which art has lavished its devotion, and content ourselves with one more scene in the



Hall of Pilate. We are told the soldiers placed a reed in the Saviour's hand as a mock sceptre—"arundinem in dexteram Ejus," and some have thought that this, like the *Calamus* mentioned with the giving of the vinegar and gall, was not an actual reed, but that the word was used for the light shafts of the lances such as Bedouin Arabs bear to this day. This, too, would make the striking across the face with it subsequently an even more brutal and violent assault than we usually imagine, and certainly be the more probable instrument to have been used subsequently to raise the death-potion to the divine Redeemer's lips upon the tree. It has, however, been customary to take the immediate meaning of the word and represent this sceptre as a reed, and the early Italian painters, and Rubens for instance, usually depict the *Typha latifolia* or *angustifolia*, which we name in England from this use of it, the Reed-Mace, and in France Le Roseau or Le Jonc de la Passion.

Our Saviour having been condemned is led forth along the Via Crucis to Calvary bearing His cross, and Christian piety has made the trees and flowers of earth to rise up responsive to the tread of its Creator, and speak to the wayfarer in as potent a manner as did the pictures of that sad procession in their churches. We can but here indicate some of these, for they are too extensive for more than their mention; the tree of the cross and the memorials of it would take as many pages as this paper does itself. The meeting of the Mother and Son—the IV. Station—a scene so painful that the mind shrinks from making the complete picture even in contemplation, the sensitiveness of the human heart being too acute to permit. The tears of Jesus and Mary! what a thought and what a relief to turn to their many memorials among the sympathizing flowers. The gentle office of St. Veronica—the VI. Station—and many other scenes that speak to us from the waysides must be here omitted, and we stand on Calvary's rock, the great God-Man being nailed to His couch of pain. The nails always amongst the emblems of the Passion, are commemorated in our bede-sedge (*Sparganium ramosum*), which was so named by our forefathers from its studs of inflorescence recalling the heads of the cruel nails, and serving the peasant in the fields as a Rosary whereon to mark his bedes or prayers. In France they are called Les cloux de Dieu, and both this species and other bur-reeds are equally remindful and appropriately named. A species of *Senecio* or groundsel, many of which are large shrubs, has in the Eifel district of the Rhineland the name of Herr Gottsnagel, a title found elsewhere for some of the *Sedums* or stone-crops. Most of the geranium family have a beak-like prolongation of the carpel points sometimes growing out to the length of two or three inches



after the plant has ceased to flourish, and giving them their popular name of cranesbills. These readily suggested a sacred simile, and hence they are still known in Sardinia, Provence, and other southern districts of Europe, as the Nails of Our Lord, or as the pretty language of the South of France expresses it, "Claveu dou Son Dieu"; in Italy they seem to think of the frightful anguish they must have caused the poor Mother's heart, and name them "Anzas de nostra Signora."

In mediæval leechcraft, when the doctrine of signatures prevailed, many a plant that bore a resemblance to the lance-head that pierced the Saviour's side was deemed useful to the simpler in making his compounds for the cure of wounds or the cutting of phlegm, hence *Lancea Christi* became a generic term in their pharmacy, the same as *Oculus Christi* and *Palma Christi* did for other purposes in their herbal remedies. Some of these remain with us in use, their virtue being of proved value, such as the precious pectoral commonly known as horehound, whose various species are known botanically as black horehound (*Ballota nigra*), white horehound (*Marrubium vulgare*), and water horehound (*Lycopus Europæus*). They are all lubiates of sage-like leaves, those of the last named species being deeply serrated or jagged, and vividly resembling a cruel barbed spear-head. In France and Germany it is still known as *Le lance de Christ* or *Christus lanze*, while the whorl of white flowers at its axils seemed like the memory of the "Water and Blood" which the wound in the side set free. Another of these memorials is found in the adder's tongue fern (*Ophioglossum vulgatum*), whose leaf has the shape of an ordinary broad lance-head, and whose spike is like the termination of the rattlesnake. This is also a *Lancea Christi* of the early botanists, and continues to be known as *Lance de Christ* or *Lanço dou Christ* in Northern and Southern France, and *Speer-Kruid* or *Christi Lancet* in the Netherlands. It is also called from its many utilities the "Herb of a Hundred Miracles," for it was prized for the very wounds that spears could make, and a preparation known as the "Green Oil of Charity" made from it is still to be met with. Gerarde declares of this fern that boiled in olive oil it produces a "most excellent green oyle or rather balsam for greene wounds comparable to oyle of St. John's wort, if it does not surpass it," and this latter was known as the "Balsam of Warriors' Wounds." We may take this plant therefore as containing in itself, in virtue and shape and symbolism, a very striking lesson to earnest eyes; for the words of the Psalmist, "The poison of asps is under their tongues, their words are very swords," is applied by the Church to the wounds of Our Lord in the house of His friends, and when illustrated by the adder's tongue, *Lancea Christi*, and its return-

ing the oil of charity for the very injuries the spear could make, it is a vivid lesson from the flowers upon the "Blood with Man's forgiveness warm." The same simile was seen in the docks or sorrels, several of which, especially the *Rumex acetosa* and *acetosella*, have barbed leaves like spear- or arrow-heads, and whose crimson spire of flower, and in some species red-veined leafage, all combined to make them bear such names as the Passion's dock, or as the above-named are known in the Balearic Isles, Sang de Jesu Christ. Their family is said to get its name from the habit of the Romans of chewing these leaves to quench the thirst, and this tribute of nature seems to rise up in response to the cry of "Sitio" from the cross. The *R. acetosa* contains pure oxalic acid, and is common with the *acetosella* and others in every British meadow and wild corner of our fields, containing within itself a sermon more beautiful than most of the rare exotics in the greenhouse, and telling of the stream from the Saviour's side released by the soldier's spear, of which Our Lord said, "he that drinks shall never thirst."

The emblems of the Passion usually number amongst them a ladder, which, if Our Lord was nailed to His cross extended on the rocky surface of Calvary, would not be needful; if, however, this was done as He stood upon a foot pace, it would. If the vinegar and gall were offered upon a reed it also would be necessary; if the "reed" should be translated "spear-haft," as some think, then it would not. If the deposition of the sacred body as usually portrayed in art be true, then a ladder would be again required; but if the cross were first lowered, as would be more likely, if it were possible, then it would be useless. The Passion-plays, however, probably made use of the ladder, and hence it would get its memorial among the flowers. The blood-wort centaury (*Erythræa centaurium*) with its red flower has the name in the old botany of *Christi scala*; Prior says, "we find it as Christis laddere in catalogues of the fourteenth century." In Gerarde's "Appendix" it is given as Christaldre, and in this form Halliwell and Wright have it with the note "spelt Cristes laddre, and explained centaurea major in MS. Sloane 5 f. 3." Warayne (iii. 320) includes the Perfoliate chlora (*C. perfoliata*) under the same name, and it is equally significant in appearance, for both represent the ancient form of ladders with central stem and foot-rests on either side, such as are still to be seen in many countries, not the usual one of our day, and the regularity of the leafage of these herbs upon either side of their stem suggested the simile. But besides this the *Erythræa* like other gentians (*Chlora inclula*) has singularly bitter qualities, and bears the names of gall of the earth, bitterherb or Fel trike, so that in this same plant they saw not



only the means of ascent by which the soldiers affixed the sacred victim to the tree or by which St. Joseph of Arimathy took the holy body down, but also the drink of gall that was proffered to the Saviour in response to the cry of "I thirst." The word comes from the verse in the Psalms, "Dederunt in escam Meam fel: et in siti Mea potaverunt me aceto," "They gave me gall for my food and in my thirst they gave me vinegar to drink"—"I in return give you the precious gentians for your consuming fevers and the vine to render your hearts merry." We have heard of sermons in stones, but what sermons in herbs there are never yet preached except by the pious heart to itself!

The bitter draught spoken of in the Gospels as vinegar was soaked into a sponge, and this, St. John says, was set upon hyssop, and thus proffered to the dying Lord. This hyssop has been the source of extensive discussion and many varied identifications. The search, however, has been hindered by men requiring to find some shrub with sufficient length of stem to raise the sponge to the requisite height. There was no need for this to be the case, for if we compare the Gospels, we find that St. Matthew and St. Mark mention that the sponge was placed upon a calamus or arundo, translated reed. We have already spoken of the possibility of this reed being the usual name for a spear-handle or shaft, and the learned and acute commentator Estius (in "*Loca Difficilia S. Scripturæ Johan.*," xix.) considers that St. John's word *hysso* is an erroneous reading for *hyssa*, meaning the same as the other evangelists. But at any rate we might regard the words as allowing the sense that the sponge was set among a bunch of hyssop previously bound to the end of a lance-pole to keep it in its place and arrest its contents trickling down when pressed. This appears to have been St. Augustine's opinion (in "*Evang. Johan.*," Tract. xcix., de Cap. 19). In 1844 Professor Royle read a paper before the Royal Asiatic Society strongly urging the identity of the hyssop with the caper-bush (*Capparis*), whose flower-buds form a familiar pickle. They generally come from the East and West Indies, but the *Capparis Ægyptiaca* is an oriental tree, which springs, with bright leaves and white flowers, out of the driest wall, thus fulfilling, it was thought, the other reference to the "hyssop of the wall," in connection with Solomon. Its long stems split at the end into brush-like fibres, recalling the use of the hyssop made by the Israelites to sprinkle their door-posts with the blood of the sacrificial lamb. The shrub has medical qualities as a stimulant, and also as an antiscorbutic and aperient, and its bark is likewise used for other remedial purposes, so that this may have been the shrub referred to. Others have deemed that the bitter wormwoods (*Artemisia*) were the hyssop of the cross, and



the southernwood (*A. abrotanum*) has the names in Austria of herrgottshölzel, in Hungary of tsten-faja, in Russia of boschie derewo, in Poland of boze drzwkko, in France sometimes it is l'herbe sainte, and the *A. vulgaris* is himmelker or himmel's rehr in various parts of Germany. The pretty silvery leaves have valuable stomachic properties, and one of this family yields the *mosca*, a substance much used in the east in cautery by burning it upon the parts affected with gout, rheumatism, etc.

The common hyssop (*Hyssopus officinalis*) of the south of Europe is said to be seen entwined about the Saviour's brow in some early representations of the crucifixion. The aspersoir or aspergillum of the early Church is said to have been a bunch of hyssop, and to have continued so for many centuries, both in mindfulness of the Israelites using it at the sprinkling of their homes with the atoning blood and to the words used when employed in the service of the Church: "Asperge me Domine hyssopo," etc. In Southern France the holy-water sprinkler is still called the tsop or hyssop, according to the learned author Agaïs. This plant is gathered by the passer-by in Sicily, to be dipped in the holy water when the priest blesses their fields at rogation-tide, and is known in Germany as kircheneisbeth, kirchenhyssop or klosterhyssop. Walcott says altars were washed with it on Maundy-Thursday. Species of the same plant are found in the east, and it does not seem improbable that these traditions have continued to preserve the original plant employed at the crucifixion. Some such sweet herb as the labiate savory, or *Satureia*, has been apparently thought probable, for we find that in Alsace to be known as kirch-hyssop. The hyssop of Solomon has been generally considered some minute form of vegetation as demonstrating the scope of his intelligence, and the dwarf species of *Bryum* found in moist places is that usually chosen, and in Norway they still know it as "Solomon's wisdom."

Having done their work, the soldiers sat down to cast lots for the raiment of the prisoners, which was possibly a perquisite of their office. Our Blessed Lord had been clothed with a white robe before Herod, a purple or red one before Pilate, and with His own upon Calvary. The *Tunica inconsutilis*, or Seamless Vestment of the Saviour, now one of the great relics of Trêves, is said to have been woven for Him by His Mother, and the union of Mother and Son may be found in the sacred dedication in a plant that still bears its Arabic name of Al Kemelyeh, or the Great Sanicle (*Alchemilla vulgaris*). Throughout Europe it is more especially known as Our Lady's Mantle, but in the Rhineland it remains still herrgottsmäntelchen. It is one of the vulnerary sanguisorbias, astringent and slightly tonic, and it was thus the more

valued. Probably, too, the old Latin name of *Tunica herba*, given to various species of betony, arose from a similar alliance of thought, the utilities of which are so great that the Italians have a saying: "May you have more virtues than betony," and this sacred connection between our Lord's Robe and this flower is the more likely among a people who vividly realized the virtue that flowed from touching even the hem of His garment. One of the same family (*Stachys lanata*) has the curious name in Sussex of "Our Saviour's Blanket," for it is striped, and might thus have been called by some pilgrim who had seen the striped blanket-garment used by the Arabs of the East. The *Stachys Arabica* is violet or purple, and may then recall the robe of scorn before Pilate. The early crusaders and pilgrims visiting Egypt found in the flora there the handsome thorn-apple, Arabic *Tatorch* (*Datura fastuosa*), and saw in its beautiful blossom of white fringed with purple the emblem of this same woollen tunic or vestment, and hence it became *Tunicas de Cristo* in Spain, or *Manteau de Christ* in France, as it remains to-day. Its title was carried by the early missionaries when they found the same shrub in their Mexican and South American woods, giving forth the delicious fragrance of its memorial of the cross to every evening breeze, and where it is thus spoken of, or as the Trumpet of the Doom. Our wild convolvulus flowers, either white or red or striped, have also served as memorials of these robes of the Saviour at His Passion, and one would expect to find the dice-box by which the lot was determined to be recalled by the checkered fribillary flower (*Fribillaria*), but we know only of the name of herrgottschügelcher for the *Montana* species.

We must omit any further memorials, for we have already been too long, and yet it is hard to pass over the tender recollections which many a flower prompted to the Sacred Wounds, Precious Blood, the Holy Sepulture and its pious attendants, and finally we must omit that more modern and exquisite summary of this great tragedy, the flower known now pre-eminently as the passion-flower.

The Passion of our Blessed Lord began in a garden, and we end it in the peace of the Garden of Calvary, with its pure shrubs and flowers breathing only the fragrance of their sympathy and prompting holy thoughts and aspirations. Perhaps the sacredness of a garden may appear greater to some of us after learning how full of holy lore it may be made. Many an old botanist loved to dwell upon the very natural reflection of how gardens have been consecrated by their connection with the greatest epochs in human existence. They loved to tell how in a garden it was the first Adam fell, and how in another the second Adam endured the agony to



redeem that fall. It is not so often remarked how in a garden the Lord of Heaven and Earth was buried, and there arose again to life. It was this latter thought especially that gave rise to the Christian's care of his dead, not placing them in rocks, like the Egyptians, or on the roadsides, like the Romans, or cremating them, as the Hindoos, but making their *cemetery*, or sleeping-place, in a garden, where green herbage and bright flowers might tell of the Saviour's tomb and the hope it brought of the resurrection morn. It was from the sacredness of the ground around where the body still lay in the mystery of the Mass, that the space adjoining a church became called the Paradise, a name still retained in the French *parvis*, for the open court before a cathedral church, and in our English word *parvise*, for the chamber above our porches, as a place where priests might pray for those who slept within the church's garth; and in every old burial-place arose a Mount of Olivet, with the scene of the Agony, or a Calvary, with its cross to throw its shadow over its sleeping dead, as did that in far-off Jewry over the garden of the Holy Sepulchre.

We commend, then, to our readers this study of the sacred flora as a wide and inspiring field of fresh interest, a continual source of mingled instructiveness and of food for the highest thought. To the men of the moyen âge the Kalendar has been said to have been Devotion's Diary and Mirth's Manual, and we might add that nature was its illustrated Supplement. Birds, flowers and stars were all enlisted to help them in the expression of their rational enjoyment in life; their bodies and souls, minds and hearts, were all united in making the completion of their happiness—not treated as separate entities—so that if the body was rejoicing, the soul should be silent. The feast was not complete without Jesus and Mary. Then the world was truly merrie when men looked to the Church and to nature as the partners of their mirth. Carol-tyde brought with it festivities of every kind, but all prompted by the commemoration that it honored. Nature helped, with its lessons and illustrations, to increase the mirthfulness of man, and the Burning Bush of Holly, the Jesse Tree of Mistletoe, the Christmas Roses of the Shepherd Maid, Stars of Bethlehem for the Epiphany, and many another emblem it offered to deck the churches and homes of the people. Passion-tyde and Easter came on, and again in the floral division of natural subjects emblems and types were appearing on every roadside and meadow to help man's recollected and appreciative gaze. Trinity, Pentecost, Corpus Christi and the Assumption followed, completing those Seven Stars, the Constellation of the Church's Year, and for them all nature rendered its tribute and earth yielded its fruit. Not only were the memorials in nature confined to the great feasts or fasts, for scat-



tered on every side about that firmament in which shone the seven greater lights are to be found, as lesser luminaries, the saints of God whose dedications among the flowers range from a single bud to the Galaxy of Mary or the *via picta* of the Baptist. What a new world of delight there is in this study! What a vision of peace it reveals in its intellectual, artistic and spiritual resources! What a field of delight to ourselves and our children would not the cultivation of a garden afford if we made it an earthly paradise, a *hortus deliciarum*, reflecting in tree and flower, by emblem and association, the Heavenly One? Where is the limit to the real education—the leading forth of man's mental and moral capabilities—which such assistance would bestow, giving education in its highest, widest and truest sense? Children have an innate love of nature, and the most profound truths in dogmatic theology, to say nothing of the most needful lessons in moral culture, can be taught with the most penetrating and lasting effect if natural symbolism be employed. The sweet purity of child-life, undimmed by the world's blight, drinks in lessons from the flowers, as the bee imbibes and assimilates their honey, and yet we scarcely ever find it employed. Is reverence for nature diminished, the religious truth forgotten, or the instruction wearisome when the mother points to the robin's scarlet breast or the cross-bill's twisted beak, and repeats to the eager listener what pious hearts have told as to how those badges were won? Will a child recklessly pluck or wantonly injure the *Nigella* with the dimmed eye, or the blood-sprinkled cuckoo-pint, or *Orchis*, if he know what they recalled to Christian eyes long closed? It was never as needful as it is to-day that parents should encourage such a love for nature, and it eminently belongs to home-teaching to foster the dispositions which such teaching engenders.

“Earth's crammed with heaven,  
And every common bush afire with God.”

ALFRED E. P. RAYMUND DOWLING, B.A., OXON.

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# IMPRESSIONS PRODUCED BY "APOSTOLICÆ CURÆ."

MANY months have now elapsed since the publication of the Bull "Apostolicæ Curæ"; and although its effects on the English mind are very far from having developed themselves as yet, we may look around and record the first impressions made by that remarkable document. The scope of this article does not include any sort of theological discussion, either of the Bull itself or of the reply of the Anglican Archbishops; it merely aims at showing the sparks struck from the endlessly diverse minds of English religionists by the friction of a great historical event.

While the cause of Anglican Orders was yet *sub judice*, I ventured to foretell in these columns what would be the manner of reception by the High Church party of a possible adverse decision. The decision was adverse, and it has been received exactly as I supposed. When first, at the end of September, 1896, the Papal brief arrived in England, a tempest of indignation raged through all the pulpits and periodicals which expressed the varied gamut of High Church opinion. Vexed to the soul as were the Sacerdotalists, to say nothing of the large number of Anglicans who believe that they have Orders, without any defined idea of what Orders are, they professed not to care about the decision in the least degree. It would not hurt them; they had not challenged it, and they were profoundly indifferent to it; it would tell only against the Roman Church, hindering conversions, postponing reunion indefinitely. Considering how very little Anglicans cared, it is strange that their language should have struck every note of anger and vexation, from the sorrowfully reproachful to the inconsiderately bitter and undisguisedly infuriated.

The Anglican weekly newspapers were all agreed in attributing the Papal decision to the most unworthy motives, and in remaining blind to any possibility of its being based on historical conviction.

"The Guardian" has all along treated the subject in the refined Oxonian style which always distinguishes this oldest and stateliest of English clerical journals. From the first it abstained from railing accusations or insults; yet it is unable to refuse to itself the

saving hypothesis that the pronouncement from Rome is only a stroke of policy.

"An inquiry undertaken in the interests of historical truth," thus spake "The Guardian" of September 30th, "has been made to minister to the needs of practical policy. The aspect, as we cannot but believe, which the question ultimately assumed was not so much, 'Are Anglican Orders valid,' as 'What will be the effect in England of pronouncing them valid?' And this view of a great duty was partly excused on the ground that it had often been taken in all churches." The article continued in the same strain with regard to the Catholic authorities in England, on whom the blame of the adverse decision was universally laid. "We do not doubt that they were honestly of opinion that a Papal recognition of Anglican Orders would be injurious to the salvation of souls and the interests of true religion. They have yet to learn that these great ends will not be served in the long run by presentment of the facts of history in the garb of ecclesiastical partisanship."

"The Church Times," which is the distinctly Ritualistic organ, was much more violent in its language. From this paper one expects everything that is most anti-Papal, and the expectation is seldom disappointed. The tone initiated by the late Dr. Littledale, and continued by the present editor, has been fully sustained ever since the Papal pronouncement fluttered all the Anglican doves in September, 1896; a tone of professed contempt which is curiously belied by the evident undercurrent of bitter disappointment. "Some of our kings, in earlier times, would have thrown it (the Bull) into the sea," proudly exclaimed an editorial of September 25, 1896, as if any question could ever have been raised as to the ordination of English priests in the ages when England was an avowedly Catholic country, in communion with the rest of Christendom. But when we see, in the same number of "The Church Times," among the "Answers to Correspondents," an assertion that "the Greeks do not recognize the validity of Roman Orders," we remember that *ira est brevis furor*, and we begin to make allowances for the *chagrin* of the editor at such a time. It must, however, be admitted that his ire has not at all abated during the many months which have elapsed since the blow fell; and that the numerous aggrieved clergymen who unbosomed themselves in his sympathetic columns fully rivalled in heat of diction his own vehement expressions of contempt. But all this editorial and epistolary violence was fairly outdone by "Church Bells," another widely read Anglican Sunday paper, and one which is supposed to represent that stratum of Anglican opinion which is called "Moderate High Church." "Church



Bells" was not at all moderate in its expressions concerning the Papal Bull. In a leading article headed "Rome the Treacherous," it drew the following highly colored picture: "At our threshold stands the Roman Cardinal, who, ever alert, vigilant and ambitious, has, in a victory scarcely triumphant, because almost unopposed, and, as regards reunion, more disastrous in its results than any defeat, wrested from his Sovereign Pontiff a Bull which is no less an unworthy attack upon our historic Church than an uncalled for, an ignoble insult to our beloved Sovereign and the English nation. . . . The intention of the Bull is plain; it pronounces our Orders invalid, so that, hopeless, homeless and sore afraid, we may, accepting the Papal dictum, turn Romeward for comfort. We doubt if the people of this nation have ever quite gathered what is the full significance of the Roman argument and belief that our threefold order of the ministry is worthless." This outburst is followed by one of those exposures of ignorance which always so seriously detract from the dramatic effect of foregoing indignation. The editor infers from the non-recognition of Anglican Orders that the Pope has *ipso facto* pronounced English marriages invalid, and asks, "Can we listen to the voice of any, be he Cardinal or Pontiff, who holds us to be a nation of bastards . . . . *our children illegitimate and unchristened?*" This was a bold bid for a public outcry; but there must be a good many English people who know, 1st, that the Church of Rome holds marriages in England, which have been celebrated according to English law, to be valid, except only those of divorced persons; 2d, that it holds lay baptism to be valid also. And indeed the English public do not seem to have been seriously misled by these statements, except, perhaps, that small pious section which takes its faith from irresponsible pronouncements uttered *ex cathedra editoris*.

Then the Church newspapers seized with avidity on a semi-private document which "Fathers" Puller and Lacey had published in "The Guardian," and which was nothing more nor less than an answer to, or report on, the pamphlet "De Re Anglicana," another semi-private argument, written by these two Anglican monks in the hope of influencing the Holy Father and his advisers. The answer was composed by two great English historians and theologians, Dr. Gasquet and Monsignor Moyes; and they became convenient scapegoats on whom to vent the spleen which a certain remnant of reverence warded off from the Pontiff himself. One could forgive a good deal to the angry disappointment and sore hearts of "Anglo-Catholics," but an accusation of unfairness against two men so accurate in fact as Dr. Gasquet and Monsignor Moyes can only amuse those who know these divines either per-

sonally or as historians.<sup>1</sup> It would indeed have been well if Protestant writers had rivalled Dom Gasquet in avoidance of all rhetorical passion and distortion of fact; if they saw black as black, and white as white, with the clear vision of the learned Benedictine. Father Puller, indeed, did full justice to Dr. Gasquet's standard historical works, in a letter which he wrote to "The Guardian" on the subject of "De Re Anglicana" and the Risposta; but he also tried to show that the historian in the Risposta has purposely contradicted his own book on "Edward VI." for the sake of misleading the Pope about the status of the Edwardine clergy. A glance will show that it is Mr. Puller who is at once misleader and misled.

The bishops of Edward's time whom Dr. Gasquet calls "Catholic," *e.g.*, those holding the body of Catholic doctrine, though they had temporized on the matter of the Papal Supremacy, were easily reconciled to Rome when they made their submission on this head. None of them had been ordained or consecrated according to the Edwardine Ordinal; therefore their Orders were not called in question. But Father Puller makes it appear that their reconciliation and reinstatement under Mary was a proof that Rome at that time regarded the Edwardine ordinations as valid.

While the tempest raged in Sacerdotalist and High Anglican circles, the Low Church party in the Church of England, no less than their kindred in religion, the Dissenters without the gates, were in the position of spectators rather than of interested parties; but this did not prevent them from taking sides more or less warmly. There were many Evangelicals whose extreme dislike to the introduction of Sacerdotalism into their Church caused them to long for and welcome with delight a Papal decision which should cut the ground from under the innovator's feet. "The Pope," they said, "must know what priesthood is, or is supposed to be; his Church has always claimed to possess it, whereas ours repudiated from the first all idea of a priesthood offering sacrifice, and has only presbyters who preach and offer prayer. Let him put

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<sup>1</sup> In 1894 I had the honor of writing, in these columns, a synopsis of the works of Dom Gasquet; then I specially called attention to the almost unexampled calmness and candor of his style. With regard to Mgr. Moyes, I may perhaps be allowed to say, as a contributor to "The Dublin Review," of which he is the editor, that he puts no limits to the telling of the truth. In the course of a mediæval study I came on facts highly derogatory to the probity and honor of one of the Sovereign Pontiffs, and mentioned the embarrassing circumstance to Canon Moyes. He bade me lay it down as a principle, that history must always be absolutely candid, however much the facts of the case may go against the grain with the historian. "Nothing extenuate, nor set down aught in malice," is the guiding maxim of both the ecclesiastics whom Ritualists malign as having held a brief against their cause.



these usurping presbyters who want to offer sacrifice back into their own position." This is precisely what Leo XIII. did, and the anti-Ritualists were somewhat maliciously rejoiced at the sensation caused thereby in the enemy's camp. There was, however, another party of Protestants which could not resist the temptation to have a fling at the Pope, even at the expense of a temporary sympathy with Ritualists; and which, though not believing in Orders, resented his opinion that the Anglicans had none.

Very different from the attitude of any of these partisans was that of the daily press. With but few exceptions the secular journals took a lucid outsider's view of the situation; the sort of view which would be taken by anyone not in bondage to the modern fiction about the continuity of the Establishment with the ancient English Church. The Pope had given what from his point of view was the only common sense answer to the recent proposition; and the Established Church must rest content with its position as the most highly placed among the Reformation churches.

But the Anglican papers parry these remarks by saying that the secular press of England is to a large extent under Roman Catholic influence. If this is true—and to some extent it is true—one wonders how the comparative monopoly has arisen; and whether the High Anglican party has no clever all-round writers, capable of making for themselves a position in the secular press, whence they can influence the public much more effectually than when addressing the limited circle who read religious journals.

The Church Congress, which happened to take place immediately after the publication of the Bull, gave an opportunity to the whole clerical body, or to as much of it as believed itself to have Orders, publicly to vent its anger and disappointment. In justice, however, it must be admitted that very little of vituperation, either in speech or writing, was directly levelled at the head of the venerable Pontiff himself. His action was described as "deplorable," "injudicious," "ill-timed"; his pronouncement was fiercely challenged or angrily sneered at; but the blame of both, on the platform as in the press, was very generally shifted on the shoulders of his English advisers—not only of the theologians who were on the Commission, but of Cardinal Vaughan and the Bishops of England. The motives attributed to them, impossible as they are, would very naturally co-exist with the frame of mind in which Protestants habitually live with regard to matters ecclesiastical. Such charges would, indeed, be insulting as well as foolish, if brought forward by men whose consciences were less entirely warped on the subject of faith and expediency than are those of High Anglicans. But they view these things



from an impossible standpoint. The necessity of unity and authority being entirely put out of sight, and the question of Orders or no Orders taking precedence of every other in their minds, they assume that if the priesthood of the Anglican clergy were admitted, Cardinal Vaughan and the Catholic hierarchy would lose their *raison d'être*, and must of necessity resign their crooks to the prelates of the Establishment. And, moreover, since Anglicans have been accustomed to see their own prelates trim their sails to suit prevailing winds, and their historians twist facts till they are tortured into proofs of the most impossible theories ever known, they naturally argue that Catholic bishops and learned men would commit any injustice, and falsify history to any extent, rather than allow themselves to be superseded. The correspondent of "The Church Times" even suggested that "the English Roman clergy" dreaded the admission of Anglican clergymen to the status of Catholic priests, on account of their superiority as being more "*colti e civili*," in Cardinal Manning's phrase, than the missionaries of Rome. Of course, no one who is well acquainted with England or with English Catholicism would deny that the latter is indebted, in an untold degree, to the social qualities of those convert clergymen who have become priests, and who have brought with them the polished tone of the English gentleman, the refined culture of the Oxford or Cambridge man. But the very idea of the Catholic priest dreading rivalry on his own ground from the Anglican parson could but exist, as the French would say, "*pour rire*."

The whole assumption is so unworthy, and opens out such a vista of low motive and falsified conscience on the part of the accusers, that one is sorry, for their own sake, that they should make parade of it before the world. Most of them have failed to see that a declaration on the part of the Pope that he had absolute proof of the validity of Anglican Orders would have made no difference whatever to the *status quo*. Anglicans would have been proved to be in possession of a priesthood, but they would still have been schismatics, out of communion with the See of St. Peter. The Pope would still have had to maintain and support bishops here, just as he does in the dominion of the Tzar. And even the case of Russia, though it is a case very much to the point, is not quite parallel with that of a schismatic England. The Russian Church, owing to its cohesion and retention of the great body of Christian doctrine, might, if it so wished, be reunited with Rome *en bloc*. But in the Anglican Church every bishop, clergyman, and layman would have to be examined separately as to his belief, so that Anglicans would be reduced to individual submission after all. There are prelates and clergy in the Church of

England who would not believe themselves to be sacrificing priests if the matter were proved up to the hilt; and who, had the Pope been able to decide in favor of their Orders, would have repudiated the claim with indignation. There are laity with their religious ideas in every phase of disruption; there is an immense body of people who loosely call themselves "Church of England," and who have no tenets at all. Thus, reunion would not have been an ace nearer had the Edwardine Ordinal been never so valid.

It is curious how persistently all these things are blinked at by Anglicans. One of the few among them who have taken a partially correct view of the position was the late Canon Churton. In a letter from his pen which appeared in "Church Bells," of October 30, 1896, he wrote: "It is surely an error to suppose that any utterance from Rome on the subject of the bare validity of English ordinations would have established the Anglican position, or have in any way affected the position of the Roman Mission in Great Britain. The See of Rome, in consequence of its claim to be the source of spiritual jurisdiction, plants ecclesiastical organizations in all lands, and is bound by its principles to be aggressive on other communities, whether they have lost or retained the Apostolic succession. . . . A schismatical Church therefore gains nothing in position by possessing these bare essentials. The formation of an Anglican Uniat Church, or a Church in submission to Rome having permission to use its own rites, would have been in accordance with these precedents." Canon Churton evidently came fairly near to appreciating the situation. But probably the necessity for submission to Rome would not have been felt, or would have been felt only by the few; and a sort of new sect, detached from the State, would have been the earliest result of an acknowledged possession of true orders.

There was from the first a natural feeling among indignant Anglicans that an authoritative answer should be sent to the Pope. The sudden death of Dr. Benson, the Archbishop of Canterbury, on October 11th, caused a delay in the preparation of such a document; although it is said that the thoughts of that truly good and estimable prelate, during the last days of his life, were much occupied by the Papal pronouncement. He also left behind him some memoranda towards an official reply. It was not till March that Dr. Temple, the new Archbishop, together with his brother of York, gave to the world what is called by Anglicans the Encyclical *Satis cognitum*—a courteous, dignified, and scholarly, but certainly not a priestly or an Episcopal document. Of this letter it is not in my province further to speak, except to say that the Catholic and orthodox conception of the Sacrament of Order and of the Eucharistic Sacrifice, and that set forth by Drs. Temple and



MacLagan, is so radically different that the Pope and the Archbishops seem to be arguing from quite separate standpoints. The standpoint of the Archbishops is their own private ground, shared, perhaps, by that Moderate High Church party which is represented by "The Guardian" newspaper. For although it suited the rampantly Ritualistic "Church Times" to applaud the attitude of the Archbishops, at any less critical time its editor would probably have taken exception to their view of the Eucharistic Sacrifice as being nearly everything except the oblation of the Body and Blood of Christ.

Under the circumstances, however, the editor of "The Church Times" elected to strike the chord of submission and approbation. "It is with profound thankfulness," he announced on March 12th, "that we read this Encyclical. The true doctrine of the priesthood and of the Eucharistic Sacrifice is here declared, with an authority that cannot be gainsaid, to be the teaching of the Church of England." Thereupon "The Catholic Times" very pertinently asked since when their Graces had been in possession of such authority. "The Church Times" itself has never recognized their authority when clashing with its own. In one of its last issues, which appeared before the death of Archbishop Benson, it took him to task for having "of late somewhat ostentatiously employed that unhappy expression, 'Protection,' in connection with Anglicanism." And by the opposing party in the Church of England the authority was gainsaid at once. In the eyes of Evangelicals the Encyclical assumed too much of sacerdotal power and sacramental belief. It ought not to have spoken of an Eucharistic Sacrifice at all, it ought not to have laid claim to episcopacy and priesthood. Even the dignified courtesy of its tone as regards the Pope, to which Catholics have done full justice, gave offence in some quarters within the Anglican pale; not, probably, in the sense that Evangelicals wished the Pope to be treated discourteously, but that they grudged any assumption on the part of their Bishops of a like power with his.

But the case was put in a nutshell, as it were, by Cardinal Vaughan, in an address which he delivered at Great Ormond Street on March 14th:<sup>1</sup> "According to the Anglican Archbishops, the Anglican priesthood claims no miraculous, supernatural, sacrificial powers, such as are exercised by the priesthood of the Eastern and Western Churches. So far, therefore, according to their own showing, the Anglican is as different from the Roman and Greek priesthood as their sacrifice is different from ours. Under these circumstances I fail to understand why they complain

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<sup>1</sup> Since published by the Catholic Truth Society.



of the judgment of the Pope, who is bound to pronounce judgment from the standpoint of Catholic doctrine, and must be understood to refer to the priesthood in a Catholic sense."

And "The Tablet" further remarked that it was to the credit of the Anglican Archbishops that they did not set forth that the Church of England held her bishops and priests to possess a true sacrificing priesthood, with the mystic power to cause Christ to be really present at the altar, and to offer Christ as the Victim of Salvation in the sacrifice of the Mass, even as taught by the Church of Rome and the Churches of the East.

What, indeed, would have been the effect of such a declaration on the Evangelicals, seeing that even the Archbishops' claim to offer "praise and thanksgiving, the oblation of ourselves, and the memory of the Sacrifice on the Cross," seemed to them too sacerdotal!

As to the outcry caused by Leo XIII.'s suggestion to Cardinal Vaughan, that a fund should be raised for the succor of convert clergymen, nothing can be more wanting in common sense than the endeavor to associate such a project with any idea of "bribery." Catholics in England are so poor that they can hardly support their own missions and institutions; they come in, as one of the Anglican papers has viciously remarked, at the tail of all public subscriptions. The rich among them are not noted for any imprudent zeal in encouraging Catholic effort, or in smoothing the path of the self-impovertished convert. To suppose that English Catholics could raise a fund which should compensate clergymen for the loss of a living, or even of a curacy, is to revive that utterly baseless Protestant superstition that the Church has unlimited power and wealth at her command, and always brings them out for the benefit of those who do her service. In reality, a few pounds, or some little help towards starting a business, will be the most that the convert will receive in exchange for all that he had; and very often he will not even get that. Poverty and neglect will be his lot in this world; and it is obvious that his motives must be entirely concerned with the next when he throws up employments and offends his relatives in order to join the Catholic Church.

So far, no great movement towards the Church has resulted from the Papal pronouncement. The well-known and much-esteemed "Father" Maturin, of the Anglican Monastery of Cowley, two beneficed clergymen, and at least two curates, have had the courage of their convictions and have made their submission. The air is still full of the noise and dust of the encounter. The Ritualists generally have shown more ecclesiastical swagger than ever, while the Moderates have become more Ritualistic. Certain

external circumstances have encouraged Anglicans to assume a bold attitude. In the first burst of their disappointment they exclaimed that they would turn for fellowship to the ancient Churches of the East, who are like them only in that "Non Serviam" is the motto of all.

They had already sent what they called a "legate" to the coronation of the Tzar in the person of the Bishop of Peterborough; and now in the present year the Archbishop of Finland has come to the Queen's Jubilee, has stood among Anglican bishops at the West Front of St. Paul's, has visited Oxford, has had the "Is Polla ita Despota" sung before him by High Anglican choirs, and, at his departure from Victoria Station, passed among a crowd who knelt to receive his blessing. All this looked so like reunion in the eyes of good people who are accustomed to consider superfluities more than essentials, that a sense of triumph in the apparent fraternization with an Eastern hierarch soothed the hearts so deeply wounded by the aloofness of Rome. The slight vexation caused by the presence of the Papal Legate in the Jubilee procession itself—for the Queen, with the good sense and fine manners which have always distinguished her, never fails to do honor to the representatives of Leo XIII.—was compensated for by this opportunity of offering homage to an Eastern prelate. An incident, too, has been raked up which happened ten years ago, when the Archbishop of Kief asked the Archbishop of Canterbury to "communicate to him, distinctly and definitely, on what conditions he considered the union of the Churches possible." It is clear that Archbishop Benson did not see his way to tackle this difficult problem, and its solution can hardly be looked upon as a probability. At all events, we shall wait to be astonished until the Holy Synod has pronounced on the validity of Anglican Orders, and further discovered a *modus vivendi* with clergymen of many shades of opinion on the subject of the Christian Sacrifice. It is not unlikely that Orientals, even as the French Abbés Portal and Duchesne, might at the first blush take a different view of the priestliness of Anglicans from what we in England take. They see a bishop with mitre and crook, and do not realize that these things are an innovation which would have shocked the bishops of thirty years ago. They see a parson who wears vestments, and who is good and earnest in his way; they do not know him as we know him; they cannot apprehend the looseness of his reasoning, the laxity of his conscience in matters of faith, the contradictions that beset the religious system in which he lives, and the unsacerdotal character which is so evident to his own countrymen. We know the English parson too well ever to have had the smallest suspicion that he was a priest. We are acquainted with both his



strong and his weak points. We like him for his scholarship, his *bonhomie*, his kindness to the poor, the respectability of his private life. We laugh at him (especially if he be a Ritualist) for his anomalous position, his priestly pretensions, his censure of his bishops at the very same time that he is holding them up as the equals of the Pope, his general incapacity for logic in things ecclesiastical. The bishops themselves are a study not devoid of humor, as are also their wives; those estimable ladies who have lately come to the front so valiantly in public matters that some of the austere High Church journals have satirically recommended them to sign themselves by the names of their husbands' episcopal sees. All these things are always before our eyes; and the Oriental Church, should it give itself seriously to a study of the ways and means of reunion, would find them (and many other things even more important) awkward factors to deal with.

Nothing but good can result from telling the truth where souls have been deceived; and no doubt many a deeply religious Anglican will settle down to a serious review of his position when the first storm of anger has spent itself, and the glories of the Pan-Anglican synod and celebration of St. Augustine's thirteenth centenary have passed away. Much would be gained if the Ritualists would consider the rock from which they were hewn; if they would study the history of the Movement of 1833 and following years, as recounted by a witness so unexceptionable, so truthful, scholarly and refined as the Anglican Dean Church.<sup>1</sup> There was something pathetic and noble in the long clinging to Anglicanism of the Tractarians; in their hoping against hope, their hard inward struggle, the submission of some among them when conscience made the way clear at last. Would that their scholastic calm and deep searching of heart could be given to their spiritual descendants, so that the jangling about vestments, Roman and Sarum uses, recalcitrant bishops and "un-Churchlike views" might cease, and the people begin to think, not of what they wish to be true, but of what God has decreed! If their Sunday newspapers and their clergy would give them time for reflection, they would know that the Lord is not in the storm nor in the earthquake, but speaks with a still, small voice.

Signs are not wanting to show that the future is likely to bring about a blissful development of the present situation. Two things are certain, namely, that the general longing for reunion has not been diminished because the particular path to it chosen by the self-will of a few is declared to be forever barred, and that the governing tendency in the Anglican Church at present is towards

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<sup>1</sup> *The Oxford Movement*, by R. W. Church, London, 1892.



a hierarchical and sacramental system. Say what the Evangelicals may, protest as they will, the set of the tide is towards sacerdotalism. If anything more were wanted to prove it than a common power of perception of surrounding things, the want would be supplied by the attitude of the majority among the bishops. It has always been a noted fact that the Anglican bishops, as a body, have rather followed than led public opinion in matters ecclesiastical. Some, almost any, party in the Church forms a powerful current which counteracts, for the time, all other currents; and forthwith the bishops, tentative, rather dilatory, always politic, begin gently to drift in the same direction. There is not one of the present bench, except Dr. King, of Lincoln, who has boldly declared himself to be all, or nearly all, that a Catholic bishop is; yet most of the others have gradually approached to something more or less resembling the ideal, and have sloughed off, cautiously and by degrees, Low Church or Broad Church ways of doing and talking. They wear copes; at times even mitres;<sup>1</sup> they have crooks carried before them; they officiate in churches where "High Mass" is sung in their presence; they brave the anger of the decadent Evangelical party. There are exceptions, of course. Lately there was a scene in a certain church, when the bishop of the diocese objected to lighted candles on the altar; and when the vicar pulled out his watch and gave his lordship one minute to decide whether he would refuse to administer Confirmation in that church, submitting to the presence of the candles; and the bishop, for the sake of peace, chose the latter alternative. Then too, the bishops generally, who as State officers must needs obey the law of the State, are continually being called to order by the High Anglican press on the serious matter of the marriages of divorced persons; they do not, because they cannot, forbid the celebration of these marriages in their churches. But as a whole, friction on this side is growing more and more rare; and the prelates are now defied mostly by Protestant fanatics, such as the man who called out "Traitor!" as the Archbishop of York drove through the streets of Sheffield; or another similar spirit who has threatened His Grace with a similar greeting at any time that he takes his walks or drives abroad. Puritanism, it would appear, is falling on the days of its second childhood; but it keeps its harsh and abusive spirit to the last.

But Ritualism grows and increases. If, as some Catholics think, it be from Satan, certainly the enemy of mankind has overreached

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<sup>1</sup> It was observed that the Archbishop did not wear a mitre at the Thanksgiving Service in front of St. Paul's on Jubilee Day; Her Majesty having an objection—founded, perhaps, on her well-known quality of common sense—to see the State prelates arrayed in this episcopal headgear.

himself this time. Ritualism is a tide carrying the most devout and cultured portion of the English nation into port. It has introduced valid baptism, acts of contrition, spiritual communions, devotion to Our Lady, prayers for the dead; all of which things are good in themselves, and likely to lead to further good in the future. And if Ritualists are apt to be quarrelsome, one must remember that there will often be pettishnesses and discontents in an infant school.

That reunion is still in the air is the most hopeful sign of all. The Anglican "Association for the Promotion of the Unity of Christendom" lately presented an address to the Bishops of the Pan-Anglican Conference at Lambeth, setting forth that although the first attempt to promote good relations with the See of Rome had failed, "the fact that the inquiry was the outcome of an enthusiasm for unity in loving hearts of the great Latin communion is a sign of the powerful working of the spirit of peace." The writers further remark that "no one can read the Encyclical of Leo XIII., or the reply of the English Archbishops, without recognizing with deep thankfulness the change which has come over the manner of conducting controversy between Rome and Canterbury. Both sides have spoken what they believe to be the truth, but they have spoken it in love, and though the consequences of the sixteenth-century upheaval remain, we may congratulate ourselves that the violence of the passions aroused at that epoch is passing away." The archbishops are asked to appoint some feast for special prayers for reunion; and they have designated Pentecost, in accordance, as it would seem, with the thought of Leo XIII. The memorialists are right; the spirit of peace and good-will which prevails is in itself a pledge of coming unity. The atmosphere of bitter, railing, raging controversy which formerly enveloped Protestant polemics, must have been nearly fatal to impressions of truth. And though the tradition of abuse as a necessary ingredient of religious discussion is kept up to some extent by the "Rock" and the "Church Times," among Protestants in general it has died almost completely away, and is looked on as ill-mannered, unworthy, and un-Christian. And there is nothing which may not be accomplished by the spirit of loving kindness.

It seems as if a serious meditation on two elementary truths, *i.e.*, their positions as creatures, and the love of the Creator, would bring all these well-meaning English souls once for all into the haven where they should be. For, as creatures, they are bound to do the Creator's will; and His will is that the whole human race should be included in the great system which His love founded for the guidance of souls. He would never have condemned us

to find out a religion for ourselves ; He knows our jangling minds too well. It is the human will refusing to obey, the human intellect over-confident in its own shallow wisdom, that have invented courses not marked on the chart He has given to us ; and many shipwrecks have been the consequence. Anglicans have but to open their minds freely and frankly to these truths, and their wanderings will be happily at an end.

A. M. GRANGE.

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### FACT AND FICTION IN LITERATURE.

IT seems a strange outcome of our present civilization that, in an age in which so many facts of transcendent interest exist for the admiration of such as choose to take notice of them, the majority of leisured men prefer to leave the world of fact for that of fiction. That such, at least, is the case would appear from the statistics of most free libraries, in which more than half, and sometimes as much as three-fourths of the books taken out are works of fiction. And if we turn to the literary journals we find evidence to the same effect when we read the formidable catalogue of "Novels of the Week," with criticisms thereon. The public never grows weary of fresh novels and of fresh stories, serial and otherwise. Fortunes are made by the circulation of a single book, while the sale of volumes from indifferent writers, whose name is legion, floods the market, and often drives out works of far higher merit. Yet still the cry is for more. Advertisements are sometimes found of classes for teaching young ladies how to qualify as authoresses under the guidance of one who has herself done much towards beguiling the weary hours of leisured humanity. If an intelligent visitor from the thirteenth century were, after five hundred years of sleep, suddenly to awake in the midst of our present nineteenth century civilization, he would, perhaps, be struck by nothing so much as by the means we have at our command for saving time and earning useful leisure. The printing-press, the locomotive and the whole array of our industrial machinery would seem to him, by the rapidity with which they do their work, to be admirably adapted for freeing mankind from that slavery to material labor which is such an obstacle to the higher intellectual life. He would think of the monks of his own day who gave up the whole of their spare time to copying



out manuscripts. If all this energy had been expended in reading, preaching and composing books, to be multiplied indefinitely with small trouble and expense, what good might not have been done to the world? Soon, moreover, our wondering philosopher would be introduced by his friend, proud of this chance of playing the showman, to some of the ways in which we spend our easily earned leisure. And first of all, in due course, he would be instructed about our methods of education and the means adopted by the State to secure the proper enlightenment of its children. He would find out before long, by intelligent questioning, that, with the majority, this education is thought to be complete when the product of the system is able to read, and, to some extent, understand a novel or a newspaper. After that he is left to shift for himself—to form his own opinions, choose his own occupation, and employ his leisure in his own way. Our newly awakened guest, thus far satisfied, would then go on to examine for himself the nature of these novels and newspapers which are to complete a young man's education, and in which he has been told the best thought of the day finds its expression. He is at once struck by the extreme ease and brilliancy with which the romances are written, the artistic grace of the characters and the plots, the luminous beauty and originality of the ideas, and, withal, the good general moral tone that pervades them. After a while, however, he begins to discover, for his wits have been preternaturally sharpened by his five centuries of rest, that the ideas are not so original as he at first supposed, that the brilliant language is repeated according to the same mould and pattern in all the volumes, and that the moral tone of many, especially the later productions is, if not evil in itself, at any rate calculated to do away with that intense hatred of evil which is necessary to all who wish to live aright. As for the opinions upon most matters of importance expressed in the novels, he is quite unable to classify them.

He began by trying to arrange them in schools, and, after reading five novels by different authors, he had already formed five distinct schools. But on failing to light upon any one set of opinions which was exactly like another, he has given up the attempt in despair. He thinks of the days of St. Thomas, when educated men were trained to think consecutively. Then, indeed, there were such things as real schools of thought, which took up and improved the speculations of others, and, year by year, kept adding fresh grandeur to the intellectual edifice they were erecting; but here, in these ingenious narratives, the chosen vehicles of modern thought, he finds only kaleidoscopic fragments suddenly brought together to produce some transient effect. He sees how the spoils of time, the scattered treasures of history, language

and philosophy, are used to advantage by men who have inherited them with so little trouble. He wonders, too, at the extraordinary genius of some of these little creators who are so busy with the propagation of ideas which are new and surprising to himself. He asks why Sir Walter Scott is so dissatisfied with the present and so despairingly enamoured of the past; why Thackeray, without any hope of converting his readers, is at such pains to show them that their whole life is an imposture; and how Sir Walter Besant arrives at the conclusion that men would be more virtuous if there were fewer churches and more music and dancing. He is especially astounded to find such a charming and able writer as George Eliot attempting to prove that ethics have no foundation, nobility no purpose, and sublimity and beauty no archetype. Finally, in perplexity and disappointment, he gives up his course of novel-reading and goes for consolation to the philosophy and the science of our century. There we will leave him to glean what information he can.

And now let us make a fair exchange by transplanting a fairly-educated man of our own century into a state of things resembling that of the thirteenth century in England. We will suppose him to be one who has had a good average non-technical education, and who passes for a man of good general information, while his one great aim, in his new surroundings, is to introduce as much as he can of nineteenth century improvements. He has no elementary science manuals, no encyclopædias, and no tools or appliances of any sort. He depends entirely upon his memory, and at first he thinks that his task will be quite an easy one, he seems to have such very clear ideas about steamships, locomotives, atomic theories, higher mathematics and surgery. But when he begins to put down his ideas on paper, with a view to an early demonstration, he begins to realize that he has no thorough knowledge of anything. He knows really nothing about the inner working of the dynamo; he fails to give a clear account of the action of the piston-rod in a steam-engine; his philosophy is actually thought to be "behind the times," and his science consists of a vast array of interesting facts upon which many a wise head will have to ponder before anything can be made of them. He has quite given up hoping to see steamships or railways introduced in his lifetime, though he has, no doubt, set his new contemporaries on the track of many new discoveries, and hastened on many an invention by several generations. How he wishes he had spent his time in mastering some branch of science instead of spending his time in promiscuous reading! What would he not give to have with him the science text-books of his school-days, nay, even his chimney-piece clock, or his children's toy loco-



tive! There is one thing, however, which he can do, and do well, and that is tell a good story. His auditors are wonder-struck at the number and ingenuity of the plots which he remembers from his recent novel-reading, and his reputation as a strolling storyteller is far higher than his credit as an inventor.

But, to have done with parables and impossible predicaments, it does, indeed, seem a strange thing that when, with a little mental effort, there is so much enjoyment to be got from science and history, a large proportion of readers are found who spend all their spare hours in studying a long and elaborate account of a set of persons who never existed. Even if the matter be regarded from the point of view of the pleasure derived from the occupation, it may well be questioned whether the sum total of enjoyment that comes from reading, say an interesting biography or a book of travels, is not really greater than that to be got from a novel. In the former case it may be true that the actual present enjoyment is not so great, but then the after-pleasures of memory more than compensate for this defect; whereas, the novel, which is written primarily for present amusement, commonly leaves behind it a very small residuum of instruction or reflective pleasure. A writer in "*The Nineteenth Century*,"<sup>1</sup> treating of this subject, says: "Again, let it be said that if novel-reading is the surest, as it is the easiest, means of intellectual recreation, there is no cause to interfere with or discourage it; but the true hedonist—he whose avowed aim is pleasure—will find it to his profit to consider whether he is getting good value for the time spent in it, whether he is not neglecting other sources of delight not less sure and more enduring. If he applies to novels an infallible test of the value of any book—is it worth reading, note-book and pencil in hand?—he will be surprised how few, how very few works of fiction stand the proof. That this test is infallible rests on the well-known fact that pleasure consists not in the present, which is fleeting, but in anticipation and retrospect. Memory is treacherous and requires refreshing, and unless the recollection of what is read is ensured by notes, reading is a task as fruitless as that of the daughters of Danaus; it serves to spend our limited capital in time without enriching the ever-diminishing store of future."

A not uncommon result produced by the continual reading of novels is a sort of mental dyspepsia, which renders the patient incapable of any real intellectual enjoyment whatsoever. He is in the condition corresponding to that of an injudicious epicure who has been trying to live upon peaches and cream with iced drinks, and has become unable to appreciate the flavor of ordinary whole-

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<sup>1</sup> June, 1893, *The Craving for Fiction*. By Herbert Maxwell.



some food. It would almost seem that the public at large is beginning to suffer from this complaint, if we are to judge by the vast quantity of fiction brought out by weekly and monthly magazines in the form of short stories easily digested and "swiftly gorgeable." The reading of such stories, which ought only to be performed in the resting hours of the day, requires but a minimum of mental effort, and the pleasure which they afford is not of a high quality. The higher forms of æsthetic enjoyment exercise the mind while they delight it. The enjoyment of a great picture, a great poem, or even of a great novel, is not merely passive. The intellect and the imagination of the reader or beholder must co-operate largely with the artist in order to produce the effect desired. It does not require great experience to prove this. How many men of good literary appreciation have not been occasionally not a little disappointed upon reading some play of Shakespeare for the first time? A second reading, however, has given them greater pleasure, and a third still more, and so their sympathy with their author grows. Each new perusal draws forth a flood of light from some passage that was meaningless before, for it may be that their memory has since gathered some new experience, some new impression from life which serves as a key to unlock the poet's meaning. Meanwhile they find that the power of their own imagination to act upon small suggestions is growing, and that a short phrase is often enough to set in movement a whole train of thought which it is far sweeter to follow out than the minute analysis of the philosophic novelist. In art the half is greater than the whole, and "*Le secret d'ennuyer est de tout dire.*" The remaining half it is the proper task of the imagination to supply. To give the first suggestion is the work of genius; the sympathetic following out of that suggestion belongs to docility and patient toil. There are chords in our heart which have long remained untouched and rigid until the master-hand of some great poet or artist has made them vibrate, but the sweetness of their first vibration has often to be bought at the expense of pain and effort. Now, in the case of a very large proportion of our present popular novels, no such effort is made, nor is it, indeed, necessary, as the readers have all their thinking done for them. They may, perhaps, close their book with a flattering sense of deep thinking done, but they soon find that their mind is not a whit more vigorous than it was before. It has not been exercised, and must suffer the consequences of want of exercise, which are weakness and dyspepsia.

It is, of course, true that many forms of intellectual enjoyment are impossible to those who have not had a special preliminary training. It is, as a rule, only the trained musician who can fully

appreciate the best work of the great composers, and only an artist or a practiced connoisseur who can perceive the subtler beauties of a great work of art. But it is far from true to say that, outside the region of fiction, there is not open to everyone who can read intelligently a vast store-house of entertainment for the mind, which sharpens the faculties whilst it gives them pleasure. It requires no special training beyond that ordinary mental discipline which every man should exercise upon himself, in order to appreciate Shakespeare, yet with how many omnivorous readers is Shakespeare but a name? Those who do read him appreciatively probably find that they owe more to him than they do to all the novels that they have ever read; nor is this to the detriment of the novels, for the golden ore which many of them contain is more readily perceived and better appreciated by such as are familiar with the higher work of a great poet. When a play of Shakespeare has been once understood, the memory of it may be easily recalled by a short reading which will always give new light and pleasure, while the repetition of a novel is a labor which not very many readers think it worth their while to face, thereby giving their estimate of the value of what they read. The present writer was once told by a French priest who had not much time for reading, that his chief delight in leisure hours was in Shakespeare and the Douay Bible, and that he had come to regard other books as vanity—a state of mind to be envied by those of us who are oppressed by the thought of the multitude of books which we ought, but shall never be able to read.

We have already remarked that there is some matter for wonder in the fact that novels are so abundant in an age which makes so much of facts. In our days the most minute facts are hunted out, verified and recorded for the sake of some future utility which their investigator will often never see. It is for the sake of facts that the tombs of Egypt are violated and the buried cities of Asia are dug up by the learned of Europe and America. It is to establish facts, often of unimportant bearing, that commentators exhaust their logic and critics their sarcasm. The war-correspondent who dies on the battle-field and the explorer who perishes of cold in the arctic snows are both, in their different ways, martyrs to their zeal for facts. And then there is the bloodless martyrdom of that army of willing drudges who find out and arrange the materials for future history which lie buried in the record office. They love their labor as martyrs love their cross, for to them facts are precious for their own sake and apart from the future use which may be made of them.

It is with reason that facts are valued in our own day, for by the patient study of them whole sciences have been built up, and



many of the outer aspects of our civilization entirely transformed. Yet side by side with this persistent energy in fact-collecting there is a wide-spread and growing activity in the making and reading of fiction. This is all the more surprising when we consider what power the study of facts, and often their mere relation, can exercise over the intellect and imagination. Witness the enthusiasm of some young learner, perhaps one whose school course is considered to have been thrown away, and who has just begun some branch of study for which he really has a taste. He seems to have found somewhere a new memory and a new understanding, and his only complaint is that time goes by too quickly for him to stock his all-retaining mind to within any nearness of its capacity. He never suffers from *ennui*, that plague of omnivorous novel-readers. Very soon his favorite study, whether it be architecture or botany, or medicine or chemistry, will give him an interest which he never had before in the things he sees and hears of every day. His powers of observation are quickened and his capacity for enjoyment greatly enlarged. "Those who have not tried for themselves," says Sir John Lubbock, "can hardly imagine how much science adds to the interest and variety of life. It is altogether a mistake to regard it as dry, difficult or prosaic; much of it is as easy as it is interesting. In endless aspects science is as wonderful and interesting as a fairy-tale."

If science possesses such attractions for the human mind, it would seem that history—and by history we mean history in its most general sense as the record of human action—should be a source of still greater delight. That such is the case would seem to follow from the well-known sayings, "The proper study of mankind is man," and "Homo sum; humani nihil a me alienum puto."<sup>1</sup> As a matter of fact, however, the claims of history over fiction as a source of healthful instruction, to say nothing of amusement, are not everywhere allowed. Fielding says somewhere that nothing is true in history except the names and dates, whereas in fiction everything is true except the names and dates, and we might safely allow that there is much truth in this paradox, especially in the first part of it, when we think of how much invention, even now, passes for history, and that so much history has to be re-written. As a matter of fact imagination plays an important part in the writing of all history that is not a bare chronicle of events, and if a historian has no further equipment for his task than the dry facts which he finds in his documents he will, at best, be able to tell only half truths. It is worse still if his

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<sup>1</sup> "I am a man, and I think that all things human are my concern." (Terence, *Hautontimorumen*, as Act i., sc. i, l. 25.)



imagination is wayward and untruthful, for he will give a false coloring to all the actions which he describes. Now it is this power of true coloring, this supplying the record of human feelings and human passions, which are the most valuable part of history and which mere chronicles can never give, that forms the chief qualification of a historian. If he has it in a high degree his work will be not only instructive but intensely interesting. It will have all the interest of a romance, with the additional advantage of being true. "Oh! it reads like a novel," is considered to be somewhat doubtful praise of an historical work; but that is because historians so often use their imagination to a wrong purpose.

It is easier to say what might be than what is, and consequently the inventive imagination is a commoner gift than the historic. Both are, or ought to be, limited by the great facts of human nature, but the former has a far wider scope, for, with this restriction, it is free to travel about the whole world of possibilities. It is, moreover, less accountable for its vagaries, since, when it goes wrong, it is not easily convicted on the testimony of recorded facts, while the reading public, on receipt of a good round allowance of sensation, are apt to be indulgent critics. More pocket-money, too, is granted to the inventive imagination, and history has suffered thereby, for many owners of the historic variety have had it converted into the more remunerative kind. What opportunities in our huge Anglo-Saxon reading world for a novelist who knows the measure of his public, and fits it to a nicety with such a production as "Trilby."

We have just said that a novel must conform to the great facts of human nature, and in so far as it does so it is truthful and not fictitious. Its generalities and its relations are true, while its details are false, and this was what Fielding meant when he stated the paradox which we have mentioned above. The truth of a novel, like the truth of all works of art, is, in one respect, similar to the truth of physical science. In both cases ideal circumstances have to be invented in order to state and illustrate the great laws of nature. Before we can understand the planetary theory we have to be told that the planets move in elliptical orbits, whereas no real planet has ever been suspected of doing so; the whole truth being that all planets *would* do so if there were no such facts as perturbation, proper motion of the sun, resistance of the medium traversed, and other phenomena known to astronomers. Again, Newton's first law, which supposes that bodies are capable of rest or of movement in a straight line, is none the less true in spite of its being improbable that any body ever fulfilled either condition. What the philosopher meant was that there are forces in nature which would produce the effects stated if left to themselves.

It is in much the same way that a novel shows us how the laws that govern human action *would* act in given circumstances. The persons and conditions are fictitious, but the laws which they illustrate are true. In the circumstances of real life the character of a man seldom has the opportunity of displaying itself in its fulness. Many a possible hero lives unnoticed in real life, because there is never an occasion to call his heroism into play. In a novel, on the contrary, which is a drama with the action described instead of performed, the various *personæ* have the circumstances exactly so arranged that their characters shall be clearly exhibited and adequately worked out. This is the way in which the novelist holds the mirror up to nature. He eliminates all the dull details of everyday life, and all things that interfere with the harmonious working out of the plot, and by so doing he gives opportunity for the study of mankind in an isolated medium. He does for his characters what Newton did for his moving body when he made a mental abstraction of all that could interfere with its free movement in a straight line. This process of elimination is necessary in the physical sciences not only for merely theoretic knowledge, but for theory as a necessary step to practice. A student of practical gunnery, for instance, must begin with a knowledge of the properties of the parabola. But what, may be asked, is the object of such a process in a novel? Why should men be studied in a medium in which they do not naturally exist? For no one was ever enabled to deal better with his fellow-men in real life by studying their behavior in a novel. The answer to this question which has sometimes, we imagine, been asked in all seriousness, is that a novel, any more than a drama, is not intended to give us a knowledge of mankind for practical purposes, but merely for purposes of contemplation and to satisfy our æsthetic requirements. The study of character under ideal conditions could never become a science with any practical application, for no one pretends to know enough of the principles of human conduct to treat of them with anything like the accuracy of a scientific treatise. Hence, while the ideal projectile greatly promotes our knowledge of the behavior of a real shrapnel shell, our contemplation of ideal men helps us very little towards a practical knowledge of the world.

To repeat, in other words, what we have just said, the interest of historical works, and the interest of novels, depends upon the interest of the human action that is in them. The reason why novels are more popular reading than books of history is, that the latter, though having the advantage of telling what really happened, are commonly produced without much help from the imagination which alone can fill in all the details which go to make up a human action. Hence, to quote again the words of Mr.



Herbert Maxwell: "People like their history as they do their bread-and-butter—in thin slices. Perhaps it is the fault of historians, but there can be no doubt they are not in it with the novelists."

Let us now regard this interest in human character and action from another point of view. In a novel we are introduced to new acquaintances whom it is often very desirable to know. Who is not proud of his acquaintance with Sam Weller and Mr. Micawber, to say nothing of more heroic personalities? In many respects we often have a better knowledge of these phantom friends than we have of many of our nearest and dearest in real life. Their characters are interesting because they are so completely unveiled, whereas the actual men and women whom we see every day are very chary of showing us what they really are. When a man is really known he becomes interesting, even though his character is of a very ordinary type. He will always have some individualities with a charm of their own. But the difficulty in real life, strange as it may seem, is ever to get to know anybody. Many people do not know their fathers and mothers, though they see them every day; and, oftener still, parents do not know their children. In a novel complete acquaintance with most interesting people is formed in a few hours, and their company is so entertaining that it makes us waste many an hour that had been better employed somewhere else. We sometimes hear it said that there is a large class of writers who are able to produce only one successful novel. The reason why their *opus magnum* is interesting is, that they have revealed their own personality in the work, and so provided us with a study that is true to life, and therefore a source of delight. Their other works are hard and uninteresting, for their imagination cannot safely fly beyond their own personality or enter into the depths of any other soul but their own. An imagination like that of Nathaniel Hawthorne, by a wonderful sympathy with the feelings and passions of others, will act upon the very smallest suggestions, and out of the most limited experience of life create such a character as that of Pearl in "The Scarlet Letter." But such a gift is rare.

If, then, the writer of history desires to compete with the novelist in providing us with entertaining reading, he must use the novelist's arts in presenting us with living characters with whom it is desirable to become acquainted. If, for instance, he wishes to interest us in King Alfred the Great, he must not be content, as most historians are, with laboriously collecting King Alfred's dry bones for our inspection, nor think that his task is done when he has put together the complete skeleton. His chief work yet remains to be done, for he must clothe the skeleton with flesh and



blood and inspire it with the breath of human life. His task is a harder one than that of the novelist, since we do not want Alfred as he might have been, but Alfred as he was; that is to say, the picture of him must be in complete accord with all that is said of him in the chronicles of his early biographers.

There are, in our days, many students, as well as writers, of history; more now, probably, than there have ever been before. Novelists themselves are careful to store their minds with facts before they compose their stories. Moreover, there are a vast number of excellent historical books in existence, not only such as are intended for the special student, but also such as are suited to the general reader. Many of this latter class, whether they be in the form of biographies or of histories, in the more common acceptation of the term, leave nothing to be desired in the attractive way in which they are written. Would that they were better known. Perhaps, in some cases, the exclusive use of dull text-books has gone some way towards creating a dislike for history in any shape or form. At all events, though historical students can boast of a large inner circle, their outer circle among the general public is small when compared with the number of those who follow after fiction.

Here we may touch upon a point which is of special interest to Catholics. What a store of entertaining literature making for edification would be produced if the historians of saints' lives made a better use of their imagination upon the facts at their disposal? Often enough some great saint, endowed during life with an irresistible charm of manner, who had the highest natural gifts, purified and made still more wonderful by grace, is misrepresented as a dry bundle of virtues. All that was human in him has been eliminated, whereas all the power and all the attractiveness of a saint is in the intenseness of his elevated humanity. The painters of saints' pictures, too, are often as calumnious in their representations as their biographers, and, if we are to believe what they depict, many of God's saints were what are known in the world as "frumps"—men we should not look forward to meeting in heaven. Thus is truth made to look like falsehood!

In spite of all that has been said in favor of the novel as a means of giving pleasure, the fact yet remains, as we have explained in an earlier part of this paper, that the reader of history has the advantage of the reader of romance. However delightful they may be, there are few novels which can give the mind that solid and lasting satisfaction that comes of being instructed and invigorated. Too often works of fiction are like saccharine, which gives sweetness, but not nourishment. Of course this is not the case with all novels, for many of them, written with an object, have been

the means of ridding the world of some crying abuse or of setting on foot some necessary reform. Others, again, have been written to edify, and, for aught we know, have worked great spiritual good. But perhaps the writers of religious novels would have been glad to convey their message in some other form than that of a romance, if only they had any hope of being read.

Here it may be well to deal with the contention often brought forward that novels are, *par excellence*, the literature of our day—the principal vehicles of modern thought, and that, therefore, if we wish to know the mind of our times we must read a great deal of current fiction. This contention is, undoubtedly, to a large extent, valid. A very large portion of our later nineteenth century intellect has been expended upon the novel, whether in producing or assimilating it, and, consequently, an assiduous student of contemporary fiction is furnished with a large set of modern ideas. But are all such ideas worth assimilating? Is the best thought of our times to be found in the novel? If so, we might well be content with reading no other form of modern literature. But we find, as a matter of fact, that nearly all those thinkers who, for good or for ill, have had most influence upon our times, have not chosen to convey their ideas through the medium of the novel. Mill, Darwin, Herbert Spencer, and, among Catholic writers, Newman, Ward, Hecker and Brownson, are none of them known as novelists. It is true that Newman produced one or two novels, but they have not added materially to his reputation. It is perfectly true that in many modern novels, especially in more recent ones, there is a great deal of religion, philosophy, political economy and art criticism; and such works are intended by the authors, if not by the readers, mainly for instruction. But, after all, the thought that is in them is of a fragmentary nature, and generally at second-hand. We all like a little philosophy for the sake of recreation and quiet mental exercise, and we find it ready to hand in the instructive novel. But we do not take the instruction too seriously, and when we want really nutritious diet we go to seek it somewhere else.

It will happen, however, that a few—a very few—novelists of the highest rank, such as Scott or Dickens, men entirely devoid of priggery, and whose avowed purpose is to provide wholesome amusement, will take rank upon a level not far removed from the philosophers and thinkers of our time, for, without any special effort to do so, they have succeeded in reflecting in a marked degree the mind and temper of their generation. Not that there is any formal philosophy or assumption of the teacher's rôle in their works, but the whole tone of their writings is pervaded by what is most characteristic of the spirit of the times. It is the fate of most



writers of books to be soon forgotten, and, when a generation has been dead for a single century, its mind and thought are carried down to posterity by only a few representative voices. It cannot be otherwise when the store of books that deserve to live is steadily if slowly increasing, while the daily output of perishable literature is also tending to grow more rapidly. Posterity, in its desire to know the thoughts and the mental diversions of its forefathers, will have no time to consider that heterogeneous mass of our current fiction which has no sufficiently distinct or representative character to warrant its claim to travel down the highway of time. Our grandsons yet unborn will choose only the best of what has been handed down to them, and their judgment of what is best will probably be not far wide of the mark. It will be well if we, too, in our choice of books, can in some way anticipate that judgment. They will have made up their minds that by far the larger part of our hastily conceived and often merely trifling novels will not greatly help them in building up their conception of the mind of their forefathers; and we, too, in due proportion, may well afford to make a clean sweep of a vast deal of literature which teaches us little more of our own times than it does of the days of Sardanapalus.

After all that has been said, it may naturally be asked what amount of novel-reading is good for a man, or whether it is advisable to forego the practice of reading fiction altogether? It is, perhaps, sufficiently clear to the reader that the present writer has not been all his life a total abstainer from novels, so that he cannot claim any of the advantages which such an abstinence might entail. In fact, he himself is a believer in a moderate indulgence in novel-reading. Novels are the sweets of literature, and, fortunately, not all of them are like saccharine—entirely innutritious. In them, besides finding helpful recreation, we may learn many things which are less easily learned in other books. Through them, in large measure, comes down to us the rich inheritance of stately English prose. They awaken or invigorate our imagination and bring before us many forms of feeling and sentiment which we may not have met with in real life. Nor are they without their didactic value; for, supposing that our mind has been previously educated with more solid instruction, the fragments of history, philosophy and science which we meet with in novels will find their right place in our memory and usefully survive. But no one who has any care for the solid improvement of his mind can afford to let novels take the place of more serious reading. Each one will have to make his own selection, which will vary according to his own character and circumstances, and it will be well for him to make a rule of reading less rather than more. In the



case of fiction, as in all other luxuries, total abstinence is far better than excess. A man who reads no novels, but devotes his leisure to more solid reading, is far wiser and happier than he who reads nothing else but novels. The indiscriminate reader of fiction, along with the danger of mental enervation, may incur very serious risks to both faith and morals.

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### THE LAND OF RECURRING FAMINES.

INDIA is so remote from the rest of the world, by distance as well as by the wall of isolation which English jealousy has thrown around it, that its vast tragedies are enacted comparatively unobserved. The policy of seclusion which is traditional with the system called government there is generally successful in hiding the truth until danger has come to a head, and then it is too late to have effective help rendered by the outside world. A gross injustice to humanity at large is thus perpetrated by those responsible for the system. We here, in this land of ever-abounding harvests, would be only too ready to reach out a hand to our suffering brothers, the too patient Hindoos, could we but have had warning that it would be needed. Yet it is questionable if we could, by our generosity, help to save a single life in India, so peculiar are the conditions which have grown up in that vast and diversified empire under the old race of native princes and under their successors, the East India Company, and, subsequently, the British Government.

To the question, What is the cause of famine? the logical answer would seem to be, Scarcity of food. Is it not strange, this being so, to learn, that while people die by the million in India, there is food enough in the country to feed all? No one need doubt that such is actually the case. The fact is admitted by the governmental reports. The bountiful hand of Providence has given abundance of food, even in times of the worst scarcity, to feed all the people. It is the heartless mismanagement of the store by selfish man that causes his fellows to perish from hunger. The speculators in human agony buy up the food supplies whenever the prospects of the harvest appear favorable to their cold-

blooded designs, and keep them locked up until the season of tension sets in. It is the want of money to purchase the food when it becomes dear which causes the people to perish. The government will not interfere with the operations of the grain monopolists, nor will they forbid the export of food supplies to foreign countries, for this would be contrary to all sound free-trade and economical policy. Hence it would be idle to pour grain from outside upon the Indian people. It would never be suffered to reach their hands. What they want is money—money to satisfy the speculators in famine—the money which the government has drained from them to the last farthing in pursuance of the orthodox system of political economy, while, with the absolute certainty of famine before the country, it has allowed the grain to be sent away to other lands or locked up in granaries for the purpose of making gold for the vampire operators.

When the people of the United States are invited to subscribe toward the establishment of a permanent anti-famine fund in India, it is time to make some inquiry into the facts of the case. The request is quite different from a mere appeal for temporary assistance in a crisis of unforeseen and non-preventible calamity. When we have examined into the circumstances we shall see that it would be quite as reasonable to request us to establish a fund for the liquidation of the British National Debt.

The first fact to be taken into account, in the examination of this question, is the well-established regularity of periods of scarcity. It seems to be the result of a physical law, operating with the steadiness of an automatic instrument. The periods of drought, of greater or lesser severity, are known to occur nine times in every century. Nearly a hundred years ago the British officer who became the Duke of Wellington brought this fact before the home government in the course of recommendations regarding the administration of the country. Every decade since they were penned has strengthened the affirmation. Will anyone venture to say that it was not the absolute duty of the government to provide against the danger by the establishment of a famine fund and the provision of relief works? The resources of the country were taken over not merely to feed and pay the army of occupation and the government officials, but for the maintenance and protection of the people. In a natural state of things, the latter object should take precedence of the other; but in the eyes of all conquerors this ethical order is reversed, and the selfish interests of the intruder become at all times the first and the paramount consideration.

Since the days of Edmund Burke only one voice has been raised effectively in the British Parliament in favor of the moral

view in the government of India. The splendid eloquence of the late John Bright again and again urged the plea that the only justification for England's presence in India was the advancement of the interests of the Indian people. But he pleaded to hearts of adamant and faces of brass.

In point of population the Indian Empire ranks next to China. By the last census it showed a total of about two hundred and seventy millions; to-day it must contain close on three hundred millions. Great as this number is, it does not at all represent overcrowding in any locality, so vast is the extent of territory covered by the British flag. There are millions on millions of acres of reclaimable land, especially alongside the fertile alluvial valleys of the Ganges and the Brahmapootra, so that if the population were doubled and the administration of the country what it ought to be, intended for the good and not the mere plunder and subjection of the people, there need be no fear of a congestion of humanity in India for many a century. Nature, too, as in all tropical countries, is more than kindly. With the most primitive forms of cultivation, the soil in many places readily yields two crops in the year, in some places three. It is only when the monsoon fails and the land becomes parched for want of moisture, that the yield fails to meet the people's needs; and even in those periods the drought is never general.

Agriculture being the main reliance of this enormous population, their fortunes naturally fluctuate with the results of the seasons and the economic laws of the outside world. To this condition the ancient governments adjusted themselves. Not so the British. Wherever their rule extends they have supplanted the payment in kind, in a proportion of the produce, by a fixed assessment, payable in gold, and on the very day on which they fix it to fall due.

The land tax is the great source of revenue in India. It is the one whose pressure is felt universally by the land-holding class—that is to say, about one-half the population. Next in burden comes the salt tax. This eats into the vitals of all—for salt is an absolute necessity of life. The poorest classes must have it in larger quantities than the wealthier, because they never eat animal food, and salt then becomes essential to maintain the proper constituents of the blood. The purchase of salt absorbs about one-sixth of the income of a laborer's family—and nine-tenths of the price of the article go into the coffers of the government as duty. Salt can be had in abundance in the country for the making, but its manufacture has been placed under conditions and restrictions identical with those which regulate the production of alcoholic spirits. The third source on which the government in India relies is the manufacture of opium. \* A revenue of from thirty to



forty millions of dollars per annum is derived from the monopoly leased out for the production of that deadly drug.

When speaking of money in connection with India, it is well to premise that the values there bear no proportion to those associated with money here. A laborer in India can be hired for a few cents a day; half a dollar would maintain a whole family, so low are the prices of food, usually for a week. Hence when we say that the revenue raised by the government for its purposes annually amounts to about three hundred millions of dollars, the mind may dimly grasp what an enormous proportion of the whole monetary wealth of the country is annually drained into the coffers of her foreign rulers. This difference in values between East and West should never be lost sight of in the discussion of questions involving fiscal issues. One dollar a month, according to Mr. Julian Hawthorne, would maintain an adult Hindoo laborer. It would take, at the lowest scale of living, at least twenty times that amount to support and lodge and clothe the poorest class of laborer in the United States. Taking this difference as a haphazard guide, we may form some remote conception of what such a sum as three hundred million dollars taxation means to the people of India, and how much more for luxurious living an army officer on six thousand dollars a year may have in that country than in England, where his pay in the same grade, according to the War Office scale, would be only about half that amount, while his cost of living would be little less than what it would be in the United States.

It is startling to think of the representative of any system of government, no matter how absolute, coming upon the land of a farmer, casting his eye over the growing crop, estimating its probable yield, and then turning to the tiller of the soil and saying: "The crops on this land will probably fetch twenty dollars an acre; you have to pay half that amount for every acre on the last day of August (say), else I will send men to seize the whole and sell it." Yet this is the very thing that is done all over India as regularly as the Ganges rises and falls, every year. Nor will it do to pay the tribute in bills; nothing but gold will be accepted. The process by which the thing is effected varies; in some states the land is leased to the zemindars; in others to the village communities; but the end is attained, no matter what the agency by which it is accomplished. Thus at one fell swoop half the legitimate income of the land cultivator is appropriated by his masters. Then comes the tax on salt—salt, without which, as we have explained, life cannot be maintained, as the human blood would turn into water and the whole frame collapse from inanition. This sweeps away another sixth of the farmer's income, leaving him but about

forty per cent. of his gross earnings to meet all the other expenses of his household. By indirect taxation he loses, probably, another tenth on this, in the prices he pays for imported implements and clothing, on which more or less heavy duties are levied; so that, when all demands have been satisfied, the amount available for the farmer's own purposes can hardly exceed thirty per cent. of the produce of his fields. More than two-thirds of the income of every Indian cultivator is the price he pays for the privilege of English government.

Here is a position which at once removes any uncertainty one may entertain as to the causes of the recurrent famines. In seasons of scarcity there is nothing between the people and destruction; all their resources have been swept away, and when any question is raised about the equity of the system, the answer is forthcoming that under the rule of the native princes, prior to the taking over of the territory of the Anglo-Indian government, the cultivator had to pay a much larger proportion of his earnings to the ruler. This may be so in certain states, but then the assessment was on the crops, and not an *ad valorem* money levy, payable whether the harvest justified the estimate or not. This is a difference of the widest possible character.

The statement that in provinces under native rule the assessment, or rent, is higher than in those governed by the people at Calcutta, while strictly true in some cases, must be taken with qualifications. Jeypore is one of those places, the centre of the present disturbed region. It was visited by Sir James Caird fourteen years ago, and he found that, while the assessment was higher, the people appeared to be in no worse condition than those in British India. They possess an enormous advantage, indeed, over these, for the laws of the state protect them against the second great plague of British India—that is, the *Bunyia*, or money-lender. Then land in Jeypore can never be sold out by him or to him. Hence the cultivator has absolute security in his holding. The *Bunyia* in all places outside the native states is, next to the the British over-lord, the great vampire of the peninsula. He is a necessity of the situation created by the English system of payment in coin. In times of scarcity he is the only one who has coin, and he is the arbiter of life and death. In Ireland we see the *Bunyia* reproduced in the gombeen-man, but he is far more of an institution in British India, and has produced there a state of affairs as desperate as that which prevailed in old Rome and Latium before the passage of the agrarian laws, when the people who got into the money-lender's debt became, in case of inability to pay at the stipulated time, his slaves, to be worked in his service or sold in the Forum, according to his good-will and pleasure.



Every latitude has been given the Bunyia in British India, in pursuance of that sacred fetish of political economists, freedom of contract. He can charge what he pleases as interest, and as a result of this merciless system the chattels of the cultivator, and after awhile the land, passes into his possession in hundreds of thousands of cases.

An example is quoted by Sir James Caird, one of the greatest authorities on economical subjects connected with agriculture. He traversed the greater part of India after the great famine of 1876-77, and inquired most minutely into the social situation of the cultivators. In the Deccan he found in one "talook"—that is, a district in charge of a single native landlord or collector—out of its 970 small holders only 139 were in full possession of their land; the remainder were wholly or partially mortgaged, in regard to their crops, by a class of intermediaries called sowcars, who are another variety of the regular Bunyia, and who charge the cultivators from 12 to 36 per cent. on the money they advance on the security of the growing crops. After the Bunyia and the sowcar comes the law. It seems to be a matter of course to appeal to the law in every case of money-borrowing, and here the heavy hand of the Anglo-Indian government is again felt. There is an excessive duty on stamps. Ten per cent. of the whole amount of the sum at issue goes for stamps, 8 for lawyers' services, and 7 for "miscellaneous" charges. After wasting 25 per cent. of the whole claim, the decree is generally left without execution, for there would be no profit in levying a distress for it. Not more than twenty decrees out of every hundred are followed by distraint, by reason of a case of *de bonis non*, or because there is no saleable interest in the land or no buyers to be found. This particular "talook," when examined by Sir James Caird, was so submerged in debt to the sowcars that the product of its harvest for many years would not suffice to free it, and the sowcars would willingly accept a compromise on the basis of half their claim, if they could only get it. It may be said that a similar state of affairs prevails throughout the greater part of British India. In the wake of the tax-collector follow the money-lender and the lawyer, and when all these have had their pound of flesh, a few handfuls of rice a day, in the more fortunate seasons, is the portion of the tillers of the soil in millions upon millions of cases.

Very little does the outside world know of the nature and extent of the colossal pathos which underlies this perpetual procession of imperial and legal underlings and their unhappy victims. It is a profound ever-recurring human tragedy acted on the vastest theatre, where the actors are all in earnest and everything is as real as the spring of the jungle tiger. Here, indeed, do we



see in operation the frightful machinery of the inevitable, and gain a glimpse of the reasons for the fatalism of the orientals. Here is the birthplace of the *ananké* of the Greek belief, the iron that entered into the souls of the Hindoo and Egyptian millions ages ago, even before they were trodden under the steeds of Cambyses and Sesostris and given over in millions to merciless task-masters. In a land of splendor and beauty beyond the power of imagination, this hideous drama of humanity goes on century after century, without one ray of hope of cessation to the doomed people. It was so in the days of Æschylus; it is so in the days of Rudyard Kipling and Tommy Atkins.

One thing has been ascertained: that, with the physical conditions which prevail throughout the peninsula famine is, and must be for long, a thing of regular recurrence. This has been demonstrated by a long series of careful observations. At least nine times in a century there must be, in the nature of things—the fluctuations in the monsoon, the devastations of floods and droughts, and other physical conditions—a failure of the harvest, partial or widespread. So far back as the days of Wellington, and even earlier, the government was made fully aware of this fact. Sir John Strachey computed the sum required to meet this periodical misfortune at seven and a half million dollars a year—a mere trifle when we consider the immense revenues drawn from the people affected. Again and again has the formation of a famine fund been pressed by humane administrators on the Calcutta and the London governments. Spasmodic attempts to act on the advice have been made, it is true, but it has been almost invariably found, whenever the state of the Indian budget afforded a balance to set aside for the nucleus of a famine fund, that engineering works, or irrigation projects, or the cost of some “little war” presented a prior claim. It may be hard to credit, but it is nevertheless true, that the cost of every military enterprise in the East is saddled upon the Indian people; and even the expense of moving the Indian troops to Cyprus was charged upon the same exchequer by the cynical Prime Minister, Lord Beaconsfield, at the time he desired to impress upon Russia the richness and variety of resources of the British Empire when the Muscovite troops were encamped within cannon-shot of Constantinople. Later on the Indian exchequer was called upon to defray a proportion, if not the whole, of the cost of the expedition against King Theebau which resulted in the annexation of Burmah, on the ground that it was from India that the troops started for the Irrawaddy. On what principle of equity these charges could be justified it is difficult to imagine. Undertakings of imperial aggrandizement are matters of high policy, conceived and mapped out in

Downing street, as a rule. To the people of India, as well as to the semi-independent rulers of India, they bring not a scintilla of either material benefit or sentimental renown.

Little is really known, as we have said, of the periodical sufferings of this unhappy Eastern people. Even the people under whose rule they wither and sink have but an imperfect knowledge of the numbers who fall in skeleton heaps, in the remoter districts, when the blight of the famine is over the land. Many steal away to die in some obscure nook or the depths of the trackless jungle. The returns of the deaths given by the government officials are merely guess-work.

Is it a matter of interest, indeed, to the government whether these people live or die? We are entitled to ask this startling question by reason of the facts we find stated by authorities who certainly have no reason to be suspected of animus against British rule. We must bear in mind the numerical immensity of the native population in India. Every fresh census shows this population to be increasing at a ratio which suggests a curious question as to the ability of the soil to maintain them, unless the process of land reclamation be undertaken on a vastly more extended scale than has been the practice down to the present. The famines recurring every decade with deadly regularity do more than kill the millions who succumb. They leave their awful impress upon the miserable frames of many more millions of survivors, in such a way as precludes all possibility of recuperation. Vast numbers of the people, in different territories, corresponding with the radii of the various famines, thus become physically deteriorated, and their posterity, as a natural result, physical degenerates besides. People of this kind are not only feeble in body but spiritless in temperament. They are only fit to be slaves and drudges, and it is of such a kind that a great proportion of the Indian population consists. When famine makes its appearance, and with it the tax-collector and the gombeen-man, despair seizes the wretched people. Mutely they meet the long-expected and inevitable; they have no energy to cry out or strike in blind rage at their oppressors, but many anticipate death by poison or steel or wave. The number of suicides in India is past knowledge and past computation.

Is it, then, Malthusianism which we behold in practice in India? The question is suggested by the hard and unemotional statements of the British Commissioner, Sir James Caird. His exegesis of the different famines of this century leaves a distinct impression that in several of them the people were left to perish deliberately; he makes the horrible charge in specific terms, indeed, in connection with more than one of them. He is framing



no indictment against anybody; he is merely reciting bald facts. In a couple of cases there were genuine attempts to avert suffering, but in the far greater number there was a cynical indifference to human life that reflects no credit on British Christianity.

Until the modern school of political economists appeared on the scene, one of the first things done by a government, when it had been definitely ascertained that the harvest had been so deficient as to threaten famine, was to prohibit the exportation of grain from the country threatened. The next was to set about buying corn from abroad to meet the deficiency. These two things were done in the earlier parts of the century, when there was famine in Bombay, Madras, and other parts of Northern India. Yet though the government bestirred itself actively, not one-twentieth part of the grain that was lost was replaced, and we may guess for ourselves what that fact meant to the death-rate of the ravaged territories. But in 1813 the political economists got into the government councils, when famine was again on the wing, and declared that trade, if left to its own natural course, would do more to relieve distress than all the measures the government could take. This sinister counsel was acted on; government interfered neither with exports nor imports; and as there was a computed loss of 325,000 tons of grain in the region affected, we are left to measure the mathematical proportions between such a deficiency and the mortality returns by something more tangible than the usual unknown quantity. When a couple of pounds of grain per day suffice to support a man, it is easy enough to guess how many could be preserved from starvation for six months by such a quantity as the country lost in this particular famine. But in the next one, which took place only four years later, over much the same area, the loss of food was nearly four times that amount. Fifteen millions of people were severely affected, and the deaths from hunger, at the lowest computation, were a million. They occurred among the class for whom, says Sir James Caird, the government refused, *on principle*, to make any provision to save them from perishing by starvation. The suffering endured, he says, left a widespread and lasting recollection of the horrors of that awful visitation.

About this time the idea of relief works, as some sort of panacea, began to be entertained and applied. But the principle was tried in such a way as to make it available only to the smallest possible number. Long distances had to be walked in order to get to the relief works, and conditions were attached which made the acceptance of help impossible to many because of debilitation from hunger, religious and caste obstacles, and sundry other impediments. The relief works, in this instance, as well in several



other subsequent crises, appeared to be designed as a deterrent rather than a benefit to the people. There always are economists for whom relief works have a peculiar fascination as a debatable theme. Anything that helps to save the famine-stricken people from destruction is very often denounced by such theorists as having a demoralizing tendency.

Something more ingenious to keep the starving away from the relief centres was devised by the time of the next great famine, which was in 1861, and in nearly the same territory as the two preceding ones. This was getting the claimants for relief into enclosed poor-houses and serving them with cooked food. Caste regulations making it impossible for people to accept food cooked by persons of a different caste without becoming pariahs, the effectiveness of this provision, in keeping away applicants for relief, may easily be surmised. For those too old or too enfeebled by hunger to walk or to work, no provision was made; they were left, as Sir James Caird pithily says, "to the charitable public." The population affected numbered thirteen millions, and of these less than 1 per cent. received employment or relief. Three more famines occurred from that period down to 1868-69, with a loss of life estimated at about 1,800,000. But in the last-named period the government finally woke up to the fact that it was responsible for the lives of the people, and made some effort to do its duty. Effective measures were taken to cope with the distress, which affected forty-five millions of people, and slew of these a million six hundred thousand, besides causing the migration of a million of the population of the State of Marwar.

It was reserved, however, for the humane administration of Lord Northbrook, with the help of Sir Richard Temple, to demonstrate that mortality from famine was entirely preventible if disaster were met promptly and in a proper spirit. In the great famine in Behar, in 1873, the political economists were turned down, and the importation of half a million tons of rice, together with the prompt establishment of an efficient transport service to all the imperilled districts, prevented much suffering. Besides these measures, work was provided for all who were able to work, and raw food was supplied to those who were incapable of labor, at their own homes, in place of the forbidden cooked kinds which had driven many sufferers in previous famines to choose starvation rather than accept it. But this wise and merciful policy was, in a great measure, departed from, partly because the area of suffering was wider and the machinery for relief inadequate, in the next great visitations, which were the largest of any during the century, in the years 1876-78. Here the scarcity was continued over two years, and there arose a want of understanding between

the administrations of the different provinces involved. Nearly three millions of people perished in these awful years.

We have the word of Mr. Julian Hawthorne, who lately made a flying tour through part of the hunger-smitten territories, that previous to his advent about four millions of people had died from the present visitation. This was only an approximation, as no regular statistics were available. A million and a half more were on the relief lists; and these, being nothing more than creatures of skin and bone when he wrote, either had joined the victims or become so hopelessly wrecked in constitution as to make the few years that may remain to them a mere prolongation of misery. All the people he met, except the English officials and the better class of cultivators, were horrible walking skeletons. But, as fully one-half the Indian population belong to the landless class, who have no resource or outlook in bad times, we are justified in accepting even the tremendously large estimates of deaths given as entirely short of the actual truth. Where 50 per cent. of the population are all at once reduced to a pauper condition, and no food anywhere within reach, what are we to infer from such a position but that it means death to all who do not receive help immediate and continuous? We have it on official statements that in some of the famine periods the grain distributed or the money expended would not cover one-twentieth part of the ascertained deficiency in the harvest. Are we not justified, then, in concluding that the amount of the absent nineteenths measured the number of deaths of those whom it would be, if present, capable of feeding?

We see as plainly as day that the causes of these appalling famines is the denudation of the money of the land by the Anglo-Indian government. If the old native rulers exacted, as it is alleged, in defence, a higher rate of assessment than the British conquerors, they were satisfied to make the levy in kind; and if the harvest fell short of the computation, they bore their share of the deficiency as well as the cultivator. But where the assessment is a money levy, payable on a fixed day, in anticipation of a harvest that may never realize the expectation, how gravely does it alter the situation. The land-tax, in such a case, means simply a sentence of death to millions of people. In neglecting to provide out of the people's money, as repeatedly urged by men of sense and humanity like the Wellingtons, the Napiers, and the Campbells, a permanent fund for the relief of these duly-scheduled famines, regular as the diurnal motion of our planet, the Anglo-Indian government challenges the coroner's court of all humanity. It is not amenable to human judgment, no matter what the verdict, but it is not superior to the decrees of eternal



justice. The Nemesis which never failed to overtake the most firmly-rooted and immemorial despotism will one day avenge the nameless graves of the Indian highway and jungle. It is impossible to read history and not arrive at such a conviction.

It is in the power of Great Britain to avert the penalty of the awful misrule of India by reforming the whole administration. The very minimum of reparation that ought presently to be made is the establishment of a famine fund. One million seven hundred thousand pounds a year is the estimate for the establishment of such a fund made by competent economists. Such a sum is a mere trifle out of the enormous tribute wrung from the Indian people annually for the payment of pampered officials. The amount might easily be subscribed on the London Exchange in one hour were there any real interest in the English capital in the fate of the myriads of unhappy people whose enslavement was first devised in that same money-mart by the establishment of the chartered East India Company. It is the most mistaken philanthropy on Mr. Hawthorne's part to commend to American benevolence the project of starting such a fund. The wealth of India has made England, in very large degree, the enormously rich country that she is; even in the way of commerce little of India's capital has ever found its way to America's shore. Were it the case of a famine unexpectedly visiting a country which was ordinarily mistress of her own resources, it would require no appeal to our humanity to elicit our practical sympathy. Here the case is entirely different. England deliberately makes the pauperism, and England alone must bear the burden of relief and responsibility.

We are too apt to lose sight of the exact political and social relations which subsist between England and her vast but wretched dependency. They are unique in the modern political dispensation. The political relation is that of force alone. A country which at home is ruled on the strictest constitutional democratic principle, maintains supremacy over a region containing one-fourth of all the world's people simply by the irresponsible method of self-sufficient force. That force, originally climbing to mastery by the ladder of cunning, makes no attempt of moral justification for its presence. In ancient days of colonization, wherever the Roman eagle fought his way, Roman civilization followed in his wake. It was the privilege of the conquered people to become in time, if they chose, sharers in Roman citizenship, with a voice in the administration of their own provinces. Many a provincial found his way to the Forum as a pleader, to the army as a general, to the imperial throne even as a *divus*. But to India the English conquest brought nothing but hopeless subjection. There is no



fitness of conditions for assimilation between victor and vanquished, and there is no attempt or intention to make the experiment. The principle of taxation without representation, which has been repudiated all over Europe, is put into force in the East with no higher justification than the unquestioned practice of immemorial centuries. What held good in the days of Darius is deemed sufficient in ethics now. It is the clime which makes the principle of constitutionalism. The man who seeks office under the British Ministry, in order to gain a place on the Indian Council, must go to the hustings and expatiate on the glories of that constitution whose existence gives the lie to slavery; but when the scene is shifted to Calcutta, he finds his relations to humanity metamorphosed. The Englishman is thus the Jekyll and Hyde of the political world; and there is no other nation which furnishes another such curious example of duality in public life.

If the Anglo-Saxon political system has made no effort to justify alien intrusion in oriental affairs, more conspicuous still has been the failure of social intercourse to mitigate the relations of the enslaver and the subjugated. A haughty contempt for the conquered millions is the distinctive characteristic of the English official class, civil no less than military. The judicial system which obtains in India is not founded on any principles of equity, English or other, but acts on a code of its own based on the axiom that might makes the right. The most flagrant injustice, in all cases where English interests are opposed to native claims, is daily perpetrated in every district. Here is an example cited by Sir James Caird. The revenue officer claimed from a certain village near Surat a sum of four thousand rupees as land assessment. The inhabitants produced a "sunnud," instrument of a former native ruler, decreeing that one thousand rupees was to be the permanent assessment for the land, and no more. Of course, when this territory was ceded to the British it was on the understanding that every sovereign act of its former rulers was to stand; in the same way as every charter granted by an English monarch is good for all time. The collector being insistent, the villagers appealed to the court, and got a decision in their favor. The collector, however, appealed to a higher one, and still the case went against him—inasmuch as a question of treaty-right was involved, it is to be presumed. But the government at Calcutta swept aside the legal decisions, and decreed that for the future such cases should be tried, not by the courts, but by the local revenue officers!

Insolence and injustice of this cynical kind have engendered everywhere a deep-seated feeling of repulsion for English officialdom. "It is singularly illustrative of our rule," writes Sir James

Caird, who cannot certainly be accused of hostility toward his own side, "that though the people for six generations have known no other, we are still strangers among them. Our representatives come and go, now faster than ever, and we and they look on each other with distrust." A much stronger term, one may well think, would be by no means out of place. The sentiments which inspire "curses not loud but deep" against men of the Macbeth pattern are what must be felt by the majority of the oppressed. Mr. Alfred Webb, an estimable member of an old Quaker family in Ireland, lately made a prolonged tour in India, and describes the deportment of the Anglo Indian minority there as arbitrary and overbearing to an insufferable degree. Their manner toward the natives may be gauged from the fact that in the chief hotels he visited he saw notices posted requesting visitors "not to beat the servants." This little intimation in itself contains a world of meaning. In all the courts he attended, as an observer, he beheld shocking travesties of justice in cases where native and European interests were in conflict.

The litigious habits of the Hindoos make them easy victims for the wretched brood of native lawyers, but the chief impelling cause of this litigation is the robbery of the omnipresent Bunyia. It is out of the higher plundering of the dominant power that the Bunyia has sprung into existence; in the native-ruled states he is not allowed to get a footing. To this unhappy weakness of the Hindoo is to be added a tendency to perjury and prevarication. Who can wonder at it? Tyranny ever teaches cunning and equivocation and every low artifice, to evade the mandates of despotism. The Hindoos only practice on a small scale the vices which gained for those above them the golden thrones, the sceptres and the galaxies of priceless jewels of that vast empire of the Moguls, rich in gold and barbaric pearl.

We are powerless in words when we read of those dreadful famine ravages. Their horror becomes deadened by distance and repetition. Were we doomed to witness such things with our own eyes, our indignation might prove too much for our good sense. But we ought not to let the distance and the monotony of recurrence dull our judgment about the cause or chill our sympathy for the miserable victims of man's lust of power and gawds and gold. Stupendous tragedies move along the stage to emphasize the exaltation of Great Britain's horn. The wailings of myriads are sought to be drowned by the fanfare of jubilee and the thunder of earth-defying navies. But every corpse that sinks into an unknown grave, the victim of hunger in that blighted land, must rise as an accusing witness against a system which lends a sinister meaning to the word "civilization."

JOHN J. O'SHEA.

## THE EXPULSION OF THE ACADIANS—1755.

- ACADIA. MISSING LINKS OF A LOST CHAPTER IN AMERICAN HISTORY. By *Edouard Richard*. Two Volumes. Montreal: John Lovell & Son. 1895.
- UN PÉLERINAGE AU PAYS D'EVANGÉLINE. Par *l'Abbé H. R. Casgrain*. Quebec. 1888.
- UNE COLONIE FÉODALE EN AMÉRIQUE. Par *Rameau de Saint-Père*. Two Volumes. Paris. 1889.
- ACADIA. A LOST CHAPTER IN AMERICAN HISTORY. By *Philip H. Smith*. Pawling, N. Y. 1884.
- MONTCALM AND WOLFE (1884); A HALF CENTURY OF CONFLICT (1893). By *Francis Parkman*. Boston.
- Longfellow's "Evangeline."

“THE work I am now undertaking,” writes M. Richard,<sup>1</sup> “has never been done before.” This, in a very definite sense, is a simple statement of fact. M. Richard’s “Acadia”—the work of an Acadian familiar with all the histories, documents and oral traditions connected with the fate of his people—is the latest, and, at the same time, the most complete attempt to elucidate a very difficult question, namely, “Why were the Acadians banished?”

The ordinary version, as it may be called, is practically as follows: “The name (Acadia), with the lying legend of British cruelty connected with it, has been embalmed, not in amber, but in barley-sugar, by the author of ‘Evangeline.’”

“Lieutenant-Governor Adam Archibald, Mr. Parkman and Dr. Kingston have completely disposed of this fiction, and shown that the deportation of the Acadians was a measure of necessity, to which recourse was had only when forbearance was exhausted.”<sup>2</sup>

This is the case for the prosecution; what is that for the defence?

“All the importance of this history of Acadia,” says M. Richard,<sup>3</sup> “from the English conquest in 1710 until 1763, was centered in the events that brought about the transportation, in the transportation itself, and in its consequences. . . . This is the aspect of the story I am about to tell. It is the only part of Acadian history that presents a real and varied interest; it ought, therefore, to have been related in detail; and yet all we have of

<sup>1</sup> Vol. i., Introductory Remarks, p. 1.

<sup>2</sup> *Canada and the Canadian Question*, by Goldwin Smith, quoted by Richard, ii., p. 361.

<sup>3</sup> Vol. i., pp. 2, 3.



it, so far, is a rough sketch that leaves out the palpitating pity of it all.

"How comes it that the documents of so important a period have disappeared? Was this the result of accident or design?" Himself, as has been said, a descendant of the Acadian exiles, familiar with all their traditions, whose "whole childhood was spent in an Acadian settlement,"<sup>1</sup> where "were still alive the sons of those who had been deported," and, for that reason, peculiarly well fitted to deal with the question—prejudice apart—has made a study of all the writings bearing on the subject. Those quoted at the beginning of this article may be considered as the principal ones, there being, of course, many others to which M. Richard refers.<sup>2</sup>

"The volume of archives," he continues,<sup>3</sup> "published in 1869 by order of the Legislature (of Nova Scotia), was edited by Thomas B. Akins, Commissioner of the Public Archives of the Province. I do not hesitate to affirm that the documents have been selected with the greatest partiality, and with the purpose, poorly disguised in the very preface, of getting together such papers as might justify the deportation of the 'Acadians.'" "It is very remarkable," writes Haliburton,<sup>4</sup> "that there are no traces of this important event to be found among the records of the Secretary's office at Halifax. I could not discover that the correspondence had been preserved, or that the orders, returns and memorials had ever been filed there. The particulars of the affair seem to have been carefully concealed, although it is not easy to assign the reason, unless the parties were, as they well might be, ashamed of the transaction."

That was in 1829. "The existing documents," writes Abbé Casgrain,<sup>5</sup> "were classified in 1860, before M. Rameau made his journey to Halifax with a view to putting the finishing touches to his 'Historie d'une Colonie Féodale.' The archivist of that date seemed to have made it his task to awaken the suspicions of the public."

M. Rameau de Saint-Père was, we are told, shown, "on a table, a certain number of registers and volumes," but was forbidden "to make any copy or extract." He was not even allowed to sit down. It is hardly to be wondered at that he should have recalled Haliburton's suspicions; that he should have noticed "the *lacunæ* that existed at certain epochs in these archives; *lacunæ* which the extracts published in 1869 at Halifax have not filled up."<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 2.

<sup>2</sup> Pp. 10, 11.

<sup>3</sup> P. 13.

<sup>4</sup> *Nova Scotia*, vol. i., p. 196; published in 1829, quoted by Abbé Casgrain, p. 54.

<sup>5</sup> P. 55.

<sup>6</sup> P. 56.

It was to set these doubts at rest, if possible, that the Abbé Casgrain visited the Public Record Office in London and the British Museum. "I must say," he continues, "first of all, that the facility with which one has access to these archives forms a striking contrast to the system of distrust established at Halifax. I must add, thereto, that I have obtained proof that our suspicions were only too well founded.

"The 'Selection of Documents' published at Halifax was evidently made with a view to justify the Government of Nova Scotia (in the matter) of the deportation of the Acadians. For this purpose they have systematically eliminated . . . those which might best establish the rights of the Acadians."

M. Richard's first point, therefore, the incompleteness of the documents connected with the case, would seem to be clearly proved; as, also, his charge that these documents have been manipulated with the one definite object of making out a strong argument in support of the (supposed) necessity of banishing the Acadians.

The "fiction" concerning their expulsion, as Professor Goldwin Smith is pleased to call it, may, after all, rest upon a very solid foundation in fact. The question arises: Was Parkman aware of the evidence in favor of the Acadians? "As to Parkman," says M. Richard,<sup>1</sup> "I have positive proof that he knew of it, but chose to ignore it." It is certainly a fact that Parkman, in his "Half Century of Conflict," written in 1893, modified, very considerably, some of the more sweeping accusations made against the Acadians in his "Montcalm and Wolfe," published in 1884, which would go to show that he had seen reason to change his opinions concerning them to that extent, at least.

If, then, it is possible that the Acadians were unjustly treated—to use no stronger term—who, in M. Richard's opinion, is responsible? "This book will," he writes,<sup>2</sup> "in my judgment, effectually clear England's Home Government's honor of the deepest historic stain ever attached to it. Let the stigma be obliterated which England has hitherto borne; burn it into the foreheads of Lawrence, Belcher, Wilmot, Morris and their accomplices." The two principal points of M. Richard's "Introductory Remarks" are, in fact, these, namely; the incompleteness of the official records, and the non-complicity of the Home Government in the final act of deportation.

Starting from these two assumptions—the force and truth of which it is M. Richard's object to prove—it may be well to follow him, and others, through the main outlines of the history of the

<sup>1</sup> Vol. i., p. 12.

<sup>2</sup> P. 16.



events which culminated in the expulsion of 1755, filling in some of the details—those, especially, which strengthen M. Richard's case—by way of conclusion.

By the Treaty of Utrecht, concluded on the 11th of April, 1713,<sup>1</sup> it was stipulated that "all Nova Scotia, or Acadia, comprehended within its ancient boundaries, as also the city of Port Royal, now called Annapolis," be yielded and made over to the Queen of Great Britain and to her crown forever.<sup>2</sup> "France," writes Rameau de Saint-Père,<sup>3</sup> "ceded Acadia to England as an object of small value; without explanations, without special conditions; even the limits were not settled. . . ." France, however, retained Cape Breton, Prince Edward's, and other islands in the Gulf of St. Lawrence.<sup>4</sup> The fact that the French population was thus arbitrarily divided by an arrangement entered into by the Governments of Great Britain and of France is one of capital importance, in view of the difficulties connected with the taking of an unrestricted oath of allegiance by those Acadians who thus passed under the sway of the former. The only enemies—Indians, of course, excepted—against whom they could be called upon to fight were their neighbors, kinsmen, and fellow-Frenchmen. Nor should the further fact—of somewhat minor importance, but still of considerable weight—be left out of account, namely, that of "a Protestant English garrison (small in numbers) holding military domination by conquest over a French Catholic subjugated people (about 2500 in all);<sup>5</sup> that there should be a lack of feeling and interest and a mutual distrust and hatred of one another, is not strange."<sup>6</sup>

The article of the Treaty of Utrecht, however, which is of chief interest, is the fourteenth. It is as follows: "It is expressly provided that in all the said places and colonies to be yielded and restored by the Most Christian King in pursuance of this treaty, the subjects of the said king *may have liberty to remove themselves within a year to any other place, as they shall think fit, with all their movable effects.* . . ."<sup>7</sup>

These terms are, surely, sufficiently explicit, and were, moreover, reiterated, even more fully, in a letter written by Queen Anne to Governor Nicholson, dated June 23, 1713.<sup>8</sup> And yet Rameau de Saint-Père asserts that<sup>9</sup> "from 1714, the Governors of Annapolis spared no efforts to prevent the Acadians from leaving Nova Scotia. . . ." It is to the history of these same efforts that M. Richard devotes a great part of his work.

<sup>1</sup> Smith, p. 113; Casgrain, p. 59; Richard (I.), p. 66; Rameau (I.), p. 356.

<sup>2</sup> Smith, *loc. cit.* <sup>3</sup> *Ut sup.* <sup>4</sup> Smith, p. 114. <sup>5</sup> Smith, *ibid.* <sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 115.

<sup>7</sup> Richard (I.), p. 74; Smith, p. 116; Rameau (I.), p. 357; Casgrain, p. 59.

<sup>8</sup> Richard, *loc. cit.*

<sup>9</sup> Vol. ii., p. 2.



"The first documents introduced into the volume of the archives (of Nova Scotia) are dated November, 1714. . . . The documents between 1710 and November, 1714, were particularly important, in order to determine in a precise manner what had been done, both by the Governors and by the Acadians, in respect of those clauses of the treaty that referred to their departure."<sup>1</sup> If the Acadians did not leave at the end of the year specified by the Treaty of Utrecht, why did they remain? If it can be shown that they remained of their own free will, then such action, on their part, constituted a tacit recognition of their allegiance to Great Britain. If, however, it can be shown that they had practically no choice in the matter—other than an appeal to arms—then the fact that they were compelled to remain removes any obligation on their part to fulfil the terms of the treaty, as far, that is, as concerns the taking of an unqualified oath of allegiance. If the Governors failed to keep terms with them, they were surely not to blame if they followed the example set them.

As a matter-of-fact, however, it will be seen, by M. Richard's account of the events which occurred between 1713 and 1755—an account substantiated, in its main outlines, by Smith, Casgrain, and Rameau de Saint-Père, as well as by official records—that the Acadians, in spite of all the artifices used to detain them, were perfectly willing to take the oath of allegiance, provided only that they could be assured *that they would not be called upon to fight against the French or Indians*. Parkman says, simply, "Very few availed themselves of this right,"<sup>2</sup> namely, that of withdrawing from the country, but gives no hint of any difficulties having been put in the way of their doing so. This is but a sample of his favorite method of using only such facts as suit his purpose; were there no fuller account of what occurred during this period, the case against the Acadians would be complete.

The English—meaning thereby the Governor and his garrison—had, indeed, what Rameau de Saint-Père calls "un interet majeur"<sup>3</sup> in preventing, if possible, the departure of the Acadians. "Nicholson," writes the Abbé Casgrain,<sup>4</sup> "had flattered himself that the Acadians would not so lightly abandon the fertile lands which they occupied," and was, therefore, not a little astonished at finding them fully determined to do so, rather than take an unqualified oath of allegiance. "The consequences of this determination," the same author continues, "were fatal to the new province which Nicholson prided himself on having conquered for England." He had the very strongest reasons for opposing their departure.

<sup>1</sup> Richard (I.), pp. 79-80.

<sup>2</sup> Montcalm and Wolfe (I.), p. 91.

<sup>3</sup> Vol. ii, p. 7.

<sup>4</sup> P. 62.

The Abbé Casgrain states, distinctly,<sup>1</sup> that Nicholson "made it impossible for the Acadians to sell their lands and their effects, by forbidding the English to buy anything of them." He would not allow the French ships, which were intended for their transport, to enter the Acadian harbors, nor would he allow the Acadians to write to Boston. According to M. Richard,<sup>2</sup> he would not even permit them to obtain from Louisbourg the rigging required to equip the ships they had built for themselves. It is easy enough for Parkman to say that "very few availed themselves" of the right to depart; considering the obstacles placed in the way of their doing so, from the very outset, it is a wonder that any were successful. "With what we know of human nature," writes M. Richard,<sup>3</sup> "with the teachings of history in general . . . no one, taking into account the grave interests that the departure of the Acadians compromised, will doubt the obstacles of every kind opposed to their departure." Their claim to do so had been "referred" to the Queen by Governor Nicholson, a convenient way of evading the responsibility of an adverse decision; "and this never-to-be-settled reference," as M. Richard says,<sup>4</sup> "is most likely the pretext afterwards used by the Governors to prevent the Acadians from departing in any kind of ships. . . ."

This may be called the first point in favor of the Acadians. At the end of the year specified by the Treaty of Utrecht they were fully determined to leave home and country rather than accept an unqualified oath of allegiance to Great Britain. That they did not leave was due entirely to the fact that every possible obstacle was put in the way of their doing so. Moreover, being of a simple, upright nature, wholly unversed in the tricks of diplomacy, they doubtless believed that the matter must, in the end, be settled as they wished it.

In 1715 Lieutenant-Governor Caulfield sent "Messrs. Peter Capoon and Thomas Button, officers of the garrison," to Mines and other places, for the proclaiming the accession of King George, and of obtaining the oaths of allegiance "in ye form prescribed."<sup>5</sup> "On the 15th of the following May," M. Richard continues, "Caulfield acquaints the Lords of Trade with the result of the mission of Peter Capoon and Thomas Button: 'Here inclosed are the transactions of MM. Button and Capoon, by which you will find that ye inhabitants, being most of them French, refused the oath, *having, as I am informed, refused to quit the collonny intirely,* and settle under ye French government, and I humblie desire to be informed how I shall behave to them. . . .'"

The documents relating to the period between 1710 and 1715

<sup>1</sup> P. 64.<sup>2</sup> Vol. i., p. 87.<sup>3</sup> Vol. i., p. 98.<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 90.<sup>5</sup> P. 100.



being wholly absent from the Nova Scotia archives as compiled by Thomas B. Akins, those who might happen to accept the compilation as a fair and trustworthy account of the events leading to the deportation of the Acadians would naturally be surprised to find that, five years after the cession of the Colony, and two years after the Treaty of Utrecht, the Acadians are accused of refusing the oath, and also of "refusing" to quit the Colony. As a matter of fact, it has been shown, by official records, that it had been made impossible for them to leave, however anxious they might be to do so; this fact, however, is carefully omitted by the compiler; and Parkman,—who, at the best, followed him without question,—states, as quoted, that "very few availed themselves" of the right of departure. He adds, moreover,<sup>1</sup> that "the English authorities seem to have shown throughout an unusual patience and forbearance." How far this assertion coincides with the fact that the Acadians were detained by every means possible is not difficult to determine.

According to the Abbé Casgrain,<sup>2</sup> the "test oath involving an act of apostasy (for Catholics), there could be no question of imposing it." The form, as given by him,<sup>3</sup> is as follows: "Je promets sincèrement et je jure que je veux être fidèle et tenir une véritable allegiance à la Majesté le Roi George, Ainsi Dieu me soit en aide." The Acadians of Mines and of Beaubassin replied to the effect that, had they not made engagements since the previous summer—an allusion to a visit from French delegates—to return under the rule of the King of France, they would be delighted to remain under that of King George. They likewise bound themselves to fidelity during such time as they should remain in the Colony. Those of Port Royal (Annapolis), that is to say, in the immediate vicinity of the garrison, proposed an alternative formula much to the same effect, namely, a promise of allegiance and fidelity *so long as they should remain in Acadia*, and containing a stipulation that they should be "permitted to withdraw wheresoever I shall think fit, with all my movable goods and effects, when I shall think fit, without any one being able to hinder me."

This proposal seems, M. Richard says, "to have been accepted by Caulfield,"<sup>4</sup> and, if so, is in manifest contradiction to his statement, made to the Lords of Trade, that he had "been informed" that the Acadians had "refused to quit the Colony." The omission of these documents, also, from the archives serves, of course, to strengthen the case against the Acadians, just as the fact of their existence strongly supports M. Richard's contention that they

<sup>1</sup> Montcalm and Wolfe (I.), p. 91.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Richard (I.), pp. 101, 102.

<sup>2</sup> P. 75.

<sup>4</sup> P. 103.



were omitted for that very purpose, and that the archives contain an incomplete, mutilated and partial account of the events they profess to relate.

"The position of this people," writes the Abbé Casgrain,<sup>1</sup> "remained the same under the successor of Caulfield, John Doucet, whose name shows clearly an Acadian descent, turned Protestant. This Governor already began to use, as an accusation against the Acadians, the enforced detention to which his predecessors had caused them to submit." This, again, hardly accords with Parkman's statement as to the "unusual patience and forbearance" shown by the English Governors towards the Acadians, but is certainly perfectly consistent with what has been shown to have been their real line of conduct, namely, a determination to *prevent*, by all the means in their power, the departure of those from whom, at the same time, they demanded an unqualified oath of allegiance—an oath which, it cannot be too often insisted on, would appear to the Acadians to involve the danger, or rather the certainty, of being called upon to fight against their friends and neighbors.

Doucet,<sup>2</sup> appointed in 1717, was succeeded in 1720 by General Philipps. "At first," writes Richard,<sup>3</sup> "he dealt very haughtily with the Acadians. Hardly had he arrived when he issued a proclamation ordering them to take the oath without reserve or to leave the country within four months, without being able to dispose of their goods or to transport them. . . . These conditions," M. Richard continues, "were excessively hard. Is that the reason why the compiler omits this important document, this proclamation?" "Philipps," says the Abbé Casgrain,<sup>4</sup> "was about to profit by the inaction to which the Acadians had been condemned, in order to arrogate to himself an authority over them to which he had not the least right." That is to say, that he professed to assume that the Acadians had become British subjects by the simple fact that they still remained in the Colony. To his surprise, in spite of the consternation caused by his proclamation, he found the Acadians determined to depart by land, since they could not go by sea. Notwithstanding his strenuous prohibition, one of their missionaries, Father Justinian, the Curé of Mines, made his way to Louisbourg<sup>5</sup> to consult with the Governor as to what was to be done. That a simple, pastoral people, without knowledge of the outside world, should have recourse, in their difficulties, to those who had proved themselves their best—in fact, their only—friends, namely, to their clergy, was, surely, what they might be expected to do. Parkman, however,<sup>6</sup> asserts—wholly without proof—that "there is no doubt that in a little time they would have complied, had they

<sup>1</sup> P. 77.

<sup>2</sup> Richard spells the name "Doucette."

<sup>3</sup> Vol. i., p. 113.

<sup>4</sup> Pp. 79, 80.

<sup>5</sup> Casgrain, p. 83.

<sup>6</sup> Montcalm and Wolfe, p. 91.

been let alone; but the French authorities of Canada and Cape Breton (Ile Royale) did their utmost to prevent them, and employed agents to keep them hostile to Great Britain. Of these, the most efficient were the French priests, who, in spite of the treaty, persuaded their flocks that they were still subjects of King Louis." The animus that inspired this sweeping accusation is revealed in the words "in spite of the treaty." Even were the charge true in every particular, neither the French nor the priests had been the first to violate the terms of the Treaty of Utrecht. The English Governors had been the principal offenders in this respect. As they had made the stipulated departure of the Acadians practically impossible, and the Acadians had, consequently, refused the oath of allegiance—which was clearly within their treaty rights—they unquestionably remained French subjects. That the French authorities and the clergy should so consider them was only what they were perfectly justified in doing.

"The Treaty of Utrecht remained in force," writes Abbé Casgrain,<sup>1</sup> and the Governor had, of course, no power to abrogate any of its terms. His proclamation was manifestly in direct contravention of the stipulations respecting the sale or removal by the Acadians of their property, should they decide to emigrate—a fact of which he was politely reminded by M. de Broullan, the Governor of Louisbourg.<sup>2</sup> Philipps probably knew nothing of the obstacles that had been placed by his predecessors in the way of the Acadians, in order to prevent their departure. He merely recognized the state of affairs actually existing, namely, that the Acadians were still in the Colony, but had not yet taken the oath of allegiance, and seems to have made up his mind to bring matters to a decisive issue one way or another. Hence his imperious proclamation; his claim of full powers to settle everything;<sup>3</sup> his prohibition to the missionaries, to the effect that they must not quit the Colony. "He well knew," says M. Richard,<sup>4</sup> "that, as they were the only inhabitants of the country (the handful of men at his disposition excepted), they would have no one to whom they might sell their goods in case they departed, and that is why he chose this means of attaining his end and preventing their departure."

He was destined to discover, however, that they were determined to depart at any cost, rather than take an oath of allegiance which might involve their being called upon to fight against the French. Unable to procure ships, they set to work, in large numbers, to make the necessary roads. That is to say, they showed themselves ready to depart, to accept the Governor's alternative, to

<sup>1</sup> P. 80.<sup>2</sup> Richard (I.), p. 116.<sup>3</sup> Casgrain, p. 82.<sup>4</sup> Vol. i., p. 118.



comply with the terms of his proclamation. "And, nevertheless," M. Richard continues,<sup>1</sup> "they must not be allowed to depart." He proceeds to prove, on the authority of official documents, that Philipps, following the example of his predecessors, issued a proclamation forbidding the Acadians to continue their task of road-making. In other words, he also made it impossible—short of actual conflict—for the Acadians to leave the Colony, *as he had ordered them to do!*

"It was one of the great mistakes of the Acadians," writes Abbé Casgrain,<sup>2</sup> "not to have persevered in this idea; they would, no doubt, have had to suffer great misery, but they would have escaped far greater misfortunes." They might, of course, have risen in revolt, in which event the insignificant garrison of Port Royal (Annapolis) would have been practically powerless against them. This was pointed out to Philipps by his most experienced officers,<sup>3</sup> and bitterly recognized by him. In sending to London the report of his engineer-officer, Mascarene,<sup>4</sup> he says: "We have here only the shadow of a government; its authority does not extend beyond a cannon-shot from the fort."<sup>5</sup>

It is in the bitterness of conscious failure that he strives to throw the blame of his want of success on others, especially on the "bigoted priests," to whom, as a matter-of-fact, he owed it that the Acadians had not risen in revolt. "In such a situation," writes Abbé Casgrain,<sup>6</sup> "it must be admitted that the Government of Port Royal was very fortunate in having to do with a population so reasonable and peaceable as the Acadians. And who had formed them thus, who advised them, who prevented their revolting? It was the missionaries, the very missionaries who were accused of being the authors of all the harm. They, as we know, had only to say a word in order to raise the Acadians in a body, which, by the way, they had a perfect right to do. This word the missionaries did not utter. If there is a reproach to make them, it is that of having too much preached submission, and of having, possibly, thus prepared the evils to come." Certainly, the missionaries either had or had not that power over their flocks which their adversaries attribute to them. If they had, they used it, as the Abbé Casgrain asserts, in the cause of peace; if not, what becomes of the accusations made against them?

"In his vexation," writes M. Richard,<sup>7</sup> "Philipps had shown only the dark side," making out that the Acadians would never become good subjects, and suggesting that they should not be allowed to depart until they could be replaced by British subjects "in the spring"; and adding that he did not think the Acadians

<sup>1</sup> P. 119.    <sup>2</sup> P. 85.    <sup>3</sup> Casgrain, p. 90.    <sup>4</sup> Afterwards Lieutenant-Governor.

<sup>5</sup> Casgrain, pp. 91, 92.

<sup>6</sup> P. 92.

<sup>7</sup> Vol. i., p. 123.



would withdraw before then. He "painted it so vividly," adds M. Richard, "as to affect the Lords of Trade, who wrote under date of December 20th, 1720: ' . . . As to the Acadians of Nova Scotia, who appear *so wavering* in their dispositions, we are apprehensive that they will never become good subjects to His Majesty. . . . *We are of opinion they ought to be removed as soon as the forces which we have proposed to be sent to you shall arrive in your Province; but as you are not to attempt their removal without His Majesty's positive order for that purpose, you will do well, in the meanwhile, to continue the same prudent and cautious conduct towards them, and endeavor to undeceive them concerning the exercise of their religion, which will doubtless be allowed them if it should be thought proper to allow them to stay where they are.*' "<sup>1</sup>

This letter, and one much more explicit, addressed by Craggs, the Secretary of State, to Philipps in person, hardly agree, as M. Richard admits,<sup>2</sup> "with the declaration in my introductory remarks exonerating the Home Government from all complicity in this iniquitous deportation." Rameau de Saint-Père, less favorable to Great Britain than the descendant of the Acadians himself, takes the worst possible view of this letter. He calls it "a wonder of its kind," and declares that "it completes and explains the involved phrases in which Philipps had wrapped his little Machiavellism. . . . In these phrases," he continues, "stiff and frozen in appearance, we feel the anger that broods in secret in the heart. Under the crafty exterior it is obliged to assume, this hidden anger (*colère contenue*) grows venomous, and turns to rage with time, to burst forth, furious, blind, and bestial, in 1755, after having fermented during thirty-five years. There is the true secret of the excesses committed by the English at that period; and the good souls who are surprised by them have no need, in order to explain them, to impute imaginary crimes to the Acadians. We can now say with certainty that the proscription was not an act improvised *ab irato*, but prepared and meditated for a long time; it was already thought of in 1720!" Further on he adds that Philipps managed to prolong the situation for two years "without denying the duplicity of Nicholson, but also without accepting the oath with a reservation which the Acadians demanded; without pronouncing on their absolute right to remain, but also without insisting on their departure. . . . He thus arrived at 1722, the year when he returned to Europe."<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> M. Richard adds, in a note, that Parkman had this document before him, but that "it was not of the right sort."

<sup>2</sup> Vol. i., p. 125.

<sup>3</sup> Vol. ii., pp. 35, 36, 37. This charge of *British* hatred against the Acadians, of a deliberate, long-considered plan of deportation, is a main feature of Rameau de Saint-Père's book, and will be again referred to in connection with the actual expulsion of the Acadians.

When, however, we consider the circumstances under which this letter of the Lords of Trade came to be written, the misrepresentations contained in the report made by Philipps, and chiefly the very terms of the letter itself, we are, surely, justified in arriving at the conclusion that it is not by any means incompatible with M. Richard's contention as to the non-complicity of the Home Government in "this iniquitous deportation." Still less does it justify the bitter charge made by Rameau de Saint-Père, quoted above. Philipps, it must be noted, is strictly enjoined "not to attempt their removal *without His Majesty's positive order*," and is informed that it may "be thought proper to allow them to stay where they are." The character of Craggs makes even his position insufficient to implicate the Home Government in any designs he may have formed. The real danger incident to such a document,—a danger for which the Lords of Trade could not, of course, be held responsible,—was the use to which it might, very possibly, be distorted by an unscrupulous Governor.

In 1722 "Philipps returned to England altogether disgusted with everything,"<sup>1</sup> as he well might be, and "John Doucette, who had been Lieutenant-Governor some time before the arrival of Philipps, resumed his functions, which he exercised until 1725." He appears to have carried out the "same prudent and cautious conduct" towards the Acadians which had been recommended to Philipps by the Lords of Trade, and which that officer had been compelled—much against his will, doubtless—to adopt. The question of the oath was left in abeyance; the Acadians, as M. Richard says, were left to themselves.<sup>2</sup> This is probably why "the volume of the archives does not contain a single document of the period extending from 1722 to 1725."<sup>3</sup> M. Richard surmises, —with not a little show of reason,—that "the compiler, finding nothing in Doucette's correspondence to support his proofs (against the Acadians), found nothing worth reproducing."<sup>4</sup>

Doucet was succeeded in 1725 by Colonel Armstrong, a man of a very different stamp, "altogether unfit for the functions of a governor, even under the most favorable circumstances,"<sup>5</sup> far less at a period so difficult as that immediately under review. His one idea was to succeed where all his predecessors had failed, and to induce the Acadians to take the oath of allegiance by terror, if necessary.<sup>6</sup> The Acadians, however, knowing what they had to expect from him, prepared for a general emigration, during the course of the summer. This was, naturally, what Armstrong most wished to prevent; he therefore determined on a sudden

<sup>1</sup> Richard (I.), p. 133.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>3</sup> Vol. i., p. 135.

<sup>4</sup> P. 134.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 135.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 137.



change of tactics,<sup>1</sup> and to try cajolery where threats had proved of no effect. According to Rameau de Saint-Père,<sup>2</sup> "he drew the Acadians into well-prepared meetings, where he held forth to them the great advantages they would secure to themselves by taking the oath, and by becoming hearty and loyal subjects of King George." He even went so far as to assure them that he, Armstrong, personally, would always put a favorable construction on the engagements into which he wished them to enter.

It was on Sunday, the 25th September, 1726, that the most important meeting took place, in the presence of the Acadian deputies and of a number of inhabitants. The scene that ensued did credit to his diplomacy, at least; it would have been comic, if it had not been of such serious import. His own account of it is given in full by Richard Casgrain and Rameau de Saint-Père, more briefly by Smith. He began by flattery; expressed his pleasure at seeing them, and hoped they had made up their minds at last to take the oath, like loyal subjects of King George. "Whereupon, at the request of some of the inhabitants, a French translation of the oath was read unto them."<sup>3</sup> Some of them demanded that a clause should be inserted exempting them from bearing arms (against the French or Indians). Armstrong assured them that they need have no anxiety on this head, as, according to the laws of Great Britain, *only Protestants were allowed to serve in the army!* Finding, however, that they still persisted in refusing to sign unless the exemption clause were inserted, the Governor, by the advice of his council, "consented that the said clause should be inscribed *on the margin of the French translation,*"<sup>4</sup> in order," as he admits, "to get them over by degrees."<sup>5</sup> "There is no need," writes Abbé Casgrain,<sup>6</sup> "to say what became of the French translation, with its compromising marginal note. Armstrong had in his hands, in the shape of the English text, the instrument he had so long wished for, and which he was so proud to send to London, boasting that he had accomplished what no one had hitherto been able to do."

His success, as a matter-of-fact, was not so great as he wished it to be considered. Only the inhabitants of Port Royal (Annapolis) had, so far, been tricked into taking the oath. It still remained for him to induce "more than three-fourths of the entire population"<sup>7</sup> to do likewise; an attempt in which his emissaries, Bennett and Philipps, were entirely unsuccessful.<sup>8</sup>

A fresh, and, as Armstrong thought, a favorable opportunity presented itself on the occasion of the accession of George II.

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 138. <sup>2</sup> Vol. ii., p. 39. <sup>3</sup> Richard, i., p. 138. <sup>4</sup> Rameau, ii., p. 40.

<sup>5</sup> Richard, i., p. 139. <sup>6</sup> Pp. 96, 97. <sup>7</sup> Richard, i., p. 140. <sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 141.



The instructions given to his new agent, Lieutenant Robert Wroth, were found by Abbé Casgrain among the Colonial Records, in London, as well as the account furnished by Lieutenant Wroth himself.<sup>1</sup> It is not necessary to go into a detailed account of the transaction, which was, of course, very similar to the Annapolis affair of the previous year. The exemption clause was, naturally, to be once more inserted in the *margin* of the *French translation*, "*the English*," as Wroth admits,<sup>2</sup> "*being what I had to govern myself by.*"

Wroth, however, did not succeed without signing, most unwillingly, concessions which were, in effect, equivalent to those originally granted by Queen Anne, but which, according to Rameau de Saint-Père,<sup>3</sup> the English had never frankly accepted—a charge to which the conduct of most of the officials certainly lends color. The Acadians, once possessed of this document, which (seemingly) re-established their incontestable rights, no longer hesitated to take the oath according to the following formula: "Je promets et jure de bonne foi que je serai sincère et fidèle à Sa Majesté le Roi George le Second."<sup>4</sup>

Armstrong, from whom the inhabitants of Port Royal had exacted the same conditions as on the previous occasion, but who, this time, had lost his temper, qualified their demand as "insolent rebellion," and thrown their deputies into prison,<sup>5</sup> was furious with Wroth for having carried out, as closely as possible, the instructions received from the Governor himself! "By a decision of the council," writes Richard,<sup>6</sup> "the oath obtained by Wroth was declared 'null and void,' but . . . it was declared, in the same resolution, that, since the inhabitants had signed these acts and 'proclaimed His Majesty, they had become his subjects,' " with, of course, the privileges and obligations attached to their new status.

Even the fact that Armstrong had apparently succeeded in inducing the Acadians to take the oath of allegiance did not justify, in the opinion of the Lords of Trade, the methods to which he had resorted. They therefore "had recourse to Philipps, who always retained the title of Governor of Nova Scotia."<sup>7</sup> "This old intriguer," as Rameau de Saint-Père calls him,<sup>8</sup> "was not much more fortunate than Armstrong in the organization of Acadia, but as he had more manners, more intelligence and more *savoir-faire*, he was better able to save appear-

<sup>1</sup> Rameau de Saint-Père, ii., p. 43.

<sup>2</sup> Casgrain, p. 98. This piece is omitted from the volume of Nova Scotia Archives, published at Halifax.

<sup>3</sup> Rameau, ii., p. 44.

<sup>4</sup> Casgrain, p. 101.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>6</sup> Vol. i., p. 145. Cf. Rameau, ii., pp. 49, 50; Casgrain, *ut sup.*

<sup>7</sup> Richard, i., p. 146.

<sup>8</sup> Vol. ii., p. 51.

ances, and even succeeded in bringing about at least a provisional pacification of the country." He succeeded, in fact, in persuading the Acadians to take the oath,<sup>1</sup> on the 26th of November, 1730, very easily, according to his version of the matter;<sup>2</sup> as a matter of simple fact, by granting them, *bon gré, mal gré*, the same concession which Armstrong had pretended to make—exemption from bearing arms against their compatriots, the French, or against their allies, the Indians.<sup>3</sup> The concession, however, was *verbal*, not written; to have granted a written exemption would have been in direct contravention to the orders he had received.<sup>4</sup> But the result was the same; after seventeen years of resistance, during which, according to Parkman,<sup>5</sup> "the English authorities seem to have shown an unusual patience and forbearance," the Acadians had become British subjects, and were known thenceforth—a fact to be remembered—as "French *Neutrals*." And yet the compiler to whom Richard refers so often<sup>6</sup> states that they were brought at last "to take an unconditional oath willingly," and Parkman makes no reference to any condition. However, from 1731 onwards, we hear no more of this question of the oath of allegiance until 1749. Philipps had evidently succeeded in satisfying both the Acadians and the home authorities; his having made a verbal concession would certainly seem to be the simplest, as it is, in fact, the only, explanation possible.

"Wearied of a bootless struggle," says M. Richard,<sup>7</sup> "the Acadians had accepted the oath of fealty which granted them the exemption which they clung to so earnestly. This period of twenty years (to 1749)," he continues, "was the most tranquil, the happiest and most prosperous in the history of Acadia."

Passing over the suicide of Armstrong, in 1739, the religious persecutions to which the Acadians were unquestionably exposed, in spite of the provisions of the Treaty of Utrecht, their abstention, during the war of 1744–48, from giving aid to the French—a fact to which Governor Mascarene bears ample witness,<sup>8</sup> though Parkman asserts, without proof, that "many . . . aided the enemy with information and supplies"<sup>9</sup>—we come to a date and to an event of great importance, the founding of Halifax, in 1749.

Hitherto, the effective power of the English Governors had practically not extended more than cannon-shot distance from the fort at Annapolis.<sup>10</sup> This fact, often insisted on by the Governors

<sup>1</sup> Of which the Lords of Trade complained that it was not explicit enough. Smith, p. 121.

<sup>2</sup> Rameau, ii., pp. 51, 52.

<sup>3</sup> Casgrain, p. 102.

<sup>4</sup> Richard, i., p. 148.

<sup>5</sup> Montcalm and Wolfe, p. 91.

<sup>6</sup> Richard, i., p. 153.

<sup>7</sup> Vol. i., p. 158.

<sup>8</sup> Casgrain, p. 113; Smith, p. 128; Richard, i., p. 230.

<sup>9</sup> Montcalm and Wolfe, p. 92.

<sup>10</sup> Casgrain, p. 115.



in their reports to the home authorities, was brought into startling prominence by the cession of Louisbourg, according to the terms of the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, in 1748, and by French "encroachments" on the still undefined limits of Acadia.<sup>1</sup> The idea of founding Protestant English colonies in Acadia—the land to be confiscated from the French "Papists"—had been frequently discussed;<sup>2</sup> the growing French population, which now amounted to over 12,000,<sup>3</sup> seemed to render urgent the carrying out of the plan so often proposed.

"Chibucto Bay was chosen, and the founding of Halifax decided in March, 1749. Fourteen ships, bearing 2756 persons, with all the necessary provisions, and a complete civil organization . . . set sail on May 14th, and entered Chibucto harbor June 27th following. Edward Cornwallis was the new Governor. Halifax was founded. The place was most judiciously chosen. . . . In 1748 there were not a dozen English colonists in the whole province. The consequence was that the Annapolis garrison would not have been able to subsist without the Acadians . . ."<sup>4</sup>

The foregoing quotation is a bare enumeration of facts, concerning which it would be difficult to decide as to whether any one of them is of greater importance than the others. The whole indicates a total change in the conditions of British rule in Acadia. Up to 1749 the garrison had been wholly inadequate to hold the province, and would have been unable to do so but for the peaceful disposition of the inhabitants, upon whom it had been, literally, dependent for its very existence. That is why no effort, no falsehood, no cajolery, no trickery had been spared to prevent, no matter by what means, their departure from the country. The founding of Halifax implied the existence of a strong, self-supporting British garrison and colony. It meant that the Acadians were no longer wanted. The consequences of this change soon became apparent. Between 1749 and 1751 the political physiognomy of Nova Scotia had been radically altered. "The claws of the British Lion," to use the Abbé Casgrain's expressive phrase, "had grown considerably longer."<sup>5</sup>

Nor were the Acadians themselves free from certain very natural misgivings, in view of this unexpected development, this sudden increase in the power of the English Governors. "A few days later," writes M. Richard,<sup>6</sup> "the Acadians of River Canard, Grand Pré and Piguit sent three deputies to the new Governor to present him, in their name, their respects and their homage." They were furnished with copies of a declaration, charging them with having aided the French during the war just ended, and with copies of an oath, "*sans réserve*,"<sup>7</sup> that was to be given to the in-

<sup>1</sup> Richard, i., p. 231.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 233.

<sup>3</sup> Rameau, ii., p. 130.

<sup>4</sup> Richard i., pp. 234, 235.

<sup>5</sup> P. 117.

<sup>6</sup> Vol. i., p. 237.

<sup>7</sup> Casgrain, p. 118.



habitants, "and were commanded to return within a fortnight,<sup>1</sup> and report the resolutions of their several departments."<sup>2</sup> Cornwallis evidently felt himself strong enough not to worry about the difference between his demand and the concessions granted by Armstrong and Philipps. The Acadians must take an *unconditional* oath, or go, within three months.

The reply of the Acadians, oppressed by the Governor's insistence on an oath which they could not bring themselves to take, urged by their French neighbors to emigrate to Cape Breton and to Canada, was a request that they might be allowed to quit the country, even, if need be, without selling their lands or taking their movables with them. It began to dawn on Cornwallis that he had mistaken the character of those with whom he had to deal; many were getting ready to go away, and he would, as he knew, be blamed by the home authorities for causing this inopportune and most unjust depopulation of the Colony, this most unwelcome increase of the French forces. "So, while on the one hand he was forcing the Acadians to choose between swearing allegiance and leaving the country, on the other he was giving orders to prevent them from taking advantage of his alternative."<sup>3</sup> All the old subterfuges were resorted to in order to hinder the Acadians from going; in the autumn of 1749 "they had not been allowed to leave in English, French or Acadian vessels; . . . now (1750) the spring-time is denied them, for they must sow their land."<sup>4</sup> The facts here related rest on "documents written by the Governors themselves."<sup>5</sup>

"The refusal of the Acadians to take the required oath was," so Parkman asserts,<sup>6</sup> "not only not spontaneous, but was mainly due to influence from without." How far this statement accords with the facts just narrated may be easily decided; it is simply one instance, among many, of the American "historian's" bias. He continues: "The French officials of Cape Breton and Isle St. Jean, now Prince Edward Island, exerted themselves to the utmost, chiefly through the agency of the priests (!) to excite the people to refuse any oath that should commit them fully to British allegiance." Even were the charge literally true, the French, all things considered, were hardly to be blamed. But it is in reference to the Abbé Le Loutre, whom Parkman paints as the most cruel, most unprincipled, most reprehensible of priestly firebrands and political agents, that the difference between his sweeping generalities—doubtless very brilliant and effective—and M. Richard's calmer and more exact methods becomes most strikingly

<sup>1</sup> "Despite the long distances they had to travel."—Richard, *ut sup.*

<sup>2</sup> Smith, p. 149.

<sup>3</sup> Richard, i., p. 244.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 250.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>6</sup> Montcalm and Wolfe, p. 98.

apparent. It is for this reason that the matter merits to be dealt with, in passing, before coming to the final catastrophe.

M. Richard, in the first place, calls Le Loutre "a self-constituted agent of the French."<sup>1</sup> He next speaks of the influence of the French over the Indians of Nova Scotia, and of "the wicked and fatal policy"<sup>2</sup> of the Canadian Governors to which this influence was made subservient; of Le Loutre as their agent, by which he admits that he was more of a politician than a priest. "His blind zeal," M. Richard continues, "his efforts urging the Indians to worry the colonists introduced by Cornwallis, his unjustifiable methods for forcing the Acadians, against their will, to cross the frontier, deserve to be condemned by every one, and especially by the Acadians." This, from the pen of a Catholic writer, is surely a more effective as well as a more historical judgment than all Parkman's hysterical rhetoric. M. Richard, however, clears up two important points of which Parkman offers no explanation; first, that the Abbé Le Loutre was *not* a missionary on English territory—which wholly changes the complexion of his conduct in endeavoring to induce the Acadians to emigrate; secondly, that he was *not*, as Parkman calls him, "Vicar-General of Acadia." M. Richard concludes:<sup>3</sup> "Le Loutre's faults, to my thinking, are attributable rather to his ill-balanced mind than to a disordered will. Like all men of one idea, he was ignorant of the world and unsuited to the governance of men." He adds: ". . . We know that on several occasions he saved the lives of English officers; . . . that after the deportation and his return to France he became a ministering angel to the Acadian refugees, that he devoted his time and his money to the alleviation of their lot." A portrait certainly truer to nature than the American chronicler's highly-colored caricature.

In 1752, Cornwallis, of whom M. Richard says that he had had "the good sense to return from the error of his ways,"<sup>4</sup> quitted Acadia, and was succeeded, unfortunately, only temporarily, by Peregrine Thomas Hopson, formerly commander-in-chief at Louisbourg. After fifteen months, however, he also left the Colony, in November, 1753, as if he, says Rameau de Saint-Père,<sup>5</sup> "like his predecessor, had been frightened and disgusted by the prospect which the future presented."

The Acadians had been disturbed not only by the long conflicts concerning the oath of allegiance, but also by events consequent on the foundation of Halifax. The English colonists "showed a violent irritation against the Acadians, and openly invited the Governor to take the most extreme measures against

<sup>1</sup> P. 257.<sup>2</sup> P. 259.<sup>3</sup> P. 267.<sup>4</sup> Vol. i., p. 319.<sup>5</sup> II., p. 149.



them.”<sup>1</sup> It is, as the same writer observes, a fact often to be remarked in the history of a conquered country, that “the civilian immigration, which follows the victorious army, shows itself more unjust, more oppressive towards the invaded people, than the soldiers themselves.” Everything, in fact, was preparing for the consummation of the crowning act of tyrannical injustice.

On the 17th of September, 1754, Major Charles Lawrence—originally a house-painter’s apprentice—was definitely named Governor of Nova Scotia, “in spite,” says Rameau de Saint-Père, “of the little sympathy he inspired in the Board of Plantations,”<sup>2</sup> who, the same author believes, by no means wished to see him in that position, fearing, as they did, the effects of his violent character. He was anything but popular with the people of Halifax;<sup>3</sup> appears, in fact, to have possessed all the faults of the “ranker” suddenly raised to supreme power for which he is not fit. It is upon him, as Abbé Casgrain says, of all others, “that the responsibility rests for the deportation of the Acadians.”<sup>4</sup>

He began by a letter to the Lords of Trade, dated August 1, 1754<sup>5</sup>—that is, before his formal instalment as Governor—in which he throws doubts on the genuineness of their neutrality, adding, significantly, that “*they possess the best and largest tracts of land in this Province,*” thereby preventing its final “settlement” by English colonists. He hints, plainly, that “*it would be much better, if they refuse the oath, (!) that they were away,*” but professes, of course, that he would not think of taking action of any kind without their Lordships’ approbation.

The next step was to deprive the Acadians of their arms and ammunition,<sup>6</sup> that is, to stir up overt resistance, if he possibly could, so as to justify (?) any severities he might be “forced” to exercise, in consequence. The Acadians, however, disappointed him by quietly giving up their arms, in compliance with his autocratic demand. In June, 1755, although war had not been formally declared, Fort Beausejour, on the Isthmus between the Bay of Fundy and Green Bay—“which singularly favored the communications of the Acadians with the French of Canada”<sup>7</sup>—was attacked and ultimately taken by Monckton, the Acadians, including those who had taken refuge on French territory, refusing, almost to a man, and in spite of threats and cajoleries, to assist the French. Yet these were the “dangerous” people whom Lawrence thought would be “better away.”

“That Lawrence had by this time determined on the deportation is, I think, clear enough.”<sup>8</sup> “From the moment that the

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 150.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 150, 151.

<sup>3</sup> Richard, i., p. 343.

<sup>4</sup> P. 123.

<sup>5</sup> Richard, i., pp. 355, 356.

<sup>6</sup> Casgrain, p. 124.

<sup>7</sup> Rameau, ii., p. 151.

<sup>8</sup> Richard, i., p. 263.



taking of Fort Beausejour . . . rendered the expulsion of the Acadians possible," writes Abbé Casgrain,<sup>1</sup> "and that their disarming had removed one of the greatest obstacles, the Government of Nova Scotia was actively occupied in putting this project into execution." Rameau de Saint-Père's assertion,<sup>2</sup> already alluded to, that the whole thing had been planned ever since 1720, is a piece of Anglophobe calumny which is certainly not borne out by the facts.<sup>3</sup>

For the expulsion itself—of which "Evangeline" gives but a faint idea, and as to the details of which all the authorities referred to are as one—the time was, indeed, singularly "favorable," if such an expression be permissible. England and France were engaged, in America, in that deadly frontier struggle of which Parkman, in his "Half Century of Conflict," has given us such a vivid description. Braddock had just been defeated (July 9th) near Fort Duquesne.<sup>4</sup> It was therefore only too easy to stir up the hatred of the New England troops—who were to be the chief agents of the deportation<sup>5</sup>—against the "Papists" of Acadia—whose lands they were to possess. Lawrence, in fact, resolved to take advantage of the panic caused by Braddock's defeat in order to bring matters to a speedy conclusion; to take advantage, also, of the fact that war was raging, in order to justify his disobedience to the distinct and definite orders he had received from the Lords of Trade not to molest the Acadians. This point, the non-complicity

<sup>1</sup> P. 128.

<sup>2</sup> Vol. ii., p. 36.

<sup>3</sup> M. Richard (vol. i., p. 375) gives the following summary of the eleven "subterfuges" by which the Governors endeavored to prevent the Acadians from leaving the country:

"First subterfuge (VETCH)—You shall not depart before Nicholson's return.

"Second subterfuge (NICHOLSON)—You shall not depart till after such and such points shall have been decided by the Queen.

"Third subterfuge (VETCH)—You shall not depart in English vessels.

"Fourth subterfuge (VETCH)—You shall not depart in French vessels.

"Fifth subterfuge (VETCH)—You cannot procure rigging at Louisbourg.

"Sixth subterfuge (VETCH)—You cannot procure rigging at Boston.

"Seventh subterfuge (VETCH)—You shall not depart in your own vessels.

"Eighth subterfuge (PHILIPPS)—You shall not make roads to depart by.

"1730—Restricted oath accepted.

"1749—Your oath is worthless.

"Ninth subterfuge (CORNWALLIS)—You shall not depart this autumn.

"Tenth subterfuge (CORNWALLIS)—You shall not depart till after you have sown your fields.

"Eleventh subterfuge (CORNWALLIS)—You shall not depart without passports."

To which must be added Lawrence's threat (1755) of *military execution* against the *families* of those who should leave the country without his permission. The whole history of the Acadians, from the Treaty of Utrecht to their final expulsion, is contained in this brief record, which surely decides, once for all, which account is the true one, Longfellow's (that is, M. Richard's) or Parkman's—as endorsed by the "Compiler" and by Goldwin Smith.

<sup>4</sup> Rameau, ii., p. 153.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 157.

of the home authorities, is again proved to demonstration by M. Richard.

Moreover, "the entire line of forts and the northern border of Nova Scotia had fallen into the hands of the English," so that the Acadians, even should they offer any resistance, could look for no assistance from their compatriots in Canada. "Under these circumstances," the same writer continues, "it is hard to explain, in the light of the present century, the extreme measures decided on by the Governor and Council."

Hard, but not wholly impossible. Lawrence was undoubtedly pressed by the English colonists of Halifax to deport the Acadians, in order that their lands might become "available for settlement." That is one motive for his conduct; that of the Hali-gonians was due to greed as much as to religious and racial hatred. But even such a pressure is not, in any sense, an "adequate" motive for Lawrence's conduct.

M. Richard charges him, *tout court*, with "interested motives" (personal);<sup>2</sup> because, as he says,<sup>3</sup> "all the precautions he took to hide his projects from the Lords of Trade show that he was playing a risky game, where the stake must have been tempting enough to counterbalance the risk he was about to run." This seems a reasonable inference; men like Lawrence do not "take chances," as the Americans say, unless they expect to profit very materially by doing so.

This stake was, so M. Richard asserts, *the cattle of the Acadians*, of which they possessed, as Lawrence was well aware, an enormous number. His frequent allusions, in his instructions to the officers charged with the deportation, to the cattle of the inhabitants;<sup>4</sup> his evident anxiety concerning what was, certainly, a very probable source of wealth; his strenuous injunctions that the Acadians must be prevented from carrying them off, all point to the same conclusion. It was an age in which fortunes were being made by conquest and by high-handed confiscations; Lawrence was just the man to carry out such a project. Failing that, what motive had he?

Of the actual expulsion, with all its treacheries, cruelties, miseries and sufferings, who that has read "Evangeline" needs to be told? M. Richard, following previous authorities, enters, in his second volume, into the fullest possible details, which he has collated from all the most reliable sources. He also tells at length the history of the Acadian wanderings subsequent to the banishment of this ill-fated people. Here, again, his account is only an extension, in sober but most telling prose, of Longfellow's

<sup>1</sup> Smith, p. 198.

<sup>2</sup> Vol. ii., p. 4.

<sup>3</sup> P. 30.

<sup>4</sup> Richard, ii., pp. 58, 59, 60.

pathetic "legend," which is thereby proved to be a simple narrative of facts.

M. Richard has, in fact, rendered a very material service to the student of history. He has shown us the Acadians as they were; their faults and their virtues; shown how they were tricked, deceived, oppressed, and finally banished, to gratify race hatred and private greed. Most of all, he has laid the blame, once for all, on the shoulders of those who are really responsible, for which Englishmen have cause to be sincerely grateful. England's colonial history contains many a record of which her sons have good cause to be ashamed; but as to this crying act of consummate cruelty and injustice—the expulsion of the Acadians—M. Richard has, undoubtedly, amply proved her innocence. We would commend his volumes to the careful study of all those to whom historical truth, as distinguished from partisanship or prejudice, is of the first importance.

FRANCIS W. GREY.

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## SPAIN AND CUBA.

THE attitude of the greater portion of the press of the United States towards Spain since the beginning of the insurrection in Cuba is very remarkable, not to say discreditable. From the moment when a band of Cubans rose in arms, the greater part of the papers of New York, including even the "Sun," which usually has some pretensions to accuracy in its statements, have filled their columns with fierce attacks on the Government of Spain, and appeals to popular prejudice for the armed interference of the United States in the Cuban Civil War. Civil wars, unfortunately, are not uncommon in other parts of this continent. There is one in Brazil at present, another in Guatemala, and a third in Hayti. In each of these, charges of oppression and massacre are freely made by both sides, but the American Press and Congress feel no inclination to interfere. The same was the case when the Manitoba French half-breeds took arms for the defence of their independence against annexation by Canada, on our northern borders. The execution of Riel excited only a very languid interest in our American journals. It is different in the case of the Cuban insurrection, though. As far as can be gathered from the self-contradicting statements that pass for Cuban intelligence, the great majority of the insurgents in that island are even more widely different in race from our population than the Metis of the Red River. Any story, however absurd, seems good enough as an argument against the Spanish Government. The plundering of a plantation or village is described as a heroic achievement, when done by Cuban negroes. A Cuban is given his liberty at the request of the United States, on his solemn promise not to bear arms against the Government which released him. He breaks his word with the open approval of a large part of the American press. Congress is asked to vote an appropriation for the relief of Americans in Cuba, who are alleged by the representatives of the American people to be in danger of death from Spanish tyranny. The Consul-General reports the statement a rank falsehood; but the sensational journals take no notice of the denial, and continue their work of false charges against a country in friendly relations with our own, with undiminished vigor. It is curious that some of the most ardent patrons of the negro insurgents in Cuba come from States where the interference of negroes in politics is regarded as little short of a crime against civilized government. Whence comes the difference between insurgents

in Cuba and insurgents in Brazil, Guatemala or Manitoba, that the people of this country should be called on to support the one and leave the others to their fate?

It is certainly not because Spanish rule in Cuba is a new thing, or an aggression on distinctively American people.

The Monroe Doctrine has been invoked as a reason for armed interference by the United States, by gentlemen who have either forgotten or never knew what the Monroe Doctrine is. President Monroe's declaration that the policy of this country is opposed to any acquisition of territory on this continent by foreign powers simply means that the governments of Europe shall not be permitted to seize on American territory as so many of them have recently partitioned the African continent among themselves in utter disregard of the rights of the natives. The Spanish West Indies have been a portion of the Spanish domains since the days of Columbus, and their population is wholly derived from Spain or Africa. They were as much a part of Spanish territory at the time of President Monroe's famous enunciation, as the Canaries or the Balearic Islands, and they are so still. With Spain the United States have no grounds for quarrel or complaint. Spain helped us to establish our independence of England, and subsequently increased our territory by the peaceful cession of the Floridas. It has never trespassed on our rights or shown hostility to our institutions, as other European powers have done. The execution of Crittenden and his filibusters forty-five years ago, and of the crew of the *Virginius* during the last Cuban insurrection, were acts of self-defence on Spanish soil, like the execution of Walker in Honduras and of Raosset de Balbon in Mexico. It seems worth examining what are the real motives for this desire for the overthrow of Spanish government in Cuba at the present time.

It can hardly be seriously thought, though it may be proclaimed on platforms, that any real sympathy with the people of Cuba, or any sense of wrongs endured by them, is the cause of this anxiety for a war with Spain. Cubans and Spaniards are of the same race, and members of a common nationality under a common government. The subjects of quarrel between them are of a domestic nature, much the same as those between the Northern and Southern States in our own civil war. It is not a case in which a foreign conqueror has deprived a nation of its liberty and rules it, regardless of the rights and wishes of its people, as Russia in Poland, or Turkey in Greece. The feelings of human nature in struggles under such conditions sympathize with the oppressed, but where a civil war breaks out in a long united community no such cause for sympathy with either exists. It may be alleged, but as a matter of fact it is not genuine. The warm sympathy professed by



the largest part of the English population for the South, during our own struggle, had its origin not in any desire to see the condition of the American people improved, nor any special admiration of negro slavery, but purely in the selfish desire to see the power of the United States in the world materially weakened as a rival of England. The same can be said of England's action towards the Spanish American colonies when they separated from the home government. The people of this country have, however, no fear of Spanish aggression or rivalry, so we must look further to find a cause, if not a reason, for the feeling against Spain manifested by a large part of our population in this matter as in others.

Among Americans of English origin a latent dislike of Spain and the Spaniards is an inheritance from England. The English people, during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, were trained to a national hatred of the French and Spaniards above other European races. Dislike of the Catholic religion formed a large element in this feeling. It was the Protestant tradition which, from the days of Elizabeth, was inculcated by its rulers on the English population, that both the religion and the government of England were the best in the world, and that the Catholic nations of Europe were alike idolatrous and slavish.

"I hate the French because they are all slaves and wear wooden shoes," is the sentiment which, in the last century, Sterne puts in the mouth of an English sailor, as he tells of his experience with a British press-gang which "first knocked me down, then ordered me to stand." The Spaniards, if less often in conflict with England than the French, were regarded as even more strongly Catholic, and so shared in the popular English dislike. The feelings of the English population were, to a great degree, transmitted to the English colonies in this country. The Revolution, when French soldiers secured the establishment of American Independence, partly, but only partly, dispelled it. It still exists in a latent form with regard to Spain and the Spaniards, and it breaks out in open expression on favorable occasions such as the present. It is neither American nor republican in the true sense.

The desire for territorial extension, regardless of the rights of others, is another inheritance of English sentiments. It is not so prevalent now as in the times before the late war, which gave our people a much clearer idea than they before possessed of what war and its consequences really are. From the days of Aaron Burr to the final overthrow of negro slavery, the forcible conquest of new territory was a favorite idea for reckless Americans. Filibustering expeditions like those of Walker and Crittenden were looked on with much popular favor, especially in the Southern



States, where the Anglo-Saxon element is more largely predominant than in the Northern States. Burr's ambitious project of founding an empire for himself in Mexico opened the eyes of all honest American statesmen to the dangers for the internal freedom of our country in a policy of foreign aggression. It was felt that the maintenance of republican institutions at home would be seriously imperilled by copying the aggressive foreign policy of England and other European monarchies. As a rule, non-interference with the rights of those outside our own boundaries has since been maintained by America as a nation. Thanks to it, in great measure, popular institutions have been maintained in the United States for over a century, contrary to the experience of most other republics, such as Holland, Florence, the Hanse Towns, and the various French republican governments from 1791 to 1850. The desire for foreign conquests found vent in private expeditions against Central America and Mexico, which, from the close of the Mexican War down to the secession, were decidedly popular. Since the latter event, the "jingo" spirit has notably declined in this country. We hear much less of "manifest destiny" and the other vague expressions which are used to disguise the injustice of unprovoked wars on weaker peoples. The spirit, however, still exists. We find plenty of Americans who speak admiringly of England's fondness for seizing the lands of weaker nations, and regret the more honest policy of our own government. To such men the seizure of Alexandria or Corinto, or the levying tribute on Guatemala or Venezuela by the right of the strongest guns, appears something heroic and masterful. They wonder why our own government, with the undoubted power, displays no will to "go and do likewise" by seizing what is not its own. Like the Highland cattle-thief of former days,

"The good old rule suffices them—the simple plan  
That they shall take who have the power,  
And they shall keep who can."

This class finds expression in irresponsible calls for intervention in Cuba, regardless of any law but that of the strongest; and sensation-seeking journalists find ready readers when they echo the cry. Neither the policy advocated nor the motives which suggest the advocacy are such as to recommend themselves to honest minds.

In the present Cuban struggle, as in our own Civil War, fair-minded men will consider it a matter to be left for settlement to the parties directly interested. The law of right is the only safe guide for nations as for men, and it is the same for the weak as for the strong. That patriotic Spaniards should object to the secession

of Cuba is as natural as it was for patriotic citizens of this country to object to the secession of South Carolina. The secessionists of that State believed as fully in their right to establish an independent government of their own as the most ardent Cuban does to-day; but it by no means followed that other nations were prepared to recognize the Palmetto flag side by side with the Stars and Stripes. Spain, though a single nation in its dealings with the rest of the world since the days of Ferdinand and Isabella, is more like the United States in its political system of distinct local and central authorities than almost any other European country. Aragon and Castile, Biscay and Navarre, Catalonia and the Balearic Islands were each regarded as distinct kingdoms during the time of Spain's greatest power. Each had its own laws, its own Cortes, and its separate constitution, while united into one nation by the bond of a central government. The *fueros*, or "rights," of the different Spanish provinces or kingdoms, as the custom was to style them, were as jealously guarded against the encroachments of the central power of the crown as "State rights" in our own country are against Federal usurpations. Since the Carlist Crispino war, that followed the death of Ferdinand II., the power of the central authority in Spain has been much increased at the expense of the provincial *fueros*, but the latter are still cherished by the people. The last Carlist war was really more a struggle for the State rights of Biscay and Navarre than for an individual sovereign. The Basque mountaineers and fishermen, accustomed to the fullest self-government under the Spanish monarchy, cared little whether the ruler at Madrid were king or president, so long as he left them free to regulate their own affairs. The Radicals, who seized on the government after the flight of Isabella II., attempted to suppress the local self-governments of the Basque provinces, and the Basque people at once rose in arms and rallied around Don Carlos. The older war of the Spanish succession, in the beginning of the last century, gives another instance of attachment to local State rights. Catalonia had always enjoyed a freer constitution than Castile, and when the French candidate for the throne was installed at Madrid he wished to introduce a uniform administration into his dominions on the pattern of the then French monarchy. The Austrian candidate swore fealty to the Catalan State rights, and the Catalans defended both vigorously, even after the Peace of Utrecht had left them to brave the united forces of Spain and France. The combination of loyalty to the nation with loyalty to provincial rights in separate spheres is thus traditional in Spain. Spanish sentiment resents any dismemberment of the national territory as jealously as American patriotism demands the maintenance of our own national unity. It is a



feeling which Americans, above any other people, can readily comprehend, and to which we cannot refuse respect.

To the great body of the Spanish people Cuba and Puerto Rico are as much a part of Spain as California is of the United States. Havana is not farther from Madrid than San Francisco is from Washington. The people of Cuba, apart from the negro element, are the same in race with the natives of the peninsula. They speak the same language, share a common literature and religion, and have been for three centuries under a common government and institutions. A revolt in Cuba is in Spanish eyes as much a civil war as a revolt in Biscay or Catalonia. In Mexico or Peru the population, though Spanish in language, is only partly Spanish in blood; but in the West Indies there is practically no admixture of Indian races with the European settlers. Hence in Spain the relation between the West Indian islands and the mother-land is regarded with very different feelings from those of conquest or rule in foreign lands. The Cubans are regarded as a part of the Spanish people, and their separation from Spain would be looked on as a national dismemberment.

It is, under the circumstances, very difficult for an outsider to decide whether the outbreak in Cuba has motives sufficiently well-grounded to justify it or not. It is said that the Spanish Government is tyrannical and ill-administered, that the revenues of Cuba are drawn away from the island without any return, and that official posts are filled in undue proportion with natives of Spain. These grievances may be real or they may be exaggerated; but they are such as are made in every country of wide extent. Similar complaints from time to time are made in different sections of even these United States. It is often claimed that the interests of the West or South are sacrificed to those of the Eastern States, and charges of reckless expenditure of the public revenues are not unknown amongst us. It is not so long since an enthusiastic Governor threatened to ride to Washington ankle-deep in blood in the supposed interests of his State, which could not find a market for its silver under the financial policy approved by the Federal Government. We mention these facts to indicate that complaints on the part of sections of a country are not necessarily proofs that its government is radically bad. Cuban discontent may be justified by the facts, but we have so far seen no clear and reliable statement of facts which would warrant the condemnation of the Spanish government as outside the pale of international right or make us believe that the establishment of an independent Cuba would be a gain for the human race or the Cuban people.

Civil war is one of the gravest misfortunes for any nation, and as well-wishers of mankind, and of the Spanish race in particular,



we must regard its outbreak in Cuba with deep regret. The objects to be attained by such a war must be of the most important and urgent nature to justify its commencement. Where a nation, already possessed of a national organization, throws off the rule of a foreign power, the gain of national freedom may well be worth the struggle, as in the case of our own country, of Belgium sixty years ago, or of Greece. When part of the population in a hitherto united nation, however, undertakes to change existing institutions by armed force, the result very rarely compensates for the shock to the public welfare. The Huguenot wars in France and the Thirty Years' War in Germany can only be regarded as public disasters unredeemed by any gain. Spain and the Spanish settlements in America during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries were freer from internal disturbances than almost any other nation. The reverse has been the case in this century, and the consequences to the whole Spanish race have been most disastrous. Within a few years after the victorious struggle against Napoleon's invasion, a military enthusiast, Riego, undertook to give Spain a new constitution by the help of the army, and succeeded in doing so in 1820, only to have it overthrown the following year by the Conservative party in Spain, supported by a French army. The death of Ferdinand a few years later was the signal for a new outbreak of civil war on the constitutional question whether women could inherit the crown of Spain, under the Bourbon dynasty. It took several bitter years of civil war to settle this question, and the contest practically made the army the supreme power of the Government of Spain. In 1869 General Prim, the favorite of the military, thought fit to expel Isabella II. and call a brother of the King of Italy to the throne of Spain. His reign was brief, and was the signal for a new Carlist war, which was waged for years with unparalleled obstinacy in the northern provinces, while republican governments on various systems were being tried and abandoned in quick succession in Madrid. After years of turmoil, the commander of the army in Madrid called the son of Isabella II. to occupy the throne, and after six years of bloodshed and confusion the government was established on the same form as in 1869. The lesson of the results of civil warfare is a striking one for hot-headed patriots.

The Spanish colonies on this continent followed the example of Spain. Their connection with the central government had been loosened by the intrusion of a French puppet king on the Spanish throne, and the revolution of Riego was the signal for nearly every Spanish colony on the continent of America to set up a government of its own. The conditions of Spanish America were very different from those under which these United States shook off the

yoke of England. Here, the colonies were in the possession of fully organized governments of their own, and their reason for separating from England was a definite grievance, the new claim of the Parliament to tax America without its own consent. It was a confederacy of States fighting for their rights as States, not an uprising of crowds to form States out of unorganized populations. Throughout Spanish America the revolt was of a very different character. Individuals of more or less influence in the various provinces drew up different systems of government, and called the people to arms to put them into execution. Juntas, provisional assemblies and military dictators assumed the functions of government by their own appointment. There was no common concert between the different colonies. Mexico became successively an empire and a republic. Guatemala, which formed a part of the original Mexico since Aztec days, separated its lot from the rest of the viceroyalty, and eventually divided itself into five petty states, independent of each other and of all the world. The Peru of Spanish days split into the republics of Bolivia, Peru and Ecuador. Buenos Ayres, with a million and a half of people, found three separate governments necessary in its independent existence; and the original republic of Colombia finally resolved itself into three more.

It is needless to follow the dreary details of revolution and aimless wars which have marked the history of Spanish America for half a century. One illustration may be given to show the result to the populations involved. When Humboldt visited Mexico, at the beginning of this century, he estimated its population at six millions, and that, at its then rate of increase, it would double itself in nineteen years. Such a growth would have given Mexico to-day a larger native population than the United States has, while in fact it is scarcely a fifth of that number.

Florid proclamations are but poor compensation for human lives. Spain itself, in the reign of Charles III., was the third power in the world. To-day, she is no longer reckoned among the great powers of Europe. During the first Carlist war the population of the Peninsula sank from thirteen and a half millions in 1830 to little over twelve millions in 1846. The Spanish race, both in Europe and America, is now slowly recovering from the effects of its half-century of civil wars. Spain has increased its population to eighteen millions, and Mexico, at length, shows signs of returning progress for the first time since its proclamation of independence. The governments of nearly all Spanish America are gradually assuming stability in a greater or less degree. The responsibility of stirring up new war among such a race is, indeed, a grave one, and its cause has need to be weighty, indeed, for justification.



That the people of Cuba have grievances under their existing government may be quite true, but the reasonable way to examine the question is, are they better or worse off materially, morally and intellectually than the Spanish-American peoples who possess independent governments of their own? Are the laws more fairly administered, is public education further advanced, are the mass of the people better fed and clothed, is the public wealth greater in Venezuela, or Guatemala, or New Granada, than in Cuba? These are the questions which should be determined before one could fairly pronounce in favor of the separation of Cuba from Spain. We have not seen any attempt to make such a comparison on the part of the partisans of the Cuban insurgents; and we do not believe that, if made, it would warrant any friend of humanity in urging on a murderous war for the sake of adding another small state to the existing family of Spanish-American republics. A fair comparison may be made with one within a few miles of the Cuban shores. San Domingo is next to Cuba in size among the West Indies, and, during the last century, it was regarded as of greater commercial and material importance than the larger island. It has now enjoyed independent government for the best part of a century, but the outside world is not aware of any marked progress yet made in the island during that time. Leaving out of consideration the negro republic of Hayti, as involving other race questions, the Spanish republic of San Domingo is nearly equal in extent to half Cuba, and it possesses even greater natural resources of soil and climate. It now maintains a population of little over six hundred thousand in what is certainly not a state of marked prosperity, on a territory of eighteen thousand square miles. Its political history has been mainly a chronicle of petty wars and personal ambitions, and at the present time its revenues are literally farmed out to a syndicate of foreign capitalists—not a very brilliant instance of capacity for self-government. The population of Cuba, on somewhat like twice the territory of San Domingo, is over a million and a half, and, in intellectual and material development, Cuba, under Spanish rule, is far ahead of San Domingo.

The revenue of San Domingo is estimated at somewhat over three million dollars, that of Cuba about twenty-five millions. Nearly half the revenues of the latter country are expended on the debt resulting from the last insurrection. Serious as this burthen undoubtedly is, a successful revolution could hardly lighten, though it might do much to aggravate it. Puerto Rico, which has escaped, almost alone of Spanish American countries, the curse of civil war, is an illustration of what is possible under Spanish rule. It maintains a population of eight hundred thousand on a territory of three



thousand two hundred square miles, or in other words a population nearly as dense as that of Massachusetts, and to all appearance fully as contented if not as wealthy a one. It makes a far better showing in this respect than the old Spanish colonies of Jamaica and Trinidad, which have been for generations under British rule. Cuba itself, with its five years of insurrectionary war, has piled up less of a debt than the British colony of New Zealand, with one-third of the population of Cuba, has accumulated in twenty-five years of self-administration. The English, French and Spanish nations have all tried the experiment of colonization in the West Indies, and at the present time the prosperity of the Spanish colonies is undoubtedly greater than that of either of their rivals. The Spanish government is not an ideal one, but it has shown itself at least as good as any other system yet tried in the West Indies. Declamatory phrases about "foreign domination," "patriotic Cubans" and "republican institutions" are not sufficient warrant for honest men outside Cuba to engage in any crusade for its overthrow by arms.

The history of nearly every country of Spanish-America is sufficient proof that sonorous phrases on the part of politicians are no guarantee of genuine liberty. There has been scarcely a year in which governments, republican as well as monarchical, have not been assailed by armed rebellion under color of florid proclamations. Liberty and loyalty, national unity and individual rights, the maintenance of order and the need of progress, have all furnished pretexts for civil war in which the ambition of individuals has been the real motive. That civil war is one of the greatest evils that can befall a nation is an undoubted fact; that the preponderance of any leader in Spanish-America has been a distinct gain to the country is more than doubtful. The warrior politicians seem to have followed the practice of Dugald Dalgetty as summed up by himself in Scott's "Legend of Montrose." "Excellent cries, all; I will not undertake to say which is the better; but I know I have waded knee-deep in blood for causes ten times worse than any of them." The readiness to wade knee-deep in blood, rather than undertake the task of deciding upon the real merits of a cause, finds a parallel in Cuba as in other Spanish-American lands.

To an outsider desirous of the welfare of both Cuba and Spain, it looks as if the best solution of the present struggle would be the establishment of Home Rule for local affairs in the island without sundering its connection with the Spanish Government. This solution the fall of the Azacarraga Ministry and the advent of the Liberals seem to promise. The Spanish people are not unfamiliar, as has already been pointed out, with the practice of subordinate State governments. Down to the close of Isabella II.'s

reign, the Basque provinces of Biscay had a totally distinct administration from the rest of Spain, even in matters which in our government are regarded as belonging exclusively to the domain of the Federal authority. Thus the customs and the military conscription were different in the Basque provinces from what they were in Castile. The old provincial governments of Spain have been nearly destroyed by the centralization of power during the late civil wars. The establishment of Home Rule in Cuba might lead to a revival of Home Rule in Catalonia and Valencia as well. If it should, Spain might have reason to be grateful at no distant day for even the present insurrection. BRYAN J. CLINCH.

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## THE TOTAL ABSTINENCE MOVEMENT IN THE UNITED STATES.

ONE of the most marked features of modern American life is the "Total Abstinence Movement." It is in active progress, both within the Church and without. Large and influential numbers in the country which has had its "Whiskey Wars," which has so long boasted of its Kentucky and Monongahela products, and which has welcomed the importation of breweries, seem to begin to turn away from, if not altogether demolish, those gods whom they once adored. The American people are becoming year by year more temperate in the use of alcoholic drinks, and temperance is rapidly becoming synonymous, to their mind, with total abstinence. Outside the Church, for the most part, there is a political party which aims at banishing alcoholic drink from this country as effectually as St. Patrick is said to have banished the serpent from Ireland. But the Prohibition Party finds that strong drink is more racy of this soil and has far stronger proprietary rights than the snakes of the Green Isle. What with the fat taxes poured into municipal and State treasuries, what with the big sums contributed to political campaign funds, the liquor-dealers have far too strong a hold on the powers that be to permit such legislation as would make a clean sweep of their business. Nor would impartial thinkers be inclined to consider such wholesale legislation wise or just, under existing circumstances. Still the Prohibition Party has secured a large amount of success; and although it is asserted that it never reaches its ideal, yet it must be granted that it has done much good in many localities.



There is another organization, or, more properly, series of organizations, outside the Church, which, without going as far as the Prohibitionists, are very active in promoting total abstinence. These organizations are composed chiefly of what are called "religious people," that is, of the most active members of various sects. They push the question of total abstinence very far—so far, indeed, that they seem to make of it a sort of new commandment, including all "the law and the prophets." They have ostracized alcoholic drinks from social gatherings, and some sects make total abstinence a *sine qua non* condition for accepting ministers of religion. Much of the success of the movement among non-Catholics is due to the activity and influence of its female apostles.

Within the Catholic Church in the United States there is a strong organization, known as the Catholic Total Abstinence Union, which has existed in its present organized form for more than a quarter of a century, and which claims a membership of many thousands, gathered from all parts of the country. Its stronghold has been and is the Archdiocese of Philadelphia, which is so fruitful in all manner of good works. It has received much encouragement from both clergy and laity. The Holy Father has declared its method to be the "best" or (if we consider the word *optimum* a *superlativo assoluto*) a "very good" remedy for intemperance. Prominent members of the hierarchy have endorsed it; many of the most zealous and learned of the clergy are among its leaders; and the rank and file of its members compare favorably in intelligence and influence with the membership of other organizations. The generally high character of the membership of the Catholic Total Abstinence Union may be accounted for by the fact that it aims not only at embettering the manhood and social position of its members, but, further and especially, at developing their supernatural life. Indeed this is its distinguishing feature. Hence Catholic total abstainers are, as a rule, frequenters of the Sacraments and good church members in every respect.

The work of these several organizations constitutes what may be called the Total Abstinence Movement. It ought to prove interesting to consider the causes which have brought this movement into existence, the results it has already achieved, the obstacles it has to overcome, and the attitude which right-thinking men ought to hold towards it. This we shall endeavor to do.

In considering the cause of this movement, it would not be correct to ascribe it to any particularly excessive tendency for intoxicants on the part of the American people. They have not exceeded in this respect the customs of other peoples of the same latitude. The total abstinence movement may be ascribed rather to the practical common sense of the American people, set in



motion by the effects of an advanced material civilization. One of the immediate results of so-called higher civilization is an abnormal development of the nervous system. The keener competitions for livelihood, the higher standard of requirements for success, the increased strain on mental powers, the worry and anxiety attendant on great operations—these and other conditions of material progress lead to the undue tension of the nerves. This excessive exercise of the nervous system interferes seriously with the lower functions of the human organism, and tends to destroy the equilibrium of vital activities on which physical, and, in a large measure, mental well-being depends. A peculiar characteristic of a high-strung nervous system is that it seeks comfort and solace, not in calm and rest, but in still further excitement. This tendency constitutes the marked affinity for alcoholic beverage which is noticeable in the most highly-developed nervous organisms. The brain which is in a high state of activity seeks to have its activity strengthened by the use of alcoholic stimulants; the body which is feverish with exertion clamors to brace up and prolong its energies by the exciting draught; the heart whose beatings have been over-multiplied by excitement demands a continuance of its ruinous pace from blood set a-boiling by the fire-water. If this tendency is yielded to, if alcoholic stimulants are added to the high pressure caused by environment, it becomes a case of heaping Pelion on Ossa; the nervous system collapses, and bears down in its ruin the entire organism. American common sense has taken cognizance of these conditions and effects of modern life in this climate, and has adopted, to a very considerable extent, what experience points out to be the best, though somewhat drastic, remedy—Total Abstinence. The shrewd American business man knows that he cannot drink stimulants and, at the same time, attend properly to the exacting requirements of his business.

With from eight to ten hours' close application every day, with ever-recurring new methods and enterprises arising around him, with competition becoming closer and closer, the American business or professional man feels that he is under as much strain as his system can bear, and that to increase it by the use of artificial stimulants would eventually culminate in reaction and utter breakdown, leaving him by the wayside. The skilled mechanic perceives that he needs a cool head and steady hand to fulfil the complicated and responsible task which American inventive genius has confided to him. Employees of all kinds have learnt that unimpeachable sobriety is the surest, and in most cases the only, way to gain the confidence of their employers.

And thus the desire to succeed in life and the consciousness that success is utterly incompatible in this order of civilization

with insobriety is one of the chief causes that has led the average American into the temperance movement. Nor is it any excess of enthusiasm that has urged him to prosecute temperance to the extreme limit of total abstinence. He has come to this conclusion by a logical process of reasoning. If the great danger and difficulty of modern life arises from the over-stimulation of the nervous system, then the remedy lies not in adding moderate extraneous fuel to the flames but in withdrawing such fuel altogether.

The Total Abstinence Movement has already achieved very noticeable results. The serving of alcoholic beverages, and even of wines, is ceasing to be good form in the best society. The *menu* of banquets and festive reunions no longer, to the same extent as heretofore, blazons the choice products of the still or the wine-press. Visits are made and received without reference to the side-board and corkscrew. Business and professional men are to be found in larger numbers, day by day, at their occupation with no traces of over-night libations. The working man is growing in self-respect and comfort, in proportion as he is eschewing the saloon. The pernicious system of "treating" no longer obtains as of old. Even the professional politicians are ceasing to have recourse to it. The municipal boss finds that he can and must succeed without the aid of alcohol; the actual President of the Republic has ordered that no wine shall be served on his official table.

To an extent unknown among other peoples of northern latitudes, large numbers of Americans are to be seen in hotels, on ocean steamers, at business conventions, on excursions, enjoying themselves fully yet rationally, transacting momentous business calmly and efficiently, without the accompaniment of strong drink, and without the noise and contention, the blustering and bickering that usually follow in its wake.

Gradually public opinion is being formed in favor of total abstinence. Its votaries no longer find themselves obliged to apologize for their practice, or to make lengthy arguments in its favor. A man can now be a total abstainer without exposing himself to be considered a crank, and without subjecting himself to the insinuation that his teetotalism is due to reaction from excess. Yea, he finds himself all the more respected and influential because of his being a total abstainer.

This marked change in public opinion and practice with reference to total abstinence has been effected in the face of many difficulties and much opposition. The Total Abstinence Movement has had to contend, in the first place, with the craving for strong drink which is a characteristic of northern races. Alcohol is undoubtedly agreeable to most palates in these climates. It re-



joiceth the heart, contributes to good fellowship, spurs the flagging energies, drowns the worrying cares, is an apparent panacea for opposite inconveniences, is cooling against heat and warming against cold, and is to many the one thing without which life is not worth living.

This appetite for strong drink has been fostered by unwise State legislation and by the beneficiaries of such legislation—the brewers, distillers, and liquor-dealers. There is no measuring the influence, whether collectively or individually, of those engaged in the production and distribution of alcoholic beverages. State legislatures cannot resist their bribes; and even high and holy places do not prove impervious to the *douce violence* of their generosity.

But the most serious opposition of all has come to total abstinence from that very large and very exultant body of people known as “moderate drinkers.” It is not easy to define by mode of limitation in what moderate drinking consists, but it is here accepted as including all that lies between the “little wine for the stomach’s sake” and the short-of-intoxication mark. Moderate drinkers have been very much shocked at the theories and practices of certain total abstainers. Well-instructed Catholics, especially, have looked with mistrust on the apparent dogmatizing connected with the American Total Abstinence Movement—the tendency to regard drunkenness as the one sin and total abstinence the one virtue—the holding up the drinking of alcoholic beverages as wrong and sinful *in se*. Moreover, a large proportion of them came from countries where moderate drinking is the rule and drunkenness the exception; where beer and wine are served not behind closed doors, before a bar, but in comfortable surroundings, before the public gaze, and in respectable company.

It is no easy matter to win over this large and respectable class to the cause of total abstinence. And yet the solid progress of the movement is bound up with success in this particular sphere. Total abstinence can easily argue with drunkenness; it can discredit the opposition of the liquor interests; but it can never take hold of the great body of the people until it receives the hearty concurrence of those heretofore known as moderate drinkers. This important class has been somewhat antagonized in the past by the injudicious language and policy of some over-zealous teetotalers. People will not allow themselves to be dragooned and legislated into the belief that the use of alcoholic drinks is wrong even when no injury to health, or no injustice, or no disedification to one’s neighbor follows. Moderate drinkers will not allow themselves to be forced into total abstinence. But it is to be hoped that ever-increasing numbers of them will allow themselves to be reasoned into trying it if it is put fairly before them; and



there can be no doubt that, if they once give it an honest trial, their own experience will confirm them in its practice.

Herein lies the most fruitful field for the future apostolate of the total abstainers. If they succeed in enlisting in their ranks considerable numbers of those who were hitherto classed as moderate drinkers, lasting triumph for the cause of total abstinence will have been secured.

This will be the most effective way of closing the breweries and distilleries, and their offshoots, the saloons; for, once the demand ceases, the supply will not be forthcoming. Now the steadiest demand for strong drink, and the strongest support of the liquor-dealers, comes not from the few who drink to excess, but from the many who claim to drink in moderation. And it is not only by the large quantities consumed that these latter support the liquor business, but especially by their patronage. This patronage is all the more valuable for the liquor-dealers in proportion as those who give it are respectable and influential. It is vain to expect the lower masses to shun the saloons and the adulterated beer and maddening whiskey as long as those whom they naturally look up to as leaders are known to worship in a similar temple under the different name of hotel, or club, or library, and at the same fountain, under a more refined and costly form.

The future development of the Total Abstinence Movement thus depends on the attitude towards it of the influential, the educated, the respectable members of society. There can be no questioning what that attitude should be. If it can be proved that total abstinence is a reasonable practice, that it makes better and happier men, that it enables them to fulfil better their family and social duties, that it helps to make them better and more solid Christians, and that it is for most people in this country the only safeguard of temperance, then it is incumbent on those who are in a position to influence their fellow-men to co-operate in this movement.

Now, all these arguments in favor of total abstinence can readily be made manifest. It is, in the first place, a *reasonable* practice. We may safely conclude that a practice is reasonable if we find, on consideration, that no principle of necessity or utility militates against it, and if, especially, it has solid advantages to recommend it. Science proclaims that the use of alcohol is not necessary for the bodily wants of a person in good health. What is necessary for our existence is sound, blood-producing food and sufficient liquid to dilute it. Alcohol is not only not necessary but useless for supplying these wants. It contains no blood-producing properties, and, as a diluent, it is inferior to water. Ex-

perience comes in to confirm the evidence of science. All those who have given up even moderate drinking, and practiced total abstinence for any considerable time, bear testimony that their health is better without than it ever was with alcoholic drink. The truth is that alcohol is an element entirely extern to our system; it enters into it only as a poison. The prevailing notions about its utility as a nourisher, heater or wholesome stimulant are altogether ill-founded. Of nourishment, alcohol gives absolutely none; of heat-giving properties, it has less than any non-alcoholic warm drink. Science tells us that it even lowers the temperature of the body. As a stimulant, it undoubtedly braces up and excites for the moment, but its use is invariably followed by reaction. The depressed of spirit, no less than the excited, use it to their greater woe. Brain-workers, especially, act wisely in resisting their strong inclination for it. "Of all people I know," said the late Sir H. Thompson, the most eminent authority of our times, "who cannot stand alcohol, the brain-workers can do so least." And another recognized authority, Dr. W. Gull, says: "All alcohol injures the nerve-tissue of the brain; it may quicken the operations, but it does not improve them." Positive experiment has exploded the old notion that alcohol was useful for digestion; it is now known that it rather impedes it. Even French medical authorities recognize that the supposed usefulness of the time-honored *pousse-café* is a fallacy.

Nor can it be maintained any longer, in the light of either science or experience, that the use of alcohol, while neither necessary nor useful, may be considered of indifferent import to health. Alcohol, even when used moderately, is positively injurious to a healthy human system. We say "healthy" because, in case of certain diseases, it may, like other poisons, prove beneficial. It is the most fecund parent of disease of every kind and in every part of the body, from the gouty toe to the bedimmed brain.

But there are other and higher motives than that of bodily health for practicing total abstinence. Man is a composite being, composed of soul and body. The soul is the substantial form of the latter, the principle of man's life, the constituting element that distinguishes him from all other terrestrial creatures. Man is perfect as man in proportion as each of the constituent parts of his being is perfect in itself and in due relation to the other. The old adage—*mens sana in corpore sano*—expresses the perfection of the parts, but it does not touch the more important question of the harmony that should exist between them.

The absence of this harmony in man as known to history, the evident conflict between mind and body, is one of the problems which human philosophy cannot solve. Revelation alone gives



the key to it. Through revelation we discover man coming forth from the hands of his Creator, perfect in every part of his being, with all his physical organism in entire subjection to his soul, and with soul and body together informed by the supernatural principle of Divine Grace. Revelation tells us how the supernatural principle was lost, and how the loss of it entailed the rupture of harmonious relations between the two elements of man's nature ; how the lower or animal part of man set itself in revolt against the higher or spiritual. The restoration of Grace through the Incarnate Word of God did not carry with it the restoration of the original harmony between the elements of man's nature. But the work of the Redemption, together with the Divine Life and teachings of the Son of God, has supplied the best means and indicated the best methods for recovering this lost harmony, And thus the most perfect Christian, that is, the man who is most influenced by Divine Grace and by the teachings of the Saviour, is the most perfect man. He approaches nearest the original ideal when man's reason held full sway over his passions, when mind ruled supreme over body, and when both were enlivened and governed by supernatural Grace. Hence the true way to elevate humanity is to bring it more and more under the influence of the Redemption. The sublime privilege " to be and to be called the sons of God " purchased by the Precious Blood of the Eternal Son is the highest goal to which humanity can aspire. Millions of martyrs have shed their blood in witness unto the restoration of this privilege. Millions of confessors have spent themselves in preaching its gospel, and every true man feels an abiding thankfulness for the renewed humanity in himself, and a longing to communicate its blessings to others. And this gratitude and zeal will lead him to avail himself of every praiseworthy means to attain this desired end.

The great glory of total abstinence is that it supplies one of the readiest and most efficient means for perfecting man in the natural sphere, and for preparing him for the influence of the supernatural. In other words, it helps to make better men and better Christians.

Total abstinence certainly perfects the natural elements of manhood, body and mind. It contributes to the health of the body, as we have already seen, makes it less subject to disease, enables it to recover more readily from fatigue ; it keeps the blood pure, steadies the nerves, and strengthens the muscles. Athletes, ancient and modern, have practiced it as a matter of course ; it produced the models of Phidias and Praxiteles. Nor is it less beneficial for the mind. The total abstainer may never reach the giddy heights the alcohol-stimulated brain sometimes attains ; but for clearness of conception, sureness of judgment, steadiness of re-



solve, the mind of the total abstainer enjoys special advantages. If it feels less stimulation, it also feels less reaction; if it feels less enthusiasm, it feels less depression. Sobriety and wisdom are the twin offspring of total abstinence; recklessness and insanity of alcohol.

And not only are mind and body benefited separately by total abstinence, but their mutual relations are thereby harmonized. It facilitates the dependence of body on mind, of matter on spirit, of passion on reason, which formed the foundation of man's original kingship. The total abstainer has more control over his passions; and these passions are in him less violent. The irritability caused by over-stimulated nerves, the moroseness caused by diseased liver, the exuberant good humor of one moment, the extreme dejection of another, are practically unknown to the total abstainer. He is master of his movements; from the strong citadel of a calm, unobfuscated mind he rules every part of his being with something of that supreme authority which the first man exercised before his fall. Even the strongest and most degrading of all passions, that of animal sensuality, is, generally speaking, restrained by total abstinence, as it is aroused and fomented by alcohol. Indeed total abstinence and purity are the great allies for building up, just as intemperance and impurity for pulling down, the temple of humanity. Few more suggestive sayings have been uttered by one of the greatest of thinkers than the words put into the mouth of his favorite character, old Adam, in "As You Like It":—

"Though I look old, yet I am strong and lusty:  
For in my youth I never did apply  
Hot and rebellious liquors in my blood;  
Nor did not with unabashful folly woo  
The means of weakness and debility."

"Hot and rebellious liquors in the blood" are the fomenters of lust, the fuel that gives fire, and the foul atmosphere that fans the flame of impurity—the unabashful wooers of "the means of weakness and debility."

Total abstinence, on the contrary, is a source of bodily strength, and a powerful restraint on disorderly passions.

And the total abstainer, who is thus master of himself, is all the better enabled to fulfil his duties, whether in the narrow circle of the family or in the broader circle of society. Who can think with any other feeling than one of horror of the families where alcoholism reigns—of the parents addicted to drink who bring children into the world infected with the poison of alcohol, and through it with the germs of loathsome disease; who bring up their children in an atmosphere of squalor and disorder, who

teach lessons of dissipation to the opening intelligence, and who thus lay the foundation of the physical and moral ruin of their little ones? Contrast this condition with that of the family where total abstinence reigns. The parents who are total abstainers have mutual love and peace among themselves. Their children are fresh and strong, without any taint of or any hereditary tendency to maddening drink. As they grow up, their opening minds are filled with respect for the parents who keep before them a high Christian ideal. And the parents labor cheerfully and successfully to provide for the family wants; they do not waste and squander their family's means in purchasing poison and poverty for themselves and palatial luxury for the liquor-dealers. It is in such families that the ideal relations of father and mother, son and daughter, most largely exist.

In much the same manner total abstinence contributes to make better citizens. The greatest need for good citizenship in this country is thoughtfulness and independence. The total abstainer is far more thoughtful than the heedless enthusiast or pessimist whose views are largely dependent on the quality and amount of alcoholic drink that he has consumed. He is also more independent. He cannot be bought by the social cup; and independence in this respect makes him independent in other matters, too. And thoughtful, independent citizens are the bulwark of the State. The theory that the liquor business adds to the wealth of the State is utterly fallacious. The revenue from its taxation is ultimately drawn from the consumer, that is, in most cases, from the sweat and blood, the poverty and degradation of the State's own citizens. The history of the liquor business in every community is twice cursed—cursing the producer and the consumers, the supply and the demand. "Ill-got, ill-gone," is written on every page of the history of the former; "ruin," physical and moral, on that of the latter. A State does not gain, in the end, by sucking the life's blood of its own children.

The true man which total abstinence does so much to produce—the man of right-ordered physique, of mental equilibrium, with the elements of his nature well-developed separately and harmonized in their operations—the naturally perfect man, is an excellent foundation for the supernatural Christian. Grace operates on and through nature; the more perfect the nature, the easier and more effective are the operations of Grace. Hence the facility with which the total abstainer lends himself to the influence of the supernatural. His whole being is in harmony with the great fundamental principle of Christianity—self-denial. Having denied himself even the moderate and perfectly licit use of alcoholic beverage, he finds it far easier to deny himself both the enjoy-



ments which fallen nature craves for but divine law forbids, as well as the numerous other things which "are lawful, but not expedient" for the perfect Christian. Mortification and development, pruning and grafting, is the great process of the spiritual as of the vegetative life. Total Abstinence is a strong factor in the work of hurrying the seed; Divine Grace does the fructifying.

Some may argue that what is here put forth in favor of total abstinence, considered in its effects, may also be asserted of the moderate and prudent use of strong drink. There is no denying that a strictly moderate drinker may be a model man and a model Christian. Many of the saints and many of the world's greatest men have been drinkers of wine. The use of drink, like that of food, should be regulated by the dictates of right reason. Now, the ordinary criterion by which right reason judges in such matters is that of health. The taking of any food or drink which is not injurious to health is, under ordinary circumstances, perfectly reasonable and licit.

But there may be circumstances that would render the taking of such drink, however innoxious in itself, altogether illicit, or, at least, undesirable. Such circumstances would be, for instance, the danger of giving disedification, the counteracting public opinion, or the exposing oneself to intemperance in a given time or country. This doctrine is clearly laid down by St. Augustine. In his work, "*De Moribus Manichæorum*," written at Rome, after his conversion, for the express purpose of refuting the Manichean superstitions, which held the use of flesh meat and wine bad in itself, and a breaking of what they considered one of the seals of justification, he lays down three reasonable motives for abstaining from wine—first, to restrain the delectation which wine causes, and which leads to intoxication; secondly, to protect the weaker brethren, who would not touch wine because they saw it offered in libations to false gods; thirdly, *and especially*, for charity's sake, not to weaken the resolution of those weaker ones for whom such total abstinence is necessary.<sup>1</sup>

This same doctrine is set forth by St. Thomas. After laying down the principle that the use of things considered necessary or useful for bodily health and condition is in accordance with the virtue of temperance, he condemns as sinful the use of such as are injurious; and, while admitting the licitness of the moderate use

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<sup>1</sup> Apparet, igitur, ut opinor, quo fine a carnibus, et vino sit abstinendum. Is finis est triplex. Ad comprimendam delectationem, quæ in his maxime cibis haberi solet, atque in tali potu usque ad ebrietatem pervenire. Ad tuendam infirmitatem, propter illa quæ sacrificantur atque libantur. Est quod maxime commendandum est, propter caritatem, ne imbecilliorum ab his continentium offendatur infirmitas.—*De Mor. Manich.*, lib. ii., cap. xiv., n. 35.



of such things as are not injurious to health, he circumscribes even this moderate use by considerations of place, time, and agreement with the opinions and customs prevalent among those with whom we live.<sup>1</sup>

This doctrine of St. Augustine and St. Thomas is founded on the well-known teaching of St. Paul in the Epistle to the Romans, and in the first Epistle to the Corinthians. "It is good not to eat flesh, and not to drink wine, nor anything whereby thy brother is offended, or scandalized, or made weak."<sup>2</sup> "Now, we that are stronger ought to bear the infirmities of the weak, and not to please ourselves. Let everyone of you please his neighbor unto good, to edification; for Christ did not please himself."<sup>3</sup> "But meat doth not commend us to God. . . . But take heed lest perhaps this your liberty become a stumbling-block to the weak. . . . And through thy knowledge shall the weak brother perish for whom Christ hath died? Now when you sin thus against the brethren, and wound their weak conscience, you sin against Christ. Wherefore if meat scandalize my brother, I will never eat flesh, lest I should scandalize my brother."<sup>4</sup>

The meaning of this language is clear and thoroughly in accord with the dictates of right reason. What is indifferent in itself may cease to be so in certain circumstances; what may be perfectly prudent and temperate in a given place or time or company may cease to be so under altered surroundings. This is particularly true of the use of drink. The moderate and legitimate use of wine which prevails in certain European countries cannot be indulged in here without, as a rule, offending very many weaker brethren. Some it encourages to pursue the high road to excess; others it positively disedifies. There seems to be for the average American no middle course practicable between total abstinence and more or less intemperance. The reasons of this have been already given—the high nervous tension caused by this advanced material civilization, and the consequent tendency for strong alcoholic stimulants. America is not a wine-consuming country; whiskey and adulterated beer are the common beverage. To encourage by one's example the consumption of these ruin-producing products is clearly against charity in a country like this; to lessen it and to form a healthy public opinion against it is a duty on the

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<sup>1</sup> Unde Philosophus dicit in 3 Ethic. quod temperatus appetit delectabilia propter sanitatem, vel propter bonam habitudinem. Alia vero quæ ad hoc non sunt necessaria, possunt dupliciter se habere. Quædam enim sunt impedimenta sanitatis, vel bonæ habitudinis; et his temperatus nullo modo utitur, hoc enim esset peccatum contra temperantiam. Quædam vera sunt quæ non sunt his impedimenta; et his moderate utitur pro loco et tempore et congruentia eorum quibus convivit.—2a 2æ, Qæxli, A vi., ad 2.

<sup>2</sup> Rom. xiv., 21.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, xv., 1, 2, 3.

<sup>4</sup> I. Cor. viii., 8, 9, 11, 12, 13.

part of the strong and the influential. The sacrifice demanded by total abstinence is as nothing when compared with the rich harvest of blessings for oneself and for others which it secures. No total abstainer will ever regret having made his sacrifice for conscience sake, and for the sake of his weaker brethren; and not a day will pass but his heart will be gladdened by the great things which the Almighty will have accomplished through him. Those who read history closely, and who open their eyes to what is happening around them, know what a foul demon alcohol has been and is, and must feel that it is high time that he be unmasked, and dragged down from the throne whence he has reigned and ruled so long, whence he has spread such havoc and desolation, such crime and immorality, such misery and ruin, such death and destruction. Thoughtful men must know of the misfortunes and crimes that can be traced to alcohol's malignant influence. They know of the benighted parents whom it has made monsters of guilt towards one another and towards their little ones. They know of the children whom it has made homeless and fatherless and motherless. They know of the mouths which it has made hungry, of the limbs that it has made naked, of the brains that it has consigned to asylums. They know of the men whom it has made base and unmanly, of the women whom it has made shameless and unwomanly, of the children whom it has cast adrift into the vortex of perdition. They know of the homes that it has desecrated, the family ties it has severed, the family histories it has tarnished and disgraced. They know of the talents it has ruined, the prospects it has blighted, the lives it has wasted.

And knowing all this, true men will surely feel pressed by the charity of Christ to take a hand in dethroning alcohol by the most efficient, we may almost say, in the special circumstances of America, the only efficient weapon—Total Abstinence.

JOHN T. MURPHY, C.S. Sp.

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## RECENT PHASES OF BIBLE STUDY.

IT is not the intention of the present writer to give a list of the current literature on Bible study, nor to enumerate and characterize the more prominent workers in this field of investigation; he intends only to draw attention to some of the more important directions of work and thought developed during the course of the last few years. Completeness demands that no branch of even the introductory sciences be neglected in this review; in point of fact, it is probably in these preliminary branches that we shall find the most interesting and fundamental developments in both research and result. The true idea of inspiration, the Catholic rule of biblical exegesis, the present state of higher criticism, recent exploration and discovery, together with some of the more important commentaries, will, therefore, form the main topics of the following remarks.

"Inspiration Considered as a Trend"<sup>1</sup> is another practical proof that the inspiration of all the books of Holy Scripture, or of Holy Scripture simply and purely, cannot be demonstrated independently of the authority of the Church. The author defines "trend" as the "tendency that makes for an end and also for the potency that gains it." Now, "there are minds so constituted that an unmistakable trend is more convincing than the sight of the ultimate goal." For these the "trend in the various theories of inspiration proposed by devout students of the Bible, and that shown by the Bible itself," is the best proof for the divine inspiration of the Scriptures; for the direction of facts and theories justifies the assumption of inspiration, though the attainment of proof be impossible. Proceeding on these principles, the author first states his subject and discusses the questions involved; he next shows the common trend between the Bible and the institutions of the race, between the Bible and practical morals. Meanwhile, he touches the point that inspiration itself is the trend, "the same music, but grander," growing fuller and clearer through a long biblical history and the slow growth of many biblical conceptions. While Catholics admit that the light of revelation increased in brightness from the garden of Eden to the time of Jesus Christ and His apostles, they are careful to avoid such terms for the expression of this increase as might represent it in the form of a merely natural development; at the same time they are sure of

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<sup>1</sup> By D. W. Faunce, D.D., Philadelphia, American Baptist Public. Soc.



the divine inspiration of the Bible not on the strength of a hypothesis that fitly explains a number of concentric facts, but on the authority of the infallible testimony of Christ's Church.

Mr. William T. Stead, of the "London Review of Reviews," is of opinion that "the discovery of the composite nature of many of the sacred books and their comparatively late origin has necessitated a change in the theory of inspiration."<sup>1</sup> How the writer infers a change of inspiration from either the composite character of the sacred books or their late origin is beyond our comprehension; for, even though much of the Old Testament be not an original work, but only a kind of review of reviews of the history and traditions of Israel—an assumption which we do not admit—it does not follow that either God in His inspiration or the inspired writer acts in the composition of the sacred books as Mr. Stead does when he monthly sieves and sifts "the voluminous mass of periodical literature, summarizing, condensing, and extracting, in order to get the main ideas of the writer into definite focus and manageable compass." And what is the change suggested by Mr. Stead? "On this subject it is absurd to dogmatize," continues the writer; the roughest outline of the new doctrine of inspiration must suffice, according to his opinion. Accordingly, we are informed that divine inspiration did not primarily flow into a book, but into the life of the Hebrew race. "There it germinated and grew until it bore fruit in certain pre-eminently-inspired personalities, such as Amos and Isaiah." It was the prophets and pious men that became the channels of the conception of the divine character and purpose which found its decisive culmination in the person of Jesus Christ. "The various books of the Old Testament mirror more or less accurately the various phases or stages of the evolution of the God-idea." The inspired writers were not infallible, but their errors never eclipsed the inspiring central idea of God and His kingdom, which always dominated the prophet, the editor, and the race. Such, we are told, "may be taken as the opinion of the more believing members of the school of higher critics." If we understand Mr. Stead aright, he regards the Old Testament prophets as mere enthusiasts such as we find, at times, in the temperance movement, while the other inspired writers are nothing but the editors of the works written under the influence of this moral enthusiasm.

Wilhelm Lotz<sup>2</sup> appears to agree with the foregoing opinion substantially; inspiration is nothing else but the aggregate of the divine actions by means of which God has disposed events in such a way as to make the Bible a book adapted to his end in the his-

<sup>1</sup> January, 1897.

<sup>2</sup> *Geschichte und Offenbarung im Alten Testament*, Leipzig, 1893, p. 211.

torical development of salvation. The "Imitation of Christ" and the "Spiritual Exercises of St. Ignatius," not to mention the works of the Fathers and the great theologians, are inspired in the strict sense of the word, if the word be taken in the sense of Lotz's definition.

The idea of inspiration described by W. Sanday<sup>1</sup> as the inductive theory of inspiration does not materially differ from the foregoing view, at least when it is taken in its completeness. Not to mention the different opinions concerning inspiration expressed in "A Clerical Symposium on Inspiration,"<sup>2</sup> we must draw attention to the last article of the collection in which Dr. Farrar summarizes and reviews all the preceding views. The Bible is a mere record of revelation; the expression "word of God" is not scriptural, but springs from the superstitious reverence for the Bible that has led men to the horrors of the Inquisition. When the apostles or evangelists write the history of Christianity, we perceive in their writing the voice of God making itself heard in the history of the world. In the same sense writes Canon Cheyne in the preface to his new book on the prophet Isaias<sup>3</sup>, that the Bible is doubtless the vehicle of the spiritual messages addressed by Heaven to those souls that can attain spiritual truth. Again, that it is a record of the development of the spiritual life of Israel, and of the progressive expansion of Israel's thoughts over other more elevated nations. Other Protestant writers define inspiration rather by the effect produced by the reading of the sacred books than by their divine origin or their sacred contents; according to them, the Bible is inspired because it is inspiring.<sup>4</sup> Here, then, is another illustration of the pendulum-like movement of human thought. Originally Protestant writers regarded the Bible as the book of God in such a manner as to make mere machines of the inspired writers, while the Protestants of our day ascribe the Bible to the inspired writers in such a manner as to exclude the special and supernatural authorship of God. The words of protest against this destructive notion of inspiration addressed by the Protestant bishops, assembled in New York in October, 1894, to the ministers of their respective obediences, have remained without effect, and are, according to the opinion of Dr. Hodge, hardly worthy of mention.<sup>5</sup>

Among Catholics, too, a discussion has been raised concerning the true idea of inspiration. Fathers Pègues<sup>6</sup> and Lagrange<sup>7</sup> have

<sup>1</sup> *Inspiration*, Bampton Lectures, 1893, London, 1894, pp. 392 ff.

<sup>2</sup> London, 1884.

<sup>3</sup> Introduction to the *Book of Isaiah*, London, 1895, p. x.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. *The Arena*, January, 1896, p. 188.

<sup>5</sup> *The Arena*, January, 1896, p. 188.

<sup>6</sup> *Revue Thomiste*, March, 1895; *Revue Biblique*, January, 1897.

<sup>7</sup> *Revue Biblique*, October, 1895, pp. 563 ff.; April, 1896, pp. 199 ff.; October, 1896, pp. 485 ff.



endeavored to lead our theologians and Bible students back to what they call the doctrine of St. Thomas on the nature of inspiration. They insist on the distinction between revelation and inspiration: the former implies that God supernaturally proposes or communicates certain truths to the created mind, while the latter supposes only that God supplies the mind with an infallible judgment concerning the truthfulness of certain thoughts already present in the mind. To illustrate what we mean, we may compare a teacher who makes his pupils memorize the propositions of Euclid with another who makes them understand what they have memorized under the direction of his predecessor, and both with a third who combines the good qualities of the other two teachers. The first of these teachers may be regarded as representing God in revelation, the second as symbolizing God in inspiration, the third as typifying God in the combined action of revelation and inspiration. Less is said by the foregoing writers about the divine action on the will of the inspired writer; on this point their theory does not seem to differ from what has been held commonly by recent theological writers on this subject. Where, then, is the practical application of all this? First, in the definition of inspiration; for while other authors view revelation as the complex of God's actions on the inspired writer's intellect and will, whether God actually communicates a given truth for the first time or only supplies the judgment concerning its truthfulness, Fathers Pègues and Lagrange find inspiration, strictly so called, only in the latter case, while they see in the former both inspiration and revelation. Secondly, they contend that with this idea of inspiration it is quite possible to admit and defend the theory of verbal inspiration, which alone they represent as conformable with Christian tradition and as consistent with Catholic dogma. Thirdly, Father Lagrange is of opinion that his view of inspiration is quite adapted to explain the difficulties raised against the inspiration of the Bible by the literary, scientific, rationalistic and historical criticism of our day. Fairness demands an additional word of explanation. Since inspiration as defined by the learned Dominican Fathers does not imply the supernatural communication of the truth or of the word expressive of the truth, but only the supernatural judgment concerning the truthfulness of the thought and concerning the propriety of a given word to express a certain thought, it is plain that the inspired writer may be left to his own industry to find out the material of his book as well as the language to be employed therein. This does not exclude a special providence directing the writer in his labor and facilitating the same. After the matter and the verbal expression of the book have been thus worked out by the writer, God steps in and infuses into the writer's mind an in-



fallible judgment concerning the truthfulness of the thought, concerning its practical adaptability for the book, and concerning the propriety of its verbal expression chosen by the author. In this way God inspires not only every thought of the book, but also every word; at the same time both thought and word are the outcome of the inspired writer's mind and work, so that we must expect to find in them the picture of the author's style and intellectual endowment. Passages quoted from other writers can thus be appropriated by the inspired writer, and the artistic forms of profane literature can thus be employed in the sacred books of the inspired prophet and historian, so that no argument against the inspired character of a book can be based on its use of previous documents, or on its presenting recognized figures of rhetoric, or even on its appearance in the garb of poetry, parable or fiction.

All this is true and clear, but does not differ from what has been said on the same questions by other writers, except in the use of terms. Cardinal Franzelin, *e.g.*, knows the difference between God's communicating the thought itself to the inspired writer and illuminating the writer's mind concerning a known truth, just as the foregoing writers distinguish between the revelation of a truth and the infused judgment concerning its truthfulness;<sup>1</sup> again, Cardinal Franzelin denies that, in general, the words themselves are communicated by God to the sacred writer, though God's assistance in the choice and use of the words is emphasized by him<sup>2</sup> just as the foregoing writers deny that God reveals the words to the inspired writer, but maintain that he infuses into them the infallible judgment concerning the propriety of the language to be used in the sacred book; furthermore, Cardinal Franzelin agrees with the foregoing writers in maintaining that the language of the inspired author presents all the peculiarities of profane literature.<sup>3</sup> Where, then, do the learned Dominican writers differ from Cardinal Franzelin? It is in the use of the term "inspiration" that the difference makes itself felt; the Cardinal does not call "inspiration" the action of God that influences the choice and use of words on the part of the sacred writer, while the two Dominican Fathers express this divine action, *suppositis supponendis*, by the name "inspiration." In consequence, the Cardinal denies that the words of the inspired books are simply inspired, while the Dominican Fathers maintain "verbal inspiration." It sounds, therefore, somewhat comical when the "*Revue Biblique*" writes of Fr. Lagrange's system as the traditional one, and adds: "L'apologie n'en souffrira pas, elle est plus à l'aise dans les vastes édifices de la théologie tra-

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *De Divina Tradit. et Script.*, Romæ, 1882, pp. 347 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Franzelin, *De Divina Trad. et Script.*, Romæ, 1882, pp. 350 ff.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Franzelin, *l. c.*, pp. 352 f.

ditionelle que dans les constructions modernes dressées à la hâte, comme un abri provisoire, par le Cardinal Franzelin."<sup>1</sup> Again, when one reads,<sup>2</sup> "On voit que nous nous écartons dès le point de depart de la methode du Cardinal Franzelin," and sees how near Fr. Lagrange comes to the Cardinal's conclusions in the end, one is reminded of the old saw, "Parturiunt montes, nascetur ridiculus mus."

Profs. Kaulen and Schöpfer<sup>3</sup> have had quite a tilt about the relation between the results of profane science and the principles of exegesis. The discussion naturally stirred up other writers to express their views on the subject. Among these must be noticed Fr. v. Hummelauer,<sup>4</sup> Prof. Schanz,<sup>5</sup> Canon Selbst<sup>6</sup> and Fr. Nisius.<sup>7</sup> It is to be regretted that the point at issue has from the start been too much obscured by the feeling of the principal combatants. In point of fact, the difference of opinion between the two learned professors is not as great as their writings make it appear to be, on account of their lack of a more objective attitude. The question at issue is whether a commentator may differ from the obvious meaning of a passage in Scripture and from its traditional explanation, on account of the results of scientific discoveries. Dr. Schöpfer maintains the affirmative in both parts of the question; moreover, he maintains that even probable results in the field of scientific investigation ought to have their proper weight in true biblical exegesis, a weight proportionate to the amount of probability of the scientific result. The author appeals to the Encyclical "Providentissimus Deus," to St. Augustin, Albertus Magnus, St. Bonaventure, and finally to the Tridentine and the Vatican decrees, together with their commentators, for the proof of his contention. Prof. Kaulen believes the foregoing opinion makes the results of profane science the corrective of the Bible, finding errors in the Bible on the testimony of natural sciences; again, he is of opinion that Dr. Schöpfer endeavors to explain the sacred text according to the dictates of profane science without first determining its meaning according to the recognized principles of hermeneutics. On his own part, Prof. Kaulen seems in one passage to deny that the Scripture commentator should in any way be guided by the results of science, and to place on science the burden of harmonizing its results with the exegesis of the Bible;<sup>8</sup> in another passage the professor is of opinion that the commen-

<sup>1</sup> *Revue Biblique*, 1895, p. 571.

<sup>2</sup> *Revue Biblique*, 1896, p. 206.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. *Literarischer Handweiser*, 1895, nn. 4, 5; *Bibel und Wissenschaft, Grundsätze und deren Anwendung auf die Probleme der biblischen Urgeschichte*, by Dr. Aem. Schöpfer, Brixen, 1896.

<sup>4</sup> *Zeitschrift f. k. Theologie*, Innsbruck, 1897, pp. 152 ff.

<sup>5</sup> *Biblische Studien*, zweites Heft.

<sup>6</sup> *Katholik*, 1895, pp. 552 ff.

<sup>7</sup> *Zeitschrift f. k. Theologie*, Innsbruck, 1897, pp. 155 ff.

<sup>8</sup> P. 123.



tator's knowledge of sciences should only serve to refute the scientific objections against the divine character of the Bible.

If we examine the position of the two combatants, we find that Kaulen acts against his own tenets, for he endeavors to strengthen his view on the confusion of languages by an appeal to acknowledged scientific authorities.<sup>1</sup> Besides, he grants that an explanation of Scripture which contradicts an established fact of physical science is certainly false. On the other hand, the proofs advanced by Schöpfer for his thesis are not convincing. The Encyclical advises the use of external erudition in the explanation of Scriptures—"externa quoque appositæ eruditionis illustratio societur"—and does not at all enumerate the results of profane science among the criteria of Bible interpretation. St. Augustin in his "Confessions" and "Gen. ad lit.," and St. Thomas in his "Commentary on the Sentences," do not touch upon the rules of Scriptural hermeneutics, but only endeavor to give a dogmatico-philosophical explanation of the truths of faith. Finally, when the Vatican Council, repeating and explaining the Tridentine injunction concerning the interpretation of Sacred Scripture, says, "Ut in rebus fidei et morum, ad ædificationem doctrinæ Christianæ pertinentium, is pro vero sensu Sacræ Scripturæ habendus sit, quem tenuit ac tenet Sancta Mater Ecclesia," it does not thereby declare that in other matters the Catholic commentator is independent of the authority of the Church in his explanation of Sacred Scripture, and may, therefore, follow the results, certain or otherwise, of profane science without regard to the tenets of Catholic tradition and the teaching of the Fathers. Granderath in his commentary on the Vatican decrees is quite pronounced on this point: "Animadvertendum est, hæc concilia ita statuere, Scripturæ interpretem in rebus religiosis ita ecclesiæ interpretationem sequi debere, ut non dicant eum in rebus quæ religiosæ non sint, liberum esse. Hoc alterum neque illis Conciliorum decretis formaliter continetur neque ex iis immediate effici potest." If we, therefore, strip the contentions of both Schöpfer and Kaulen of their respective excesses, we come to the conclusion that both agree, at least, in this, that the results of science, whether certain or only probable, are an external and negative criterion in the interpretation of Holy Scripture; they show, in other words, what in certain texts cannot be the true meaning of Scripture without furnishing a positive key to its genuine sense.

Professor Zöckler, of Greifswald,<sup>2</sup> gives a bird's-eye view of the present state of Old Testament criticism. According to him the struggle is raging more hotly now than ever before. In both the

<sup>1</sup> P. 122.

<sup>2</sup> *Beweis des Glaubens*, n 12.



antagonistic camps, the liberal and the conservative, scholars are now drawing the practical conclusions of modern criticism in so far as they affect the Church and the teaching of faith. Even outsiders, belonging to circles not directly engaged in the controversy, begin to understand and appreciate the vital issue at stake, whether we are to adhere to the new Marcionism which practically removes the books of the Old Testament from the canon of the inspired writings, and thus destroys the historic basis of revealed religion; for what began with the Pentateuchal question within the limits of scholastic circles has now become a contest covering the entire Old Testament, and penetrated into our periodical literature and our polychrome bibles, wherein the effect of the work of the higher critics upon the traditional theories of inspiration is made plain to plain men. Nearly the entire Old Testament literature, and in particular the Psalms, we are told, really originated in post-exilic times, the oldest book of the whole collection being "Osee." The law is not the beginning of the literary and religious development in Israel, but almost its end; for it was only after the prophets had developed monotheism in Israel that the priests endeavored to regulate the worship of the people mainly by the legal code, and that the sapiential and ascetic writers began to influence the interior life of the nation by their respective productions. The traditional conception of Israel's history is thus literally turned upside down, as far as the origin of the sacred books is concerned. According to the higher critics, the legal canon may be regarded as complete about the time of Esdras and Nehemias,<sup>1</sup> when the Pentateuch was promulgated, while the prophetic writings were collected into their canon about 250 B.C., and the canon of the hagiographa may probably be placed about 100 B.C. It is only in this way that, according to the contention of the critics, the religion of the Old Testament and its growth can be intelligently explained as a phenomenon of history.

On the other hand, the conservative defenders of the traditional view maintain that the foregoing theory is nothing but naturalism, "a religion of the era of Darwin." Excellent use has been made, also, of the position of Christ and the Apostles with reference to the Old Testament, its canonical authority, and its historical character and inspiration. The evident disagreement between the position of Christ and that of the modern critics in reference to the Old Testament and the Scriptures in general has worried and perplexed these critics not a little, and has led to many devices aiming to overthrow this argument, which, however, only succeed in the degree in which the divine character of Christ is ignored or denied.

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<sup>1</sup> B.C. 444.

While the higher critics are represented by such men as Wellhausen, Kuenen, Cheyne, Driver, Wildeboer, Reuss, Robertson, Smith, the conservative side is defended by Green, Bissel, Rohnert, Kölling, Rupprecht, Adolf Zahn. Professor Sayce endeavors to carry the battle into the very ranks of the liberals by urging the results of recent archæological studies against them, and Fritz Hommel<sup>1</sup> irritates them by pointing out the antiquity of the personal names in the so-called Priestly Code. Much has been said and written in the liberal camp against Professor Sayce's premises and Professor Hommel's conclusion. If the higher critics were as careful about their own statement of facts and the logical conclusiveness of their own inferences as they expect their opponents to be, their theories about the composite character of the Old Testament books and the late origin of the same would soon vanish into thin air. This may be said in general without investigating in each particular point of controversy how far each of the contesting parties is right or wrong.

The popular attitude to the views of higher criticism among the conservative Protestants and Jews of our day may be learned by calling to mind two incidents of this year. In his series of sermons "On the Bible as Literature," delivered in the Plymouth pulpit, Brooklyn, Dr. Lyman Abbott treated on January 24th of the Book of Jonas, representing it as "a satire, conceived in the spirit of Oriental imagination, and depending for its value on the lesson of which it is a vehicle." The words of Christ referring to the history of Jonas,<sup>2</sup> the Reverend Speaker considers as a mere addition to Christ's words made either by St. Matthew or some early copyist. On the Wednesday following the sermon, the Manhattan Association of Congregational Ministers—the Plymouth pulpit belongs to the Congregational Communion—after some animated discussion, passed the following resolution by a vote of 20 to 6: "In view of certain recent and current public utterances from a prominent Congregational pulpit in this city concerning the Bible, which are being widely disseminated by the press, we, the members of the Manhattan Association of Congregational Ministers, fearing lest our silence be accepted by the uninformed as an indorsement of these views, do declare our emphatic dissent from such handling of Holy Scriptures, and deplore the probable effect of such teachings." Rev. Sam. Eliot, of the First Unitarian Church of Brooklyn, personally agrees with Dr. Abbott in his views on the Book of Jonas, but thinks "that straightforward methods demand that men of the liberal orthodoxy no longer remain within the orthodox church." The

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Ancient Hebrew Tradition*, May, 1897, published simultaneously in English and German.

<sup>2</sup> Matth., xii., 40.



"Christian Advocate"<sup>1</sup> has in its issue of January 20th an editorial on the "Personal Equation," and is of opinion that when Dr. Abbott writes or speaks "on religious doctrine, there is a delightful vagueness, reminding one of a panorama of castles and mountains on elevated heights, across which iridescent clouds are being driven by the summer breeze." The Reverend Gentleman "advances, retreats, modifies, advances again, here emphasizing and there ignoring passages of Scripture, until the result is a system of tentative theories which for the want of a suitable expression we will venture to call Lyman-Abbottized Christianity." "The Independent"<sup>2</sup> summarizes the Protestant criticisms on the sermon of Dr. Abbott, reducing it to three heads: "First, that he treats irreverently the cherished beliefs of many Christians as to the Bible. . . . Second, that he teaches from the pulpit as the final conclusions of scholars, theories of the Bible which are yet in the critical crucibles. . . . Third, that his doctrine of religious evolution contradicts and denies supernaturalism." Of this last charge, however, the "Independent" thinks it must acquit Dr. Abbott.

After this general sketch of the common Protestant attitude as to the tenets of the higher critics we may consider their reception by the body of the Jewish community. Mr. Claude Montefiore maintains in the "Jewish Quarterly Review" that four questions must be settled before the Jews can move forward in the direction of reform: First, What is to be their exact position toward the Pentateuch? Secondly, What is to be their exact position toward the miracles of the Old Testament? Thirdly, What is to be their relation to the personality and the teachings of Jesus? Fourthly, What is to be their attitude toward the New Testament as a whole? According to Dr. Hirsch, American Reform Judaism has already settled the first two of the foregoing questions, having declared the Pentateuch "to be no longer the embodiment of our religious ideals, nor the authoritative compulsory regulator of our religious life and its binding practices." Again, "the miracles of the Old Testament we read in the light of folklore, myth and legend. In one word, we accept the method and results of Biblical criticism without reserve." The "Hebrew Journal" remarks on the preceding position of Dr. Hirsch as follows: "Here at once we must register our protest, not in the name of 'the rabble that is chafing and foaming' at your curious position, if you please, but in the name of those hundred thousands of Jews whose numbers comprise men of vast learning and deep thought, not inferior to any of the shining lights of your Reform Judaism. We are

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<sup>1</sup> New York, Methodist Episcopal.

<sup>2</sup> Undenominational.



not prepared at all to say that the Pentateuch does not embody our religious ideal; on the contrary, we affirm (and no one knows better than Dr. Hirsch that 90 per cent. at least of the community of Israel in the United States are with us) that it embodies and reflects the ideal of Judaism for our times and for all times to come as it did until now. This is not a mere assertion on the part of the writer, but a verity, of which Dr. Hirsch can easily convince himself if he tries to take up the subjects involved by the teachings of the Law of Moses against any of the learned conservative representatives of Judaism, not necessarily 'rabbis' or officiating ministers."

In a series of articles on the "History of the Old Testament Canon," that appeared in the "Christliche Welt" at Leipzig, Ernst Teichmann gives the following sketch of the present status of the New Testament criticism: "The first letter of Paul to the Thessalonians, the oldest book in the New Testament, was written about the year 54 or 55. The so-called second epistle of St. Peter is the latest book in the canon, and cannot have originated earlier than the second half of the second century. The nearer this letter is placed to 200 A.D. the better it can be understood historically. Under the most favorable circumstances, then, there is at least a difference of one hundred years between the earliest and the latest New Testament book, and possibly it may be one hundred and fifty years. . . . The formation of these various books into a canon transpired in three periods, the first reaching down to 140 A.D., in which practically no collection of sacred books as a collection existed in the Christian churches; a second period, down to 200 A.D., in which the fundamental form of the canon obtained recognition, though in various shapes, in the churches; the third period, from 200 down, in which the canon assumed the form now accepted. Not one of the original disciples of Christ has left us a single line in writing, just as little as Christ did himself. The New Testament books bearing the names of these disciples in the New Testament canon cannot stand the scrutiny of historical criticism, and belong to the very latest productions of the canon. . . . A difference in this policy was effected by the apostle Paul, the most conspicuous of the early representatives of the Christian cause. Paul had not been under the spell of the personal influence of Jesus, and yet he learned to understand the Lord most thoroughly, and it was he who first drafted literature and letters into the service of the church. Yet it never entered his mind that through his letters he was calling into existence a new class of holy writings. . . . He never appeals to other letters of his, nor presupposes that these are generally known. The only exception to this method of procedure in the New Testament books is the

Apocalypse of John, already cited. . . . In regard to the authenticity of the New Testament books there has been considerable advance since the days of Baur. The literary origin of the first three gospels constitutes a problem by itself, namely, the synoptic question; it being the general opinion that the original Mark gospel and a compilation of our Lord's sayings and doings, mentioned by Papias, and originally written in Hebrew, constitute the basis of our gospel; while the fourth gospel stands absolutely alone, its authenticity being yet questioned by some critics. The golden circle consisting of Romans, two Corinthians and Galatians, stands absolutely above any doubt or debate. Of the other Pauline epistles the pastoral are questioned more than any others, but the tendency is decidedly conservative. Paul's authorship of Hebrews is being defended more now than has been the case for many decades. The Catholic Epistles are the great debatable ground for critical research."

In the "Christian Work,"<sup>1</sup> Dr. Behrends announces triumphantly that the call for the retreat of the higher critics has sounded. The reason for this hopeful view of the doctor lies in the recent publication of Dr. Harnack's first volume of "Chronology of Old Christian Literature." "This book has stirred me up to the depths. It seems to me that it marks the beginning of the end," is the testimony of the writer. Tradition is said to be vindicated as true and trustworthy, while the interest in literary criticism is waning and historical studies are replacing it. Hence the problems of the future lie in the domain of history, not of literary criticism, simply because tradition is right in its estimate of the literature. Now, the assumptions of the Wellhausen school, in the treatment of the Old Testament, are identical with the assumptions of Baur, which Harnack emphatically discredits and repudiates. If, then, the New Testament critics are compelled, on historical grounds, to believe in the supernatural origin of Christianity, the Old Testament critics will have to follow. All this appears to be most promising; external evidence has been replaced in its proper position of paramount authority, while internal evidence seems to be appealed to only as of secondary value. Still Harnack himself is not so pronounced on this point as he is represented to be: "Die inneren Kriterien für die Zeit und Herkunft der Schriften habe ich selten und mit grosser Behutsamkeit angewendet, um den *circulus vitiosus* zu vermeiden nach einer vorausgesetzten inneren Entwicklung der Tradition und Literatur das Alter der einzelnen Stücke und nach diesen wiederum die innere Entwicklung festzustellen."<sup>2</sup> Not to speak, therefore, of the late

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<sup>1</sup> April 17.

<sup>2</sup> P. v.



date assigned by Harnack to some of the New Testament books (II. Pet., *e.g.*, and the Pastoral Epistles), the author agrees even in his method, at least partially, with the principles of the higher critics, admitting, as he does, the existence of historical evolution.

It may be of interest to note that among certain biblical critics the cry "back to Christ" has been made a sort of watchword. They endeavor, by a close examination of the "simple original gospels," to reconstruct the historical Christ, and to clear away the obscurity and error which nineteen centuries of strife and turmoil have placed between the present generation and its Redeemer. While we maintain that such a return to Christ is the sole hope of salvation for the world as well as the individual, the method in which it is effected may prove the ruin of both Church and Christianity. The influence of a real picture of Christ may be learned, in a measure, from the effect produced by Tissot's paintings of the life of our Saviour even on the minds of the worldly Parisian sightseers. But going back to Christ after the manner of the higher critics leads to quite different results, as is shown by Albert Réville's "*Jésus de Nazareth*." We may illustrate what has been said by the following propositions from the conclusion of the last chapter of the book: "The legend of the miraculous birth is a homage paid to a holiness which appeared extraordinary. . . . The dogma of the divinity of Jesus Christ is the mythical way of expressing the penetration of human nature by the Spirit of God. . . . The dogma of redemption by the suffering and death of Christ is the mythical representation of the fact, which is proved by experience and illustrated by the greatest martyrs, that the progress and freedom of humanity are attained at the cost of suffering undergone by those who are its benefactors. . . . The dogma of original sin sums up in the persons of the first ancestors of our race, persons who are more mythical than real, what happens over and over again each time that a man is born into the world." Dr. Caird, Master of Balliol, Oxford,<sup>1</sup> believes that the tendency of going back to Christ has done much good, but, at the same time, is afraid that it is based on an illusion. "For two things," the doctor writes, "are obvious. In the first place, that after all our effort we can only make a far-off approximation to the impression of actual contact. . . . And in the second place, if we could translate ourselves into the past, we should not get from it what we wish, except as interpreted by all those experiences, all those controversies and conflicts of the subsequent time, from which we seek to escape—controversies and

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<sup>1</sup> Cf. *The New World*, March.



conflicts of thought and life which could not be present to the mind of Jesus or to his disciples, but which have been evolved in the effort to work out the ideas which they expressed." The writer believes that if we follow this method of regress to the end we shall reduce our conception of Christ to something very vague and general; something to which the religion of the world cannot possibly be attached. On the other hand, if this method be rejected, we cannot, according to the doctor's opinion, draw lines of division anywhere, but must treat Christ as, in a sense, an idea or a spirit, which is continually finding new organs, developing new powers, and assimilating new elements of human life. Finally, the futility of the enterprise of going back to Christ, flowing from its inherent impossibility and carrying us to an unnatural abstraction of the person of Jesus, must not discourage or grieve us overmuch; for Christ himself assures us, "If I go not away, the Comforter will not come unto you." In spite of his sincerity and good will, Dr. Caird robs Christianity of the person of Christ and substitutes an abstract principle in his place; he does not appear to have realized that Christianity without the concrete Christ is equivalent to religion without a personal God, and necessarily carries in it the germ of its own destruction.

"Recent Research in Bible Lands, Its Progress and Results," edited by Herman V. Hilprecht,<sup>1</sup> contains a series of articles prepared for the "Sunday School Times" by a number of American and European specialists. First, Prof. J. F. McCurdy sums up the results obtained from Egyptian, Arabic, Palestinian, Babylonian and Assyrian excavations and literature; then follows a paper by F. J. Bliss, on "The Mounds of Palestine"; next, Prof. Herman V. Hilprecht treats of the "Explorations in Babylonia"; this is followed by Prof. Sayce's "Research in Egypt"; then Prof. Hommel tells in a pleasing way about the "Discoveries and Researches in Arabia"; next, William Hayes Ward gives a fair statement of what we know and do not know about "The Hittites"; "Early Greek Manuscripts from Egypt" are considered in the paper prepared by Prof. J. P. Mahaffy, while Prof. W. M. Ramsay summarizes our "New Light on the Book of Acts." It is plain that a summary of all these articles is beyond the limits of the present paper—at best, we can but emphasize one or another of the more important results.

The most remarkable achievement of exploration in Egypt has been the discovery of a great mass of Græco-Roman papyri at Behnesa, eighty miles south of Cairo, by Messrs. Grenfell and Hunt. Nearly the whole site of Behnesa (ancient Oxyrrynchus)

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<sup>1</sup> Philadelphia, 1896.

was underlaid more or less plentifully with these papyri. They had been carried in baskets from the city office of the Roman administration, and had been laid in large heaps and fired without being removed from the baskets. Too bulky to burn well, and gradually covered over by natural accumulations, they remained undisturbed till last winter. Heaps of this sort were found in no less than three places, and on one day thirty-six of these baskets, on another twenty-five, were taken out, and, owing to the sturdiness of the baskets, were taken in them to the camp of the excavators.

Besides the rejected papyri, the site furnished a great many fragments, among them one to two hundred Iliad MSS. and a leaf written on each side in Greek uncials, and containing a number of the sayings of Jesus.<sup>1</sup> One page can be read without much difficulty, while the other is less intelligible; the leaf is from a book, not from a roll, 15 by 9 cm. in size, and was mixed with other fragments dating back to the period between the first and third centuries A. D. To judge from its written characters, it may be placed shortly after 200 A. D. Only six of our Lord's sayings are preserved in a complete state: (1) ". . . and then shalt thou see clearly to cast out the mote that is in thy brother's eye. (2) Jesus says: Except you fast to the world, you shall in no wise find the kingdom of God; and except you keep the Sabbath, you shall not see the Father. (3) Jesus says: I stood in the midst of the world, and in the flesh was I seen by them, and I found all men drunken, and none found I thirsting among them, and my soul grieves over the sons of men, because they are blind in their heart. . . . (4) Jesus says: Wherever they are . . . and there is one . . . alone, I am with him; raise the stone, and there thou shalt find me; cleave the wood, and there I am. (5) Jesus says: A prophet is not acceptable in his own country, neither does a physician work cures upon his acquaintances. 6. Jesus says: A city built upon the top of a high hill, and established, can neither fall nor be hid."

Between numbers 3 and 4 a line appears to be missing, of which we can read only ". . . and . . . poverty. . . ." After Number 6 the words ". . . thou hearest . . . unto thy face [or presence] . . ." are the only remnant of a saying of Jesus that seems to allude to Mark xii., 29. It is quite impossible to determine, with our present data, either the character or the origin of the Sayings of Jesus with any sort of certainty or probability. The form of the papyrus shows that it is a collection of sayings taken from their context, and gathered together with an end in view

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Δόγμια Ἰησοῦ*, *Sayings of Our Lord, from an Early Greek Papyrus*, discovered and edited, with translation and commentary, by Bernard P. Grenfell, M.A., and Arthur S. Hunt, M.A. Published by Henry Frowde, Amen Corner, London.



that is still unknown. As to the contents, the papyrus may have belonged to an orthodox communion as well as to a heretical one. There is no need of admitting a Judaizing tendency in the second saying, since it speaks of the spiritual keeping of the Sabbath; nor need we explain the fourth saying pantheistically, after the manner of some gnostic gospels. Harnack is of opinion that the fragment belongs to the Gospel of the Egyptians in use among the Encratites and the Sabellians; but we possess only one sentence concerning the last judgment of this gospel, so that its character is quite unknown to us. But in spite of all this, it is quite certain that at present the higher critics and rationalists cannot gain any advantage from the "Sayings of Jesus"; for they cannot be part of the much-sought-after commentary of Papias on the "Sayings of the Lord," nor can they be identified with any of the documents from which our synoptic gospels are said to be derived. Harnack is quite emphatic, in his thesis, that the beginning of the third saying corresponds with the faith in Christ's divinity as manifested by Paul, John, and the author of 1 Tim., iii., 16. Moreover, we are told the manifestation of this faith in the "Sayings of Jesus" surpasses that contained in the gospels, because in the "Sayings" it is placed in the mouth of Christ Himself—a manner of expression which even the fourth gospel does not dare to employ, if we may believe the contention of Harnack. At any rate, if the "Sayings of Jesus," as read on the Egyptian papyrus, are identified with the "Urevangelium," the belief in Christ's divinity cannot be a later dogmatic evolution.

Mr. W. M. Flinders Petrie wrote on February 14, 1896, to Mr. Breasted: " . . . . The Ramesseum is of Ramses II. . . . The chapel of Uazmes was rebuilt by Amenhotep III. . . . The temple next south is of Tahutmes IV. . . . Next is a big tomb of Khonsu ardu, goldsmith of the temple of Amen, XXV. dynasty. . . . Then comes a leveled plain . . . and on the plain . . . was a temple of Queen Tausert. . . . Then south of that is the so-called temple of Amenhotep III., which is really the funereal temple of Merenptah. That beast smashed up all the statues and sculptures of Amenhotep II. to put into his foundations, and wrecked the gorgeous temple behind the colossi for building-material. . . ." Among the building-material thus appropriated was a splendid stela of black syenite, ten feet three inches high, five feet four inches wide, and thirteen inches thick. It had been inscribed with an account of Amenhotep III.'s religious activities but had been defaced by his son Amenhotep IV., the heretic king, in order to erase the name and mention of Amon; then it had been restored by Seti I., when it was seized by Merenptah for his temple. He placed it face to the wall, and engraved upon its



exposed back a hymn of praise to himself. It is on this slab that, according to most interpreters, the name "Israel" occurs for the first time in any Egyptian inscription. The line is rendered "Ysiraal is spoiled, it hath no seed" (Mr. Griffith, Petrie, Cheyne, Col. Conder), or "Israel is a barren land without fear" (Dr. Spiegelberg), or "Israel has been torn out without offshoot" (Prof. W. Max Müller); Sir P. le Page Renouf maintains that "Jezreel" must be read instead of "Israel," while Dr. Steindorff translates "Israelites," not "Israel."

Supposing, then, that there is enough of evidence to render the mention of "Israel" in the inscription of Merenptah at least probable, we are met by an interesting problem: For many plausible reasons Ramses II., the father of Merenptah, has been generally identified with the Pharaoh of the oppression, while Merenptah himself has been commonly believed to be the Pharaoh of the Exodus. Without examining the solidity of the reasons, we may draw attention to the fact that the new inscription appears to deal the death-blow to this general belief, since the "spoiling of Israel," to which it refers, appears to have taken place in Palestine, not in Egypt, so that the people of Israel must have been settled in Palestine before the time of Merenptah. It is true that Dr. Sellin, together with writers in the "Expository Times" for July, 1896, refer the words "is spoiled, hath no seed," retrospectively to the repressive measures of Pharaoh recorded in Ex. i. Prof. Flinders Petrie in his article<sup>1</sup> suggests that part of the children of Israel may have never left Palestine, or they may have returned thither before the body of the people left Egypt. But these explanations are not probable in themselves, nor have they found much favor among recent writers. Prof. James Orr<sup>2</sup> endeavors, therefore, to solve the riddle by making Thothmes III. the Pharaoh of the oppression, Amenhotep II. the Pharaoh of the Exodus, so as to place the latter event in the eighteenth dynasty instead of the nineteenth. On this hypothesis we obtain the following rough outline of chronology: Abraham lived about the time of Chedorlaomer, or about 2100 B.C.; Israel went into the land of Egypt about 1900; end of the Egyptian bondage about 1470; allowing, then, enough of time for the desert-wandering, the conquest of Palestine under Josue, the period of the Judges, the reign of Saul and David, we may fix the founding of the temple at about 969 B.C., a date which harmonizes with the Assyrian chronology. Space does not allow us to develop here the various considerations that may be urged in favor of this chronology; it is sufficient that it agrees well with the biblical data.

We need not here insist on the importance of the Hebrew text

<sup>1</sup> *Contemporary Review*, May, 1896.

<sup>2</sup> *Expositor*, March, 1897.

of the Ecclesiasticus, which St. Jerome had seen, and which a number of Rabbinic writers, from Simeon ben Shetach to Gaon R. Saadyah,<sup>1</sup> have quoted. But after the eleventh century the Hebrew text of the book disappeared, and seemed to be lost for ever. It was, therefore, a delightful surprise when among the various Hebrew MSS. brought from Palestine by Mrs. Lewis and Mrs. Gibson, there was discovered a fragment corresponding with Ecclus. xxxix. 15–xl. 7. The Hebrew text contained on the fragment, together with its English translation, was published by Mr. Schechter in the “Expositor” for January, 1896. Meanwhile, a number of Hebrew fragments had come into the Bodleian Library through the kindness of Prof. Sayce, and it was among these that the continuation of the same Hebrew MS. was discovered, beginning at the very verse at which the other fragment breaks off, and containing, therefore, Ecclus. xl. 8–xlix. ii. The whole text, including the former fragment, comprises about 350 verses, and has been neatly printed, with an English translation on the opposite page, and underneath the Syriac and Greek versions.<sup>2</sup> The Hebraist, the student of literature, the biblical commentator, and the historical theologian find in the text ample material for reflection.

On glancing over the current literature in the field of Scripture study one notices that the greater part is concerned with the introductory branches or the subsidiary sciences. Hermeneutics and criticism, inspiration, geography, archæology, history are well represented, while exegesis occupies a smaller part, and the continuous commentary on whole books is comparatively rare—*i.e.*, in comparison with the bulk of Biblical literature. And still the knowledge of Sacred Scripture does not consist in grammatical and historical erudition, in the current critical theories on the origin and composition of certain books of the Old or the New Testament, but in a comprehensive understanding of each book, of its general tendency, as well as of the real meaning of every single chapter and verse. At the same time it must be remembered that in order to understand Sacred Scripture one needs not to be acquainted with the whole history of human errors. The commentator must know what God says in the inspired text, but is not obliged to know or remember all that has been said or imagined by man about its meaning. Of course, if there be question of a text the meaning of which is not certain, one must inquire into its various probable explanations, but to delay over the exposition of expla-

<sup>1</sup> 70 B.C. to 949 A.D.; perhaps to Gaon R. Hai, who died in 1038 A.D.

<sup>2</sup> The original Hebrew of a portion of Ecclesiasticus (xxxix. 15–xlix. 11), together with the early versions and an English translation, followed by the quotations from *Ben Sira* in rabbinical literature, edited by A. E. Cowley, M.A., and Ad. Neubauer, M.A., with two fac-similes. Oxford, Clarendon Press. Small quarto. Price, 10s. 6d.

nations that are evidently wrong is a mere loss of time. Our future commentator, therefore, must be clear, concise, and, above all, judicious in the selection of his material. With the accumulated material of centuries at his command he naturally finds it more difficult to omit well than to write well. What is old and precious must not be crowded out by what is new and fanciful; but, on the other hand, our recent jewels must find a place, in preference to the rubbish of antiquity. "Every scribe in the kingdom of heaven is like to a man that is a householder, who bringeth forth out of his treasure new things and old."<sup>1</sup>

A. J. MAAS, S.J.

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### FROM MACHIAVELLI TO JOHN CALVIN, THROUGH JOHN MORLEY.<sup>2</sup>

MR. JOHN MORLEY'S present mental poise appears to be somewhat akin to that of Mahomet's coffin. In his latest work, the Romanes Lecture of 1897, whose subject is "Machiavelli," we find traces of an uncertainty of reasoning and an inconsequence of conclusion that are not in keeping with his reputation.

It is on the maxims of government contained in his book called "The Prince" that the fame or the infamy of Machiavelli rests. Whatever Mr. John Morley or any other authority may say to the contrary, experience has proved that the civil state everywhere, when driven to act on the defensive, has invariably acted on the principles laid down by Machiavelli as essential to the rule of a prince. It may be virtuous if possible; it must be wicked if necessary, according to its own view of necessity; it may be loved if it can; it must be feared if it would subsist. These are, in effect, the cardinal principles of civil power. Morality and religion are things apart; useful adjuncts in felicitous times, but cumbersome and crippling trammels when serious work has to be done. If Mr. Morley would be kind enough to point out to us any instance wherein modern governments, *qua* governments, have acted on

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<sup>1</sup> Matt. xiv., 52.

<sup>2</sup> *Machiavelli*. By John Morley. New York and London: The MacMillan Company.



any other principle, we would confess our obligation. Individual ministers have been conscientious; individual ministries may have been; the monarch occasionally may have had some misgivings about certain courses in politics. But where is the state which has been swayed purely by moral considerations in its dealings with neighbor states? The sense of justice being on its side in any particular quarrel does not constitute the high attribute of which he speaks. Justice, in the concrete, may be on both sides in a controversy which may lead to war; in the abstract it can only pertain to one; that is to say, both sides may honestly believe that justice is on their side, and they have no desire but to maintain their view in entering on the struggle. But, in order to fulfil the conditions of Machiavelli's disregard of ethics, we must take the higher estimate of that great quality which, in times of stress, ought to be set aside by the ruler. Here we find the Italian sage-cynic landed in a paradox. He finds ethics and morality, unknown to himself, after he has destroyed them. The safety of the prince, otherwise the state, is the highest law; and in condemning this maxim of Machiavelli's as immoral, Mr. Morley tacitly condemns every European civil government and almost every European monarch since the days of Saint Louis.

Mr. Morley is himself to blame if he leaves us in doubt regarding what he considers morality or the reverse in statecraft in this consideration. Morality in politics, he assumes (possibly because he himself is swayed by undefined conscientious principles in his political action), is one of the living forces by which governments and society exist. The British Empire, as he himself might be coerced to admit, is a living example to the contrary; nor can it be said that any other of the present great monarchical divisions of the Old World rests its claims for sovereignty upon any higher ethical standard. This is the view which any impartial outsider must be impelled to take when considering the means by which their geographical delimitations have been brought about or their dynastic succession assured—the seizure of Silesia, for instance, by the Prussian Monarchy, and the partition of Poland by the titled plunderers of the earlier Driebund. These great geographical facts have all been brought about in pursuance, exactly, of those principles which Machiavelli lays down for the guidance of his imaginary "Prince." The head of every one of those monarchies claims a sanction higher than any mere law of morality, as understood by private individuals, resting on the extinction of the minor moral code, and as much above it as the barbarian Roman emperor conceived himself to be above the laws of grammar. It is when we find ourselves face to face with those broad problems in the higher ethics that we are constrained to wonder

where the latitude and longitude of Mr. Morley's state morality may be sought for.

But there is a more bewildering element still in the situation which he has created by this remarkable study of the sardonic Italian. Looking for a contrast to Machiavelli, he finds it in the case of John Calvin! Having regard to Mr. Morley's Liberal antecedents, we might not unnaturally imagine that when the image of the great Genevese fanatic bobbed up in his brain, he must have exclaimed, "Of all men else I have avoided thee!" Calvin, he says, did in fact what Machiavelli tried to do on paper. Here we find a curious inversion of ideas on the part of the commentator, for Calvin, according to Mr. Morley, established his theocratic rule by the very means which Machiavelli despised—that is to say, by moral force alone. If we follow out his reasoning to its logical conclusion, we must find ourselves confronted with the proposition that the moral force on which Calvin rested his system would, in Machiavelli's opinion, be the absence of any such authority, for both were based on the entire disregard of private or even public opinion, and the assertion of despotic individual will. In his desire to bring forth an antithetical example, Mr. Morley, very curiously, uses terms which convey the idea that the same result may be achieved by diametrically opposite means—the rejection of moral force on the one hand, and the assertion of such a power on the other—a very singular illustration of the confusion into which even the clearest order of mind may be led by the endeavor to find a parallel abroad when one might much more easily be found nearer home. If men of Calvin's stamp might be taken as an illustration of this peculiar style of thesis, why not select Oliver Cromwell, if the writer was not afraid of alienating his political friends?

In the view of the historical philosopher, the march of events is to be scrutinized, not as the unfolding of a panorama, but as the elucidation of the scheme of human progress towards the highest goal. Personages and episodes are only the incidents which contribute to the sum. Mr. Morley has established a reputation for looking at things from this lofty point of view. He is seemingly without religious bias; in politics he is a Liberal of the Liberals. How, then, he could, by any rational process of thought, bring himself to regard the stern theocracy of Calvin as in any sense a thing to be admired is a bewildering puzzle. The dominance of any form of religion in state affairs is abhorrent to the Liberal creed. Yet here we find him, the arch-priest of English Liberalism, going into a guarded sort of ecstasy over the system set up by the most illiberal and intolerant bigot that ever got into power, and holding his system up to the admiration of



Oxford and the world as the single example of all that was great in opposition to Machiavelli's more honest notion of worldly statecraft! The fact is inconceivable and inexplicable.

Calvin, says Mr. Morley, "with a union of fervid religious instinct and profound political genius," did in fact what Machiavelli tried to do on paper. Had any one else suggested to the critic that such a combination was possible, Mr. Morley's scepticism must have suggested a courteous caution about the acceptance of the possibility. To him it must sound like a paradox to which time had lent no proof. Calvin's wonderful system, powerful, as Mr. Morley says, to withstand all the forces of Roman and Spanish reaction, left nothing but its spirit, once the breath had gone out of Calvin's body. The theocracy, based on Calvinism, is now the synonym of everything that is detestable, inhuman, revolting to the human mind. In Scotland it was tried under Calvin's disciple, Knox, and this gave to the Stuart movement its pith and main impetus. It came to these shores from England on board the *Mayflower*, and, therefore, we have on these free shores the reproach of imitation of European methods in dealing with the absurdity of witchcraft and the hypocritical Sabbatarianism which found expression in "blue laws." We fail to see the profound political wisdom which identified religion with all the prosecuting and punitive processes of the state. Here is the point upon which all defenders of the theocratic principle are divided, for the functions of Christianity are based upon mercy, while the civil power is supposed to exercise its office only in a deterrent spirit, and in the interests of the general welfare. The last man in the world to admire such a system, judging from his previous writings, ought to be Mr. Morley. His admiration, it is true, is only expressed in an academical sense. He himself would never form a member of a Calvin administration, did he live at such an epoch; but when he speaks of Roman and Spanish reaction we are free to infer that he believes Calvin was justified in the measures he took to outdo those powers in forcing theocratic government on the people. We understand the words "reaction" and "reactionary" in a bigoted, odious, and tyrannical sense. Could anything be more abhorrent than the rule under which the miserable inhabitants of Geneva groaned during the period when this awful "Reformer" sat in the high magisterial seat in Geneva?

At this remote period it is not easy to realize in its full forbidding repulsiveness the meaning of this cold-blooded system. We cannot better illustrate its blighting and searing effects upon the body politic than by quoting from the work of Mr. Boyd Winchester on the Swiss Constitution. This authority represented the United States at Bern for some years, and had ample oppor-



tunity, as an official and a gentleman of culture, of studying the country, the people, and their institutions. He is, we may well presume, a Protestant of some denomination. To this day, he says, the effects of Calvin's system are painfully visible. The various cantons of Switzerland are as distinct in their habits and beliefs as if they were inhabited by different races. And not only the various cantons, but the various cities, and not only the various cities, but their various quarters. Only the width of a street or a lane may separate people as hostile to each other, as suspicious, and as unsympathetic as alien races. All the hatreds engendered by the "Reformation" in urban and domestic life are there crystallized and insoluble as though some moral earthquake had precipitated them in distinct layers or particles. These are the enduring memorials of Calvin's influence, especially in Geneva. His influence still suffuses all that "Jerusalem of Switzerland." How strange that such a place comes to be described as the "impregnable fortress of modern liberty, fertile seed-plot of democracy"! While Calvin was sowing this seed of public freedom, all security of freedom, even in private and domestic life, was sapped by the working of his theocratic magisterial machine. The Church was personified in the constable and the bailiff, and there was not a single transaction of human life that did not come within the ken of an inflexible law. The heretic became a civil as well as an ecclesiastical offender, and we know the Brutus-like severity of Calvin's character from his dealing with his old friend Servetus. The charge that this master-spirit of human freedom even went out of his way to get his dialectical opponent into his clutches has not yet been refuted, and if it be finally sustained must stamp his inflexibility with a higher brand than that of the great classical model we have named.

But while the theocracy struck at high game, it by no means omitted the lesser from its purview. The city's records are full of details of the pettiest persecution for violations of its comprehensive sumptuary code no less than the Decalogue. While we read of children being beheaded for striking their parents, we learn of barbers being sent to prison for dressing the hair of brides in a way that savored too much of worldly vanity to the godly men who composed this modern Sanhedrim. The literature of the people was closely looked after, too. Men were sent to jail for reading works probably not more dangerous to faith and morals than some of Mr. Morley's. The Mosaic law was rigidly carried out in every detail that seemed to come within the meaning of the text. But, more monstrous and abominable than all the rest, we find that it did not draw the line at the tenderness of womanhood. Women who were found so heedless as to fit profane or secular

words to airs devoted to church hymnals were subjected to the outrage of the lash on their naked persons. Neither age nor sex was considered when the charge was an infraction of the Mosaic law. Much has been said and written about the espionage and the cruelty of the Inquisition, and this institution is one of the things Mr. Morley has in his mind when writing about Spanish reaction. It has never been charged against it that it sought to establish a sway like this—to pervade the whole life of the people as a fearful influence, become part and parcel of the public and the domestic life, to drill people into a mechanically religious habit, drive them out to church, regulate their pleasures, dictate their ballads and their choice of literature, violate the laws of nature and chivalry, and coerce all their lives into a cast-iron semblance of piety that shamed the hypocrisy of the Pharisees as regards, at least, minuteness, extent, and constancy.

In the whole range of psychological inquiry there is nothing more perplexing than the ingenuity which finds, in the fantastic tyrannies of Puritanism, the germs of political liberty as we see it developed in modern civilization. Truly, here is a case of sunbeams from cucumbers, if ever there were to be such distillation. Mr. Morley is by no means the only one who has found the rich pearl of constitutional freedom in the head of this ugly toad of Genevan despotism. Other writers, both English and American, have fallen into the same singular perversity of reasoning. We find Mr. Winchester extravagant in his praises of the political effects of the Reformation in Switzerland, concurrently with his admission of its glaring injustices and malign influences. Those influences remained in Geneva long after the baleful genius of Calvin had passed to another sphere. Down to 1839, the intolerant system he had founded flourished in the city and State, interposing barriers of adamant between the different sections of the people, and perpetuating the most demoralizing corruption, in order to preserve the clerical influence in all judicial and magisterial affairs. Then the people from outside, exasperated beyond all endurance, came in, and by one great, masterful effort, overthrew it. It did not fall by reason of Spanish reaction or Roman reaction, but simply by the revolt of human nature—Protestant human nature, be it noted—against a shocking and impious desecration of the name of religion.

Geneva was not the only place where this awful system reared itself on the ruins of the old civil society which had grown up side by side with Catholicism. It was by no means necessary for Mr. Morley to travel so far afield to find Machiavelli's ideas of government realized in a despotic theocracy. Presbyterianism in Scotland did much the same as Calvinism in Geneva. If Mr.

Morley only took up that unpretentious but eminently serviceable Presbyterian work, Mr. Chambers's "Domestic History of Scotland," he would find countless instances of the thoroughness, the pitilessness, and the absurdity of an ecclesiasticism from which no transaction of human life was sacred. The blazing fagot, the gibbet, the whipping-post, the boycott and the outlawry of Presbyterian rule make the chronicles of Scotland for the couple of centuries immediately succeeding the "Reformation" the most gruesome reading of all historical narration. During the Puritan *régimé* in "merrie England," the spirit of earnest emulation in the paths of Calvin and Knox was manifested so frankly as to pave the way for the *revanche* of the Restoration. Why were these two domestic examples of the theocratic system so completely overlooked by the learned author of the Romanes Lecture on Machiavelli? We have not the slightest suspicion that it was either through ignorance or forgetfulness, for no one doubts the extent and accuracy of Mr. Morley's scholarship. Neither have we any doubt of his honesty and sincerity. We can only attribute it to a singularity of judgment in the selection of examples in historical parallels. The illustration of Machiavellianism by a theocratic antithesis appears to us, indeed, a most infelicitous idea, all the more astonishing in the case of a student and essayist usually so forceful and philosophic as the accomplished author of this lecture. The indiscretions of youthful genius are excusable; those of mature age cannot be dismissed so complacently.

EDITOR.

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## BUDDHA AND HIS DOCTRINE.

THE early Christian missionaries who had been sent to India, China and Thibet were surprised to find, side by side with gross idolatry, a religious culture only possible among a people of considerable intellectual advancement. The reports and letters of these men are filled with enthusiastic accounts of a belief which they found there, and which was so strikingly like Christianity that they expressed in a confident manner the hope that the marvellous concurrence of Indic faith with the Christian doctrine would make the task of conversion an easy one. Strange were these accounts indeed. They tell of the use of holy water and the rosary, choirs, sacred images, tonsure, vestments, the bell in religious service, the orders of nuns and monks, and the vows of the monastic system. In the Lamaism of China and Thibet, which is an outgrowth of Buddhism, they even found, or thought to find, the doctrine of transubstantiation, the reverence to Virgin and Child, confessions, fasts, purgatory, abbots, cardinals, and even a tiara-crowned pope. The Christian world stood amazed. Travellers who had become more intimate with the creeds of the Chinese and Indians brought with them fragments of the Sacred Scriptures of these people which would not have been incongruous side by side with the tenets of the New Testament. Quasi-scientific treatises became plentiful. A motley patchwork of fragments, not even obtained from original texts—for these were still hidden from the Western World—were edited as true expositions of these creeds, and a host of writers sprang up who advanced theories, plausible enough, had they not been impressions derived from such an incomplete and inadequate source. Many there were who insisted that the analogy between Christianity and the eastern creeds, Buddhism more especially, was a conclusive proof that these were the sources of the former. For instance, much stress has been laid upon the assumption that the *Logos* doctrine was imported from India. It would indeed have been of great historical importance could this have been proven, but the history of the doctrine reveals nothing. We only know that *Vac*, speech or word, among the Indians, was, in the first instance, a goddess of the Vedic theogeny, which, at some later time, idealized by the Brahmins, was made an idea of primary importance in Brahminic mysticism. We find it used later by Heraclitus and the Stoics, in Philo and the Neo-Platonists, and

finally in the doctrine of St. John. However this doctrine may have crept into Greek systems, the assertion that the Logos of the Evangelist was derived from the Brahminic books is one more easily made than proven.

Speculations like this might have been passed as idle and harmless had not error kept pace with the truth. As Buddhism became known, it began to fill a peculiar purpose in the reasonings of Atheists and Agnostics. The tendency of this century has been to eliminate God, to deny the immortality of the soul, to subvert religion, and to build the social structure upon a basis of human reason. There was one obstacle which the non-believer could not overcome, namely, the impracticability of destroying, together with religion, morality itself; for he well knew that there must at least be a moral constraint upon the social body. Without religion, that is, without the belief in a God and a future state, how would it be possible to maintain morality? Theoretically, the possibility had been demonstrated. Had not Voltaire, almost a century ago, established a purely atheistic basis for morality, and was not Spencer's system of ethics an admirable theory? Yet the world needed an example before it could accept a moral code without a God and a future life as a safe basis. Atheism and Agnosticism are the scientific premises which have communism and even anarchy as necessary conclusions; and all the theorization of infidel thinkers had not convinced the masses that these would not be dangerous experiments. Behold, in the East, a practical demonstration of the feasibility of such a condition of things! Here was a religion Atheistic or Agnostic, and even Nihilistic, and behold, its moral code is excellent, its tenets have been promulgated over more than half the world. Are there not five hundred million Buddhists? The wild hordes on the table-lands of Nepal Tartary and Thibet, the vast population of China and of the peninsula of Korea, the Japanese, the Siamese, the Singalese, and even the inhabitants of the Javanese Archipelago, have followed the doctrine of Buddha. Has not this apostle, who well may be called the "Light of Asia," implanted in all these millions the spirit of benevolence, righteousness, and social order? The Buddhist cult is remarkably like the Christian faith, even in its outward signs. The moral law which Buddha has taught is older than the law of Christ, and so like it in its conception, as well as its results, that the conclusion has been arrived at that Christianity has been borrowed from the East. "Is it not evident," cries out Schopenhauer, "that long before the days of the Nazarene—even before Alexander stood on the banks of the Indus—the monk Gotama had gathered eternal truths from Scriptures more ancient than the Hebrew Songs and Chronicles? Christianity is a pla-



gicism, Christ an imitation. Buddha is the reality; the Prince of Kapliavastu and his doctrines are genuine; Christianity is nothing more than Buddhism grafted upon Judaism."<sup>1</sup>

The number of Buddhist adherents, even though we include every modern perversion of the Buddhist doctrine, is extremely problematical, for the reason that a census or classification of the people according to their religious tenets has never been held in the countries where that religion is prevalent. Dr. Kellogg, who has written an admirable book on Buddhism, estimates the number at seventy-three millions. De Harlez<sup>2</sup> is of the opinion that if we were only to count those as Buddhists who would unequivocally confess themselves to be such, the number would shrink to a few hundred thousands. It is very difficult to find in modern India or China a sect which in the true sense of the word can be called Buddhist. Modern Lamaism, which is by far the most extended creed in China, has little of the original moral worth which Schopenhauer so much admires in Buddhism. J. Gilmour, the English traveller, says that the Mongolians have been morally corrupted by Buddhism. "The great sinners in Mongolia are the Lamas, the great centres of wickedness are the temples. It is the system which makes the Lamas, and places them in hot-beds of vice."<sup>3</sup> The Protestant Bishop Schereschewsky writes: "For more than twenty years I have studied Buddhism. I have thoroughly read the Buddhistic books, I have conversed with hundreds of Chinese, Mongolians and Thibetan priests and monks, I have visited many Buddhist temples, . . . and I feel justified in stating that never has any false religion foisted upon mankind a more monstrous system of hypocrisy and idolatry." Dr. Ekins, in his work on Chinese Buddhism, declares that the Buddhist system of morals, as it is known in China, is powerless to elevate its adherents to any degree of morality; that what there is of virtue among the Chinese is due to Confucianism. St. Francis Xavier found the same woeful condition in Japan. Corruption came from the nuns and monks themselves; so that the people justified their own immorality by laying grosser charges at the door of the religious.<sup>4</sup> Do we find a better condition in India, the cradle of Buddhism, and the home of the admirable metaphysics of the Brahmins? It is difficult for the student to conceive that modern Hinduism has any connection whatever with the religion of the Upanishad. For the most part, it is base idolatry. Cruelty to a degree of savagery marks its religious rites. Faith in India seems to have completed a circle, landing once more in polytheism. The world of lower

<sup>1</sup> *Parerga*, 3d ed., vol. ii., p. 407.

<sup>2</sup> *La Science Catholique*.

<sup>3</sup> *Among the Mongoles*. J. Gilmour.

<sup>4</sup> *Life and Letters of St. Francis Xavier*. E. de Vos, 1877.



organisms has survived. All that remains worthy of attention are the sacred books. Buddhism has shared the same fate where it has not been crushed out by Hinduism. It has become base idolatry. It is the image of Buddha which is adored; the power of the teacher has passed away.

This is the religion pure, perhaps, in its source, but prostituted in centuries of application to abominable uses, which modern atheists declare to be a fitting substitute for Christianity. If men like Rhys Davids, whose self-sacrificing labor the world truly appreciates, have found in Buddhism the religion which comes nearest our own, we must ascribe it, not to the modern phases of that faith, but to the idealized conception of the same as it exists in the Sacred Canons alone. The fact that there are resemblances between the law of Christ and the law of Buddha does not logically lead to the conclusion that the one is kindred to the other. Schopenhauer is no authority upon the subject. It is doubtful if he ever translated one line of the Pali-books or of the Sanskrit Scriptures. Even Rhys Davids, whose admiration for Buddhism has led him to over-estimate its influence or power, warns us against apparent resemblances between passages in the Pali-Pitakas and in the New Testament. That like passages do exist he does not deny; but he emphatically adds that it is a palpable error to deduce from this coincidence an historic connection, or to conclude that the New Testament, as the more recent Scriptures, has borrowed from the Pali-books. Where such resemblances exist,—and often they are least when at first reading they seem greatest,—it is principally due to an analogy in the circumstances which gave rise to two similar movements. The seeming resemblance of Buddha and his doctrine to Christ and his teaching has, nevertheless, furnished the opponents of Christianity with a weapon of attack. The manner of connection between the two, or of the possible derivation of the one from the other, does not concern those who wish to see in such resemblances a weapon against Christianity. For them, the fact that both have much in common is a sufficient basis for a refutation of the whole scheme of the Christian faith. They argue, *Post hoc ergo propter hoc*; cleverly disguising the fact that the Eastern Scriptures constitute a field of knowledge comparatively unknown, and that it is even now impossible to establish their historic position or significance.

The reader must bear in mind that up to the year 1870 only two Pali-texts (which alone can be relied upon as authentic) of any size or importance had appeared in editions accessible to scholars in the West, and that, of these two, only one was a book out of the Buddhist Scriptures. Since then the research has been going on, and many of the books have been translated and annotated.

What the world knows of them has been derived from a patient analysis of the Scriptures themselves, for there is no extraneous light which can illumine passages which are dark or ambiguous. India furnishes no historic context to its literature, for it is a land without history or oratory. The sequence of the books must ever remain a conjecture. The best that can be done is to take the matter recorded through the centuries as the true utterance of one who lived and taught long before even the first of the books was written; but as authority to refute that which the world has accepted as historically true, these are not sufficient. A more reliable premise is needed to impeach Christ and Christianity.

Properly to understand Buddhism, it is necessary to understand the system of thought out of which it was evolved, and to regard its founder, not as an isolated teacher of new truths, but as an expounder of the religious philosophy which for centuries has grown over the Indian life, tinging mind and soul with its sombre hues. Buddha, of the caste of the Katshyras, or warrior caste, was educated by the Brahmins, to whom alone was relegated the instruction of youth. His was the Vedic belief. The law which regulated his life was the law of the Brahmin. To understand Buddhism we must first enter upon an understanding of the Brahminical idea. If in Buddhism the grand attempt has been made to evolve a redemption in which man himself is the redeemer, to create a faith without God, Brahminic speculation had well prepared the ground for this purpose. Step by step it had crowded the idea of God back into oblivion, annihilating the idols of old, until beside a vague impersonal all-pervading power resting above things earthly, man alone remained to evolve from within himself the scheme of redemption by overcoming all suffering and pain. Would we understand the Buddhist system, we must think the thoughts of its founder; love, fear and admire with him—this we must do to arrive at an appreciative understanding of a religion, if so it may be called, that has grown through ages, adapting itself in endless changes to the mind of a people which has developed in isolation from the rest of the world.

Nowhere is more forcibly demonstrated the influence which religion can wield over the development of a race, and over its loftiest aspirations, than in India; nowhere more forcibly the intellectual and religious fate of a people who have substituted, like the Brahmin Ritualists, form for spirit, like the Vedantists; ideas for ideals, and emotions for morality. The Vedic belief, at the time when Buddha taught, was without the idea of God, of immortality or of a future state of existence. Brahminic theology had been one journey, made with rests and halts, it is true, and even with digressions from the straight path, but without abate-



ment of intent and without permanent change of direction, from an objective polytheism to an abstruse mysticism, sustained only by Brahminic ritualism into which the idea of God was no longer admitted. If the idea of divinity entered into this religion at all, it was divested of all attributes of supremacy, and the gods were regarded as an order of beings different from the creatures of the visible world, but having no manner of ascendancy or control over them.

Time was when the religion of the Indian was a chaotic adoration of natural phenomena as living powers—when Indra, the god who wields the storm and the lightning, the mightiest of the gods, filling the universe, the heavens resting upon his head, earth and heaven trembling at his breath; when Surya Savitar (Sol, ἥλιος), shining in the heavens, life-giving and life-destroying; when Varuna (ὐρανός), the god of a thousand eyes, the sin-forgiving god, who causes heaven and earth to stand firm and the stars to retain their places—when these were realities to him which he feared and adored, and with which he held direct communion by intercession and propitiatory sacrifices. The early Vedic hymns breathe the same spirit as the battle-song of the Teuton. Indra is Thor, Savitar is Wodan. With the centuries, however, the Indian has learned to regard the natural and supernatural in this world from a different point of view, and imperceptibly a change is instilled into this theogeny. In the Brahmanas, written centuries after the Rig Veda, man subdues the gods, until finally, in the Upanishads, man ignores them and becomes himself like God. "There are two kinds of gods; for the gods are gods, and the priests that are learned in the Vedas and who teach it are human gods." This sentence is taken from the "Brahmana of the Hundred Paths," one of the most important Hindu books. There may be latent in the people a deep religious spirit, but it is not the spirit which actuated the Indo-Aryan on the banks of the Caspian Sea. Since his migration south, faith had been overcast with an obscuring cloud of ritualism; the priests had assumed a pharisaical mask, and strove more for the furtherance of their rites than for the perfection of the race. The Indian was once a man of action, but in the land of the Indus and the Ganges he had changed his nature, and with it the nature of his belief. The interests and ideals which were once the basis of national thought and of national life existed no longer for him. Desire and activity were overgrown by idle speculation and dreaming. The true relation between the spiritual and the real was destroyed; thought itself became distorted; the world about him was peopled with the weird phantasms of his own brain, and life and happiness on earth were crushed beneath diseased fancies. This had Brahminic



speculation accomplished. Religion, henceforth, was to the Indian incomprehensible. He could not shake off the consciousness of a Supreme Being, and in plaintive song he cries out :

“ Who gave us life, who gave us strength of being,  
Whose mighty words the eternal gods obey,  
Whose shadow immortality or death is,  
Who is the god to whom we render tribute ? ”

He knew not. Mystified he stood at the sacrificial shrine, doubt within his breast, dissatisfied with all things. In the moist and sultry climate of Hindostan, he still remembered the winters in a land far north, where among the snow-clad mountains his gods and holy singers had their habitation ; but “ having in his childish way striven to pierce beyond the limits of this finite world,” he has given to those gods a mystic significance, having reduced them to nominal fractions of an incomprehensible power, and preserves them only for ritualistic purposes.

The divinity of the Brahmins was the product of reflection. Indra remained, but yielded to a higher power. The god that the priests thought out became the all-god. This was not a personal god, but rather the principle by which or through which all things subsisted. It was the breath of life, the Atman, which contained all life-force and functions, and which was the central and creative force of the universe. “ Atman is the all ; with this Atman I will, when I depart hence, be united. Brahma is its expression.” Megasthenes, the Greek who three hundred years before the birth of Christ came with Alexander into India, stands in wonderment at the life of a race so different from his own. At home the Greek abandons the plough to take up the sword. It is his part to do. In him lives the spirit of Achilles and Agamemnon. The blood in his veins is a warm, turbulent blood. Here the historian found a people in whom the fire of ambition had smouldered into ashes. The Indian had long since forgotten the interests and ideals of his European brother. Not for him were conquest or warlike fame. He sits him down upon his ploughshare to think. Of what ? Of its offspring, Soma and Agni, of Soma-offering and Agni-offering. Will and action have become submerged in phantasm, and the mind by gradations has received that impression of sorrow and disease which has become the heritage of his race.

This trait in the Indian character was due to the influence of the philosophical order, as Megasthenes names the Brahmins—an order which was more than a vain and greedy priestcraft, and which had with time become the very genius of the people. The Brahmins were superior to the people ; they were divine ; they acknowledged no earthly authority. When, in the face of the mul-

titude, the king was anointed by them, "This is your king, O people," they declared; "the king over us Brahmins is Soma." Sprung from the family of Rishis, who composed the Vedic hymns, and in whom alone was vested the sacrificial privilege, they retained control of the sacred books, which were wholly traditional in the beginning, and in consequence they alone were familiar with the most sacred rites required at the sacrifice. They gathered the hymns and traditions of the people, interpolating much to augment their own power, until there was scarcely a trace of chronological distinction between the Rig Veda and the books which follow. In their knowledge lay the secret of their supremacy; for understanding, they declared, is the all-subduing power. "Mighty doth he become, and powerless his enemy, who possesses such knowledge." To them alone belonged the right of teaching and expounding the sacred texts, and also the right to determine the law of caste. The Vashya, or rural caste, the Kashatrya, or warrior caste, might read the Vedas, but only so far as they were taught and explained by the Brahmins. The young Indian of Aryan birth who was not brought at a proper age to a Brahmin teacher to be instructed in the wisdom of the Vedas was considered an outcast. "Into my control," says the Brahmin, "I take thy heart; let thy thought follow my thought; with all thy soul rejoice in my word." Coerced in the master's house, he finally emerged from the tutelage of the priests wrapped in a strange egotism, with a confused conception of the limit between the real and the unreal, his mind, full of airy speculations, shapeless and distorted. The method which he there acquired was an inexplicable groping in darkness, a restless desire to comprehend self and the universe, which nowhere in the world finds a parallel. Into his serious world of thought entered the one conviction which he deeply felt and to which he gave expression: that all things earthly are full of suffering and that there is only one salvation—renunciation and eternal rest.

It must not be forgotten that Gotama, the Buddha, was born, brought up, and lived and died a Hindu. His teaching, far-reaching and original as it was, was Indian throughout. Without the intellectual influence of the Brahmins his work would have been meaningless and impossible. His system was essentially an Indian system, and however it may differ from Brahminism, it was from this source that it derived its elements. In his public life he had constant intercourse with the most cultured and earnest thinkers of India. Wherever he went it was the Brahmins themselves who took the most earnest interest in his speculations, and many of his chief disciples were of the Brahmin caste.

At the foot of the Nepal hills, far to the east of the cradle



of Brahminism, in the city of Kapilavastu, the ruins of which have long since been lost, Siddhartha, a noble of the Sakya (powerful) nation, spent his days in opulence and self-indulgence, until, sated, he turned in disgust from the pleasures of this world to a life of abnegation and poverty. He had drunk deeply of the cup of life and was surfeited. He had tasted all the sensual pleasures of the world and had grown weary of them. According to the *Lalila Vistara*, all the splendor which oriental ingenuity could devise surrounded him, and, like a god among heavenly nymphs, he lived, with his three hundred wives and myriad concubines, in sumptuous palaces, soothed by ravishing tones of invisible music. He remembered the teachings of his Brahmin masters; he had heard them discourse on the vanities of life, on the emptiness of desire, and upon Nirvana; and in the midst of his pleasures he longed for that annihilation which he had been taught was the consummation of all to be desired. No doubt he had seen at the palace gates the ascetic monks of the age who were striving to attain perfection by self-chastisement and abnegation, and who, in obedience to the precepts of Brahmana, sought in this manner to rid themselves of lusts, of evil, and of Karma, hoping to attain the end of cravings, the absence of passion, peace, Nirvana. He, too, would assume the garb of a beggar. "Knowing Atman, relinquish desire for progeny, for property and worldly joys, and wander about like a beggar." He had been taught that human nature depends on desire. "From his desire," say the sacred Brahmanas, "will flow his endeavor; according to his endeavor will be the deeds (Karmen) which he performs, and these are the sum of existence." To rid himself of desire then must be his future task; only when he has conquered this can he know Atman. "When man knows Atman why should he cling to things earthly? The first step is understanding; when it has been attained desire will vanish." He was twenty-nine years old, when, cutting off hair and beard, he clothed himself in a loose, yellow garment, and went from home to homelessness, to be known thereafter as the monk Gotama.

Thus he was fulfilling the laws of the Brahmins. The law-books divided the life of the good Brahmin into three stages: The first of these, that of a student, he had attained in his youth; he had passed through the second, the family life, for according to the more authentic records he had at this time a wife and an infant son; and now it remained for him to live in the forest as a recluse, a life of meditation. Accordingly, in the woods of Urvavela (Buddha Gaya, south of Patua), on the river Nerangara (Phalyn), he spent six years in severe chastisement and fasting. The en-



lightenment which he sought, however, did not come to him ; and one day, weak with hunger, having fallen in a faint to the ground, he resolved to lead a life less severe, and partaking again of rich food, he warned his fellow-hermits against self-abnegation, as a species of desire. "He, the sublime, spoke to the five monks. Two extremes there are: The one is a life of lust, given to pleasure and enjoyment; this is low, ignoble, unspiritual, useless; the other is a life of self-torture—this is sad, unworthy, useless." (Oldenburg Buddha.) Doubting his motives, his disciples forsook him, leaving him to pursue his new method alone. It is useless to dwell on this period of preparation. It is known that many, in direct consequence of the methods inculcated by Brahmin teachers, finding nothing in their life worth the living, when meted by the dark philosophy of the sacred books, resigned the pleasures of the world, and by ascetic training sought to prepare for the one object, unattainable in a world of strife and desire, complete surcease of sorrow and of pain. The doctrine of the Retreat had long been a favorite one, not only among the Brahmins, but among the numerous Hindu sects, which professed, each in a different way, to solve the mystery of salvation.

During the four times seven days which he spent under a certain tree, since known as the Tree of Knowledge, came Mara, the tempter, to persuade him to enter Nirvana without making disciples, suggesting to him that it was folly to reveal to others what he had attained by incessant struggle. "Truth will be hidden from him who is filled by hatred and desire; toilsome, mysterious, deeply hidden from the senses, is this truth, and he cannot perceive it whose senses are filled with the darkness of earthly striving." (Oldenburg.) Buddha, however, remained true to the object which he had set for himself, and Mara was foiled. At last came to his aid Brahma Sahaspati, from the heaven of the Brahmas, to beg him to continue in his mission and not to give way to doubt or hesitation.

The tendency to find a similarity between the life of Buddha and that of Christ has in no small measure been stimulated by Edwin Arnold's poem, "The Light of Asia." It is well to bear in mind, however, that Arnold's poem was not written with any pretence to scientific truth or exactitude, but rather that it has been the effort of the poet to denude the legend of Buddha, as it is found in the *Lalila Vistara*, of the extravagant myths, and to familiarize it to Christian readers by presenting it in a garb more Christian and far more natural. There is little of truth to be gleaned from the later authorities, to which the *Lalila Vistara* belongs. A degree of accuracy can only be obtained by adhering to the most ancient authority, the Pali tradition of Ceylon, which

contains no life of Buddha, but only fragmentary sketches, concomitant with his teachings. From these we learn nothing more than the fact that Buddha, to attain enlightenment, fasted for a protracted period. The later exaggerated narratives of Buddha's life and teachings, interwoven as they are with fantastic myths, are of no more authority than are the Apocryphal Gospels an authoritative rendition of the true life of Jesus Christ.

We leave it to the reader to find in the circumstances surrounding the birth and youth of Siddhartha any similarity to the birth and youth of Christ. The Saviour was a carpenter's son; Buddha, if not a prince, the offspring of an aristocratic house. Tradition, or the sacred books, admit that he was reared in opulence, and that he was given to dissipation. Of Jesus, it is only known that he lived at Nazareth, an insignificant town in the north of Galilee, growing in wisdom as in age. Let them cavil, if they will, over the authenticity of His mission, the fact remains there is more in the simple statement of Matthew than in all the embellished discourses of infidels who are reading the inscriptions of history through prismatic glasses. Great stress is laid upon Siddhartha's visit to the temple while a child, but is there one, of all who are earnestly striving for truth, that will accept this tradition, with the myths which surround it, in its source? Will it pass current with the statement in the *Lalila Vistara*, where alone it is found, that 1,000,000 gods drew the chariot of the child, while the heavenly nymphs strewed flowers in his path?

Most remarkable at first glance is the fact that Buddha, like Christ before entering upon His mission, was tempted by the evil spirit. Let us bear in mind, however, that the old Pali texts do not connect the meeting of Mara and Buddha with this time of preparation. Later authorities describe it in so grotesque a manner that there is no trace of similarity to the temptation of Christ. Mara comes at the head of an army of demons, surrounding him above and below and for miles about. He rides upon the elephant *Grimikhala*, which measures several hundred miles. The gods which surround Buddha fly in terror. To instil into Buddha this same fear is Mara's aim. He conjures up storms and floods, and showers of stones, and swords, and glowing ashes; but Buddha is not intimidated, and the evil one must retreat. In *Maha-Barinibbana-Sutta* is the following version, narrated by Buddha himself: "At one time I sat beneath the tree of the shepherd *Nigrodha*, upon the banks of the *Nerangara*, soon after I had been enlightened, and there came Mara, the evil one, to the place where I sat, and standing by my side spake these words: 'Now go thy way, O Lord, out of existence; mayest thou, holy one, now die; now is the time for the holy one to die.'" To this Buddha



replied that he did not desire to die, and thus ended the temptation.<sup>1</sup> The only analogy between the two temptations consists in the idea that in both cases the evil one resists the redemption of mankind; but this idea is peculiar neither to Buddhism nor Christianity, but is as old as the religious life of mankind.

Having overcome the temptation by Mara, he attains enlightenment; the monk Gotama becomes Buddha, "the Enlightened." Of this he speaks: "When I learned this and when I beheld this my soul was released from the sin of desire, released from the sin of earthly being, released from the sin of ignorance (not knowing). In the redeemed awakened the knowledge of his redemption. Annihilated is regeneration; fulfilled the holy pilgrimage. Done is the duty. I will not return again to this world, that I know."

He went forth to preach, and at Benares he delivered to the five monks who, in the forest of Urevela, had deserted him at a time when he was most in need of the tender trust and respect of faithful followers, the sermon which contains the fundamental principles in Buddhism.

He taught them to seek the middle way; neither to indulge in the pleasures of sense and sensuality, nor by extreme self-mortification to weaken the body or dull all sensibility. "And which is that middle way? Verily, it is the noble eightfold path:

"Right views (free from superstition or delusion).

"Right aspirations (high and worthy of the intelligent worthy man).

"Right speech (kindly, open, truthful).

"Right conduct (peaceful, honest, pure).

"Right living (bringing hurt or danger to no living thing).

"Right effort (in self-training and in self-control).

"Right mindfulness (the active, watchful mind).

"Right rapture (in deep meditation on the realities of life)."<sup>2</sup>

He further instructed them concerning the Four Truths, which are not among the doctrines handed down, but which it was given him first to see, then to know, and perfectly to understand.

"This, O recluses, is the noble truth concerning suffering. Birth is painful, and so is old age; disease is painful, and so is death. Union with the unpleasant is painful; painful is separation from the pleasant; and any craving that is unsatisfied, that too is painful. In brief, the five aggregates which spring from attachment (the conditions of individuality and its cause), they are painful.

<sup>1</sup> *Vid. S. B. E.*, vol. ii., page 52, *et seq.*

<sup>2</sup> Rhys Davids.



"Now this, O recluses, is the noble truth concerning the origin of suffering. Verily it originates in that craving thirst which causes the renewal of becomings, is accompanied by sensual delight, and seeks satisfaction now here, now there; that is to say, the craving for the gratification of the passions, or the craving for a future life, or the craving for success in this present life.

"Now this, O recluses, is the noble truth concerning the destruction of suffering. Verily it is the destruction in which no craving remains over of this very thirst; the laying aside of, the getting rid of, the being free from, the harboring no longer of this thirst.

"And this, O recluses, is the noble truth concerning the way which leads to the destruction of suffering. Verily, it is the noble eightfold path."

Buddha made no distinction of caste. To him the lowest was equal to the highest. It was supremely necessary to understand, in its fullest meaning, the reasoning set forth in this sermon of Benares. Only the ignorant were excluded, not the lowly. Before his time, only the sages of the priestly caste could attain perfect happiness, and even for them the path lay through life-long torture; the common people knew religion only as a formula of rites in which they were not interested, because they understood them not. What wonder that the age of Buddha was an age of schisms! The priests, in the eyes of the people, were insincere; at least, they were unsympathetic.

It is evident that the times were ripe for a more humane religion. Buddha spake as one of the people when he declared to his followers: "He that is pure in heart is the true priest; not he that knows the Vedas. Like unto one that standeth where a king hath stood and spoken, and standing and speaking thus, deems himself for this a king, seems to me the man that repeateth the hymns, which the wise men of old have spoken, and standing in their place and speaking deems himself for this a sage. The priests are of no account, save as they be morally of repute. This is the foundation of wisdom—to restrain desire, to be satisfied with little. He is a holy man who doeth this. Knowledge follows this."

One thing was necessary, to enter upon the eightfold path, and to understand the truth. The human will is bound by fetters which must be broken. The first of these is delusion of self. Buddha maintains that it is a delusion to consider ourselves separate from existing things, or even from those which have been or are to be. Man is but a link in an endless chain. He has no individuality; he will pass away, leaving nothing but the result of his existence. The second fetter to be broken is that of doubt.

He must put implicit faith in the Dhamma, or the Law, and in him, Buddha, its expounder. Another fetter is the folly of placing too much weight upon the efficacy of good works and ceremonies.

Having overcome these three delusions of self, doubt, and reliance upon works and ceremonies, the Buddhist has entered upon the way of salvation, and can never be turned back. It finally remains for him to break the fetter (4) of sensuality, (5) of ill-will, (6) of the love of earthly life, (7) of desire for a future life, (8) of pride, (9) of self-righteousness, and (10) of ignorance, and having done this he attains Nirvana.

This is the essence of Buddhism, a religion entirely independent of a Supreme Being, of a future life, and of a relation to fellow-beings, inasmuch as these are not useful to the attainment of self-perfection. There is surely no analogy between this ethical creed and the sublime doctrine of Christ. Christianity is the gospel of love. Buddhism the gospel of selfishness. Christianity holds aloft the light of hope in a future life. Buddhism plunges mankind into hopeless annihilation. Of the redemption, of the sorrow and pain from which we are to be redeemed, of the manner in which this redemption is to be accomplished, the preaching of Buddha treats, and of nothing else. God and the world do not concern him; his whole attention is wrapped up in the one effort, to be rid of pain. Christ preaches essentially the love of God, and the love of one's neighbor for the sake of God. God is the centre of all Christian desire. What we do or omit, that we do or omit because it pleases Him. To the Christian, man is as nothing and God is all; to the Buddhist, God is nothing and self is all. Self must be delivered from suffering, not through the grace of God or of the gods, not through the mediation of a redeemer, but man through his knowledge of self must work out his own redemption; he must understand the natural law of development, and by a wise application of this knowledge withdraw from the disastrous result of that law. Buddha is not an atheist, but an agnostic. He does not deny the existence of a God, he simply evades the issue. Max Müller declares that there is not one passage in the canonical books which in the least indicates a belief in a personal God or Creator. Why should he, who has repeatedly declared that redemption comes from within, and is wholly the result of individual effort, even suggest the idea of God? Long before his day the idea of a Supreme Being, if not obsolete, had at least become problematical, and the idea of an all-pervading force which had assimilated the whole pantheon of a remote antiquity was indeed so vague that it suggested nothing to the mind.

The contrast between Christianity and Buddhism does not end



here. Never can two faiths result one from the other in which the end of one is diametrically opposed to the end of the other. To the Christian a future existence, a fulfilment of all desires, an eternal enjoyment of perfect happiness, is the end of existence. To the Buddhist, absence of all desire, not by fruition, but by the exclusion of desire—eternal rest, not in enjoyment of happiness, but in oblivion of pain—is the *summum bonum*. In a letter written nearly half a century ago, and published in the "Times," of London, the theory held by M. Müller in an early essay on Buddhism that Nirvana means non-existence had been emphatically controverted, and the assertion made that Nirvana means the absorption of the individual soul by the divine essence, and not total annihilation. Much has been written in support of this assertion. Were this true, then either the existence of a personal God, or the absorption of individuality in that vague force to which all things are subservient, must have been an essential tenet of Buddhism. Miller, Oldenburg, Hardy, Elkins and Rhys Davids acknowledge the agnostic character of Buddha's teaching. Buddha knows no God; to him the highest is man perfected. Does he, then, consider the absorption of man's individual nature in the world-force as the one thing to be obtained, as Nirvana?

The Nun Vadshira, whose temptation by Mara the demon is described, answers the tempter thus: "This, I, is but a sum of appearances. You do not here find a person; just as, for the parts which constitute a wagon, when put together one uses the word, wagon, so also, where the 'five groups' (appearances) are present, there is the person." This rather metaphysical statement is nothing more than the reiteration of an old Brahminical idea that nothing which exists is real, that all things in nature which the senses perceive are appearances. Prof. Kern, in his work on "Buddhism," believes the true meaning of this doctrine to be that individuality in the living of the lifeless does not exist except as an idea, a name, or an expression. And if all which is ever changing is designated as being or existing, this must not be regarded as metaphysically exact.<sup>1</sup>

In the "Sabasava Sutta" it is written that it is a fallacy to say "I have a self; this ego is permanent, eternal, has the intrinsic power never to change, continuing for ever and ever. This, my brethren, is the way of delusion, the thicket of delusion, the forest of delusion, the play of delusion, the fetters of delusion; the unwise unconverted man can never be liberated from birth, decay and death."<sup>2</sup> It is declared in the Scriptures that every being has its Namarupa (name and form), which is the sum of all appearances

<sup>1</sup> Kern, *Buddhism*, i., page 455, *et seq.*

<sup>2</sup> *Vid. S. B. E.*, xi., 299.



which constitute personality. Through Namarupa one does good works or evil, and through these works begins the existence of another Namarupa.<sup>1</sup> Thus, it is explained, the flame of the lamp ignites the straw, and the flames of the straw ignite the house; but the flames of the lamp are not the same as the flames of the straw, and these are not the same as the flames of the house. Even so the person who does good or an evil deed is another than the person who reaps the fruit thereof. More plainly expressed, the theory is that each human life is merely the link in a long chain of cause and effect; that each link is the result of what has gone before, and will mould the one which is to follow. Merit, or Karma, as the Buddhist calls it, is all that survives after death, and will advance, not the being—the Namarupa—who accumulates this merit, but the result of all which one being has done in a term of existence will invest another who has no conscious identity with himself.

In Buddhism there is no transmigration of souls in the accepted meaning of the term. After death a being is destroyed; another one is called into life. The chain of continuity is a migration of Karma. That which constitutes personality passes away, for it is nothing but a conception of that union of appearances which constitute the individual. It is merit which lives, which is part of Dharma (the world-force), which is never lost but can be overcome only by the struggle of man in the world of expiation. When evil has been overcome, when man has crushed it, when the mind has become clear in the understanding of truth, there is no longer need of existence, no longer need of an union of appearances for the sake of further expiation. Man perfected sinks into nothingness, absolute and external. Weary is the spirit of the Indian, seeking rest, eternal rest—rest without fruition, rest without hope and without love. The Christian, too, seeks rest, but it is that rest which he finds in a full knowledge and love of the Divine, so perfect and complete that further strife is needless.<sup>2</sup>

Buddhism, then, is a religion without God, and without immortality. Stripped of equivocation and of poetic detail, it is nothing but miserable agnosticism, and yet there are those who would compare it to the doctrine of Jesus Christ. How vain the taunt that Christ was a disciple of Buddha, that every word of the Gospels was borne from the East! Even granting that Christ was familiar with Buddhism, is there aught, beyond the moral law implanted by nature in our breasts, which in the former approaches the teachings of the Saviour? The principles of morality are the

<sup>1</sup> Kellogg.

<sup>2</sup> Comp. Childers' *Pali Dict.*, "*Nibbanam*," Rhys Davids' *Buddhism*, Kern, *Buddhism*, et al.

same in the breast of the African savage and in the breast of the enlightened European. Nature in the one may be perverted to such an extent as to crush all moral instinct, but the moral law has been written in the soul by the finger of God in the beginning, and if the Indian after centuries has read this law according to his nature, need we marvel to find much therein analogous to the Christian doctrine?

What is the moral effect of this religion without God and immortality? There are many expressions in the canonical writings which, gathered together, would indeed make an excellent moral code; but there is also much which is contrary to our moral conception and to all reason. "Strive to become Buddha," is the fundamental principle of Buddhism. There is nothing in all the universe which is desirable save the liberation of self. Therefore it is taught in "*Dhamapada*," page 379, "Let self urge on self, let self try self, and watching over self you will live happily, oh, monk; for self is the vanquisher of self; self is the refuge of self; therefore control self as a merchant would his noble steed." Buddhism is essentially the religion of selfishness. Personal deliverance from all suffering is the aim of the Buddhist, and only that is useful which is subservient to this end. He may not hate his neighbor, for hatred is desire, and desire hinders him in attaining Nirvana. For the same reason he may not love his neighbor; for love, too, is desire. "Those alone who neither hate nor love have no fetters."<sup>1</sup> Kindness, mercy and benevolence are recommended, not through motives of love, but through a motive of utility, for reflection assured him that they are better than cruelty and tyranny. If Buddhism teaches the forgiveness of wrong, it is easily perceived that this forgiveness is not incited by a love of enemies, but by the fact that reconciliation and forgiveness are more convenient than revenge. As it is with love, so it is with all virtues. They have no intrinsic value. A virtuous life is good because it is useful in the attainment of the highest knowledge and Nirvana. "Him I call truly wise who in this world is lifted above good and evil, lifted above the submission to either."<sup>2</sup> "He who regards virtue, or a life of virtue, as the highest end to be attained in this world, is rebuked by the sacred books, for the loss of it would cause man to suffer; he yearns and prays for it like one who has lost his caravan or has wandered from his home. It creates in him desire."<sup>3</sup> "Acts are to be avoided, for every kind of act is impelled by some motive of love or hate (*rajas*), and as *rajas* colors a pure and upright existence, tarnishes it more or less, therefore must he who strives to avoid all impurity act as

<sup>1</sup> *Dhamapada*.

<sup>2</sup> *Dhamapada*.

<sup>3</sup> *Sutta Nipata*. Vid Müller, S. B. E.



little as possible."<sup>1</sup> "Not faith, strengthened by works, not hope in a reward for the good accomplished in this world, not charity to his neighbor, nothing that comprises the great motive of Christian works, is an incentive to the follower of Buddha. It is only essential for him to comprehend the four truths in order to attain perfection and Nirvana; it is only necessary for him to walk in the eightfold path. Righteousness is the lowest degree of moral worth; far higher is meditation and self-contemplation, and highest is wisdom. Morality has worth only as it is useful to an end, in this world, to the enjoyment of a happy life, and to the final absolute end, deliverance."<sup>2</sup>

Buddhism is not for the poor in spirit, and in this particular it is the opposite of Christianity. The religion of Christ is for all—the lowliest as well as the most enlightened. Being a gospel of love, it comprehends humanity in its all-engrossing scope. Not only he whose mind can comprehend the abstract notions of a speculative belief, but all who are capable of a simple, earnest belief in a loving God, and of a desire to attain by righteous living a union with Him in the life beyond, may reach eternal happiness. Not so the Buddhist. His salvation depends upon knowledge. The gospel preached to him is a mass of abstruse, speculative sophism. Can his understanding grasp it? If so, he may attain enlightenment; otherwise, salvation is not for him. He who is burdened with cares of this world, who has entered upon the fierce struggle of existence for himself, for his wife, and for his children, finds little time or occasion for sophistic speculation, which, according to Buddha himself, will only, after years of severe application, lead to the desired result. Therefore, it is declared that the law is not for those who lead a family life.<sup>3</sup> "Family life is suffering, is the seat of impurity. Only he who leads a monastic life can avoid sin." "From a family life comes contamination." "He alone is wise who wanders about homeless, who has resigned all service to his fellow-man, who has lifted himself above the serving of gods, who is free from all service, and whose path is known neither to the gods, to the demons, nor to the men."<sup>4</sup> Not for him who is a member of the family, nor even to him who clings to the social order, is salvation, but for him who isolates himself from the rest of humankind, becoming an outcast and a beggar. If he crush the love for his wife and child out of his heart, if he learn to regard all men with absolute indifference, if he break all social ties, the consolation remains for him that his merit will in another existence invest something else with a fuller

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<sup>1</sup> Kern.

<sup>3</sup> *Sutta-Nipata*.

<sup>2</sup> Oldenburg, *Buddha*, 295.

<sup>4</sup> Oldenburg's, *Dhamapada*, 411.



perfection than was his lot in this world, and which something may finally reach Nirvana.

Is there aught in this marvellous web of human ideas—in which the warp is purest egotism and the woof a strange self-denial—which approaches the law of Christ? Love thy God and love thy neighbor as thyself has commanded the Saviour of the world. Love thyself to the exclusion of all else—for all else will bring pain and suffering into thy life—declares he who has been pointed out as a prototype of Jesus Christ, and whose code of laws has been declared to be the source of the divine precept of Christian love. Buddhism, which teaches that all in this world is delusion, producing pain and sorrow and misery, that there is no hope, no light, no actual substantial happiness even hereafter, but that surcease of sorrow is only in non-existence, leads not upward. If, therefore, there are those that maintain that Buddha is the "Light of Asia," that he has led countless numbers to the light, they but demonstrate their own blindness, and that they, in reality, see no light who have ceased to see in Him who declared to a suffering world that He is the way, the Truth and the Life, the Light which shines for all the world.

J. S. GEISLER.

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## Scientific Chronicle.

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### A MAGNO-MICROSCOPE.

It appears that we are on the eve of a revolution in dioptrics. What we have long been accustomed to designate as the "wonders of the microscope" will be dwarfed into very pigmy marvels indeed. It is stated that Prof. Gates, of Washington, has worked out a process by which objects can be magnified to a size three hundred times greater than by any microscope now in use. The process is one by which the magnified object projected on a lens can be magnified by a second, as if the reflection were a real object. Prof. Gates says that the power of the instrument is three million diameters.

If this discovery fulfils all that is claimed for it, it will deserve to be ranked as an original discovery in dioptrical science, and the discoverer will be more fortunate than he or those who invented the original simple microscope, for the honor of which there is a scramble between the partisans of Malpighi, Lieberkühn, Hooke, Ellis, Swam-Werdam, Lyonnnet, and several other scientific men. Sir David Brewster made the important discovery of the superiority of ground gems, such as diamond, sapphire and garnet, to the ordinary glass magnifiers previously in use. The garnet lenses were found the best of these, as they show no trace of the double refraction tendency inseparable from the sapphire and the diamond. Dr. Wollaston, who discovered the system of compound lenses, made the first great advance in the direction now claimed by Prof. Gates; but his improvement appears to have been rather the result of chance discovery than mathematical cogitation. Mr. Tolles, of Boston, deserves credit for the invention of a decided improvement, much in the direction of Mr. Gates's discovery, an achromatic concave contrivance called an amplifier, which is introduced into the body of the instrument. But Prof. Gates's method, if his expectations be realized, must upset the conclusions of many eminent men regarding the limits of microscopic vision and segregation. It ought to be an invaluable help in determining the real nature and source of the light obtained from the famous Crookes tubes.

It is not very surprising to find that ancient civilization was acquainted with the principle of the microscope. Mr. Layard found a rude one in his Nineveh explorations amid the ruins of the palace of Nimrud. The apparatus was fashioned from a piece of rock-crystal. In Athens magnifying glasses were common articles of commerce as far back as the days of Aristophanes, and we may be certain that Archimedes devoted much attention to their scientific properties when he proposed to utilize his "burning-glasses," as the legend goes, to the destruction of hostile

fleets. The author of "Quo Vadis" recalls the fact that the tyrant Nero was in the habit of using one of these magnifiers, an immense cut emerald, for the purpose of scrutinizing faces at a distance. It was not good for any one to be the object of his scientific scrutiny, for the magnifying power was directed toward the discovery of the faults, and not the virtues, of the person, for he was no less an adept in the use of poisons than in the proper construction of Latin poetry—a pagan Admirable Crichton with a diabolical turn in all his versatile accomplishments.

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### TREBLING THE SPEED OF RAILWAY TRAVEL.

The possibility of attaining enormous speed on electric railroads is discussed in the "Engineering Magazine" for October by Messrs. Charles H. Davis and F. Stuart Williamson. What is proposed is undoubtedly startling, yet the reasons advanced seem to bring the theory within the domain of feasibility, bearing in mind the fact that electric power is an agency whose force is limited only by the capabilities of the instruments to which it is applied. A train running at a speed of 170 miles an hour is what is contemplated, so as to cover the distance between New York harbor and Philadelphia in a little over 36 minutes. Astonishing as the proposition is, when the mathematical details on which it is based are examined there appears nothing visionary about it. The problem is worked out very carefully, and all the topographic groundwork is taken from minute maps made from governmental surveys.

Restricted entirely to passenger traffic, it is proposed to have the cars built so as to carry 140 passengers each, and driven by 6 wheels of 7 feet diameter. The front and rear cars would be provided with a sloping hood or bonnet, so as to reduce the atmospheric resistance, so that the train complete would appear somewhat like an elongated torpedo. Each car would weigh about 150 tons. Power would be supplied from five central stations along the proposed route. To effect the end in view, it would be necessary to have power supplied by a "third rail," lying close to the side of the cars, and therefore elevated a couple of feet above the ordinary track—this rail to be of steel, and supplied with a current from the feeder system running between the tracks. Such a plan is already in operation on the Brooklyn Bridge, and there is no reason to believe it would not work equally well on a longer system. The greatest difficulties to be overcome lie in the attainment of a perfect signalling system, but the proposers do not seem to think they are by any means insuperable. Rear-end collisions would be the only ones to be guarded against, and the automatic arrangements for the prevention of such contingencies should be, of course, such as could be perfectly relied on. The question of the great speed proposed being attainable without inconvenience to passengers is gone into carefully, and decided in the affirmative. All the engineering problems in connection with the project are discussed down to the smallest detail, and



the conclusion arrived at is that the construction and operation of such a line of railway is feasible. The question of cost, working expenses and probable receipts is held over for a succeeding paper.

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### THE LIMITATIONS OF CARRIER-PIGEONS.

With the fate of Professor Andrée and his Arctic balloon is bound up the solution of the question of the powers of carrier-pigeons. The audacious aeronaut took with him twenty-five of these interesting birds, and only one came back. This bird was liberated in lat.  $82^{\circ}$ . The others were to have been liberated, according to Andrée's programme, day after day. An English naturalist, Mr. Tegetmeier, gives it as his opinion that carrier-pigeons are not able to traverse the great distance that in less than one day would separate the travellers from the home of the pigeons, and still less to traverse the 870 miles between Tromsøe and the North Pole. Pigeons have flown from Belgium to Rome (less than 900 miles), but the proportion of those that made the journey was very small; besides, the flight took fifteen days; and, finally, it was made under favorable conditions, in that, wherever a pigeon might alight, he found food and a resting-place. These conditions are absolutely lacking in the Arctic regions, and the probability is that the pigeons of the expedition have perished miserably and uselessly.

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### THE GENERATION OF AIR-WAVES.

Professor S. P. Thompson, who has devoted great attention to the study of physics, some time ago exhibited before the Royal Society in London, and other scientific institutions, a model designed to illustrate mechanically his theory of the mode of propagation of transverse air-waves. This apparatus he now describes in an article in the "Electrical Engineer."

The apparatus is mounted on a strong wooden frame, about two metres long. At one end is the "oscillator," a heavy mass of brass hung by two strong V-cords from arms which project parallel to the longer dimension of the frame. This mass can be set swinging in a transverse direction by a suitable impulse given by hand. At the other end of the frame is the "resonator," a circle of brass wire hung by a tri-filar suspension. Oscillator and resonator must be adjusted by shortening or lengthening the cords so as to have identical periods of oscillation.

The real problem in the construction of the apparatus was to find a mechanical means of transmitting the energy of the oscillator in visible waves to the resonator. The means finally adopted was a series of inter-connected pendulums on a plan somewhat similar to one suggested in 1877 by Professor Osborne Reynolds. Instead of using springs, however, the requisite inter-connection is obtained by simply suspending the leaden bullets which act as pendulum-bobs by V-suspensions which overlap, and which are tied together at a point about 4 centi-

metres above each of the balls. No ball can be laterally displaced without tending to drag its neighbor also, so that a shearing stress is transmitted along the line of balls.

The waves in the model travel quite slowly, and there is a fascination in watching their progress along the row of balls until they arrive at the resonator and set it into responsive vibration. A row of inter-connected pendulums such as this affords a means of illustrating many points in physics. A piece of netting, hung on hooks from a horizontal rail, and ending below in a short fringe, with leaden beads on the fringe tips, will also serve to illustrate the propagation of a transverse wave. The structure adopted absolutely refuses to transmit longitudinal disturbances, there being no compressional elasticity between the balls to propagate a longitudinal wave.

### PHOTOGRAPHING THE WHOLE STARRY FIRMAMENT.

In "Popular Science News" (September) Mary Proctor tells of efforts to make a complete celestial survey by its means. The author's father, Richard A. Proctor, the astronomer, was the first to prepare in a single chart a map of all stars that could be seen in the northern heavens with a telescope  $2\frac{1}{2}$  inches in diameter, and after completing the work he suggested extending the survey to greater and greater depths. Says Miss Proctor:

"A photographic survey is now being made of the heavens, in both the Northern and Southern hemispheres, of stars down to the eleventh magnitude, while another set of plates is being prepared showing stars down to the fourteenth magnitude. . . .

"The tedious work of charting the stars has been replaced by the simple method of placing a photographic plate in the telescope, which does the recording work perfectly and exactly. The highly-sensitive photographic plate records impressions from even the faintest stars if the exposure be long enough to allow the feeble light-rays to work on the delicate film. In this way stars are revealed that the human eye can never see. There seems to be no limit to the faintness of the stars that can be photographed with a good instrument, smaller and smaller stars revealing themselves the longer the time of exposure.

"Realizing how marvellous and powerful a weapon of astronomical research photography has become, a selection of photographs of stars, star-clusters and nebulae, by Dr. Isaac Roberts, is being published in "Knowledge," a magazine founded by my father in the year 1881. . . .

"When these photographs are examined," writes Dr. Roberts, "it will be seen that the stars on several parts of each plate are grouped into semicircles, segments, portions of ellipses, and into lines of various degrees of curvature. Some of the groups are constituted of bright stars of nearly equal magnitude; some are of faint stars, also of nearly equal magnitude; some are of both bright and faint stars, and there is much regularity in the spacing distances between the stars in the several



groups. Photographs showing curves and combinations of stars have been taken by the Brothers Henry in Paris, by Dr. Gill at the Cape, by M. Russell at Sydney, by Mr. Max Wolf at Heidelberg, by Von Gothard in Hungary, by Professor Pickering and Professor Barnard in America, and by others in various parts of the world, and they all confirm the reality of stellar groupings in the part of the sky to which they refer.' "

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### THE HEIGHT OF CLOUDS.

The much-discussed problem of the height of clouds is again occupying scientific men. The search-light ought to be extremely serviceable in this inquiry, and many years ago the feasibility of so using it was suggested by Professor Cleveland Abbe. Considering the adaptability of this luminous measuring-rule to every form of distance-determination, by reason of the facilities for fixing its processes, it is somewhat astonishing that it has been so long neglected. Professor Abbe returned to the subject lately in the "*Weather Review*." He pointed out the greatly-increased facilities which modern improvements in the search-light afford for the pursuit of accurate investigation. Thus, in harbors on the sea-coast, where one wishes to ascertain the presence and development of low-lying fogs, the search-light which renders them visible is an invaluable assistant. A year ago some accounts were published relative to the cloud-effects on Mount Low and at Pasadena. According to these accounts, Mount Low is about fifteen miles north-northeast from Los Angeles, and about six miles in a straight line from Pasadena. When the beam of light fell upon the bodies of clouds they at once became luminous, so that all the details of motion were visible; when the beam fell upon the falling rain, the great cone of light glowed like molten metal. It seems, concludes Prof. Abbe, that the formation and motion of fog and cloud at night-time could be advantageously studied by means of the search-light. The height at which fog first forms and its gradual extension upward and downward during the night would be a very interesting and profitable investigation. Some time ago we were amused at speculations on the commercial uses to which the principle of the search-light might be applied. Clouds were to be utilized for the display of advertisements, for instance, and some daring minds even dreamed of our being able to communicate with the inhabitants of other planets—if any such there be—by some development of this useful agency. All these roseate dreams have for the present faded out of memory, or been found impracticable on test-experiments. But as this is the age when the seemingly wildest visions of the scientific enthusiast are being daily realized, we need not conclude that the project of cloud-language is by any means an abandoned chimera.

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### RECLAMATION OF SWAMPS.

The State Geologist of New Jersey, Mr. Smock, lately made a visit to Holland to see how that wonderful little country has coped with



problems similar to those presented by the New Jersey swamps, and the State Engineer has made a report on the whole matter. From a notice of this report in the "Scientific American" we take the following extracts:

"It is stated that of the two systems of reclamation, filling and diking, the latter is the better, and, indeed, the only one feasible in this case. It is stated that, even if these marshes are filled up for city purposes, pumping will still have to be resorted to, as there will not be sufficient fall to sewer and drain the district by gravity. Filling to the extent of six feet will cost an average of \$2500 per acre. The area can be embanked and pumping-works installed for about \$1,000,000, or less than \$40 per acre. . . .

"It is recommended that at first only the embankments and main ditches and pumping-plants should be constructed, the whole area being laid out in twenty-acre farms and sold as promptly as possible, on the express condition that they should be immediately and thoroughly ditched and brought under cultivation. It is urged that the prompt improvement of each plot should be considered more important than the purchase-price. As soon as sanitary conditions have been brought about, the improvement of water-front and business and manufacturing sites could be carried out as fast as they could be sold, the proceeds paying for the improvements.

"The interest charges and operating expenses are estimated at \$6 to \$7 per acre, and it is predicted that in a few years this charge could be entirely covered by assessments on the property itself, any deficiencies in the interim being met by the surrounding districts that are benefited by the undertaking."

The present state of the marshes is thus set forth by Mr. Vermuele, the State Engineer:

"Underlying the 27,000 acres of marsh is a mass of alluvium mixed with peat, wood and other vegetable matter, more or less decayed. The depth of this accumulation ranges generally from seven to fifteen feet. The natural level of the surface is three or four inches above mean high tide, but the whole is frequently overflowed, and such extreme tides as that of the second week of last November cover it to an average depth of eighteen inches. Lately an unhealthy and undesirable population is beginning to be crowded upon them. Twelve lines of railroad cross the marshes, six of them trunk lines, and the impression made is unprepossessing. . . .

"The objections to the meadows on the ground of their intrinsic ugliness, however, is the least serious that can be raised, for their existence has always been a menace to the health of the surrounding districts, and in the summer months they form a prolific breeding-ground for the hordes of mosquitoes that render life burdensome in the many picturesque and otherwise desirable suburbs of Jersey City."

The "Scientific American" comments on the report as follows:

"If the estimates of the report are not too sanguine, the whole scheme should meet with hearty approval. The substitution of over

forty square miles of good land for a dismal and malodorous swamp in the midst of a district whose taxable value is \$3,000,000,000 is a proposition that should commend itself strongly to the authorities and property-owners who are immediately affected, and indirectly to the State at large."

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#### WILD INDIAN CORN.

On the much-debated question whether or not Indian corn grows in a wild state on this continent, Mr. R. P. Harris wrote some time ago, in "Garden and Forest":

"That such a corn has been found in several regions of this continent, naturally reproducing itself, and that it has a character of growth that fits it for long preservation in a dry climate, although, if planted and cultivated for a few years, all the characteristics of wildness gradually disappear. The cobs of wild maize are thin and hard, covered with lines of mushroom-shaped elevations, each having a wire-like pedicle growing from the top, attached to a glume enclosing a small pointed grain, or a flat grain, smaller than any pop-corn. These kernel husks overlap each other toward the point of the ear, like the shingles on the roof of a house. The imbrications are largest and longest at the butt of the ear, and gradually become less pronounced as they advance in distinct rows to the point. The individual glumes are from an inch to two inches long, and are much longer than this where the grains are not fertilized, particularly if the entire ear is of this character, as is proved by a specimen in my collection. Over these imbrications is the outside husk as we have it in all cultivated corns." Mr. Harris further says that Indian corn in its wild state has been found in Arizona, southern Texas, the valley of Mexico, and Central America. He has known Rocky Mountain corn a long period of time; it has very small ears. One of the professors of the University of Mexico has been experimenting with the wild corn of the valley, and has the engraving of a plant that grew to be about five feet high. Wild corn has also been grown by the Landreths, near Philadelphia, to whom it was sent from Arizona. Some found by Dr. Williams, of Houston, Tex., is a white flint of large size; but fifteen stalks produced only four ears, which grew on two of the stalks. The plant is a very vigorous grower, but it is not productive, and eight stalks grown in Texas did not bear a single ear.

We do not see any force in the objections to the belief in wild Indian corn. It has been pretty well demonstrated that a good many of the present European cereals grew in very early times in a wild state along the shores of the Mediterranean Sea.

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#### THE BICYCLE AS A DISEASE-DEVELOPER.

An eminent English physician, Dr. Shadwell, has given some experiences of his in regard to bicycle maladies, in an article in the "National Review." He says, amongst other things:



"Here is a case. A girl, healthy, rather stronger than the average, able to take her part with the rest in other things, learns to cycle. She rides with her friends, and rather enjoys it. To all appearances she can do as much as anybody in short flights. One day they go farther, nothing much, perhaps ten miles; the result, utter collapse, with bed for several days. And the same thing happens whenever she ventures beyond the merest potter. Her friends, no stronger, no more experienced, are not affected in the same way at all. She 'overtaxed her strength.' Of course she did; but she did not know she was doing it, and had no reason to suppose it. That was just the mischief. Sometimes the consequences are much more serious. In one case within my knowledge a girl developed exophthalmic goitre as the result of a rather long ride, which she supposed herself able to accomplish without difficulty. Her throat swelled at the time, never went down, and quickly developed into a well-marked case. This obscure but serious affection is said to be chiefly caused by 'mental excitement.' Another form of organic injury that I have come across is internal inflammation, of which the symptoms are much pain and a kind of chronic dysentery, extremely obstinate and of the most lowering character. 'The after-effects of cycling,' says an experienced rider and one accustomed to far more violent forms of exercise, 'are quite different from those of any other outdoor exercise with which I am acquainted, and less pleasant. Even a short ride leaves me with a pallid face, a palpitating heart, the beginnings of a headache, and a tendency to insomnia.' Another speaks of the 'peculiar form of nervous exhaustion,' and 'that strained feeling which led to insomnia and headache.' A third, the 'holder of many cups won on the running-path and river,' declares himself 'quite unable to cycle, as even a short run on a machine at the easiest of paces gives me a severe headache.' . . . Now I submit that the theory of over-exertion is quite inadequate to explain the kind of effects here described. To my mind they point distinctly to a cerebral, and not to a muscular origin."

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#### EXPERIMENTS IN "COLD LIGHTING."

In an article under the above heading "The Sanitary Plumber" tells us that the present methods of illumination are to be superseded, not by improved incandescent or arc lamps, not by glow-tubes, like those of Tesla or Moore, nor even by Edison's lamp in which the Roentgen rays fall on a phosphorescent substance and cause it to glow—although this last comes nearer than any of the others to the coming system. The "light of the future" is practically a Crookes tube containing phosphorescent material, which is made to give out light by allowing the cathode rays to fall directly upon it.

Interesting experiments, according to the European press, are now being made by the Austrian physician Puluj, whose researches and discoveries in the domain of what is known as "cold light" have given him prominence and standing in the scientific world. Fifteen years ago he invented a so-called phosphorescent lamp. It excited little comment



at the time, as it was thought to be but an imitation of the tubes of Geissler or Crookes. But in the light of modern ether discoveries it has taken on importance. It generates not only intense Roentgen rays, but it also transforms nearly all of the energy of the electric current into light. It emits an intense greenish-white light in sufficient quantity to "illuminate a small room." Professor Ebert has made measurements which show that a single horse-power of electric energy would be sufficient to operate 46,000 Puluj lamps.

Professor Lodge, who is the head of the department of experimental physics in Universal College, Liverpool, says that "if mechanical energy can be converted entirely into light alone, one man turning the crank of a suitable machine could generate enough light for a whole city." Puluj claims that his lamp fulfils this condition, and he is working hard to bring it down to a practical basis.

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### THE CHINESE CLOCK SYSTEM WINNING.

The West is taking one more idea from the Celestial Empire. We believe it was from the Chinese we got our notions of a banking system; possibly, too, our notions of printing from blocks was brought from the same quarter. Now the Chinese method of division of the day seems likely to supersede our less perfect one. On all the Belgian railroads the twenty-four-hour clock is now in use for the timing of the traffic, and the system is hailed as an improvement. In Italy the system has been for some time on trial, and the results are said to be satisfactory. Switzerland and Germany seem disposed to take it up, and we may expect in a short time to find it in operation all over Europe, except in Russia, where the obstinacy of the government will not allow the change from the old calendar to the Gregorian. Some grumblings against the new clock have been heard. One correspondent complains that the inversion of the usual order of hours and minutes in the time-tables (which is one feature of the new arrangement) leads to desperate confusion. He puts the case this way:

"Suppose you intend to take the Cologne express. You look through the time-tables, and find that it leaves at 23.26. How are you to know that this means 11.26 P.M.? Again, you board the 5.40 A.M. train at Cologne, and are horrified to discover that it reaches Brussels at 21.29—in reality 9.29 P.M. Surely the current division of time in half days of twelve hours each is much more satisfactory."

The "Frankfurter Zeitung" regards these complaints as foolish, and says:

"It is not at all difficult to get familiar with it. From 0 to 12 indicates the hours before noon; subtract 12 from every higher number, and you have the afternoon time according to the prevalent system. Surely this is simple enough. There is no doubt that the old style is responsible for many mistakes in railroad travelling. The reform, therefore, should be welcomed by all friends of progress in the system of international transportation."

## SCIENTIFIC VALUE OF NOXIOUS REPTILES.

How many ignorant and impatient people are to be found declaiming against the Eternal Wisdom on account of some petty annoyance from the small things of the air or the field—flies or house-pests, and the like—wondering why such things were ever created, and otherwise proving their own superior judgment. Yet the further we advance in knowledge the more proof do we daily find of the truth of Pope's dictum :

“ All Nature is but art, unknown to thee ;  
All chance, direction—which thou canst not see.”

Not long ago it was announced that a French priest in the far East had found that a cure for cancer was to be found in the secretions under the skin of the toad and certain species of lizards. Now we have another instance of the usefulness of more venomous members of the saurian family.

Experiments with the bile of the African cobra, the puff adder, and the rattlesnake, it was stated at a meeting of the Royal Society of Edinburgh, showed that the bile, when mixed with the venom of serpents, was able to prevent lethal doses of the latter from producing death. Although non-toxic in the alimentary canal, the bile salts and pigments acted as poisons when injected under the skin or into a blood-vessel. It was improbable that bile in its natural form could be used as an antidote except by internal administration or by application to the wound caused by a snake-bite. To the United States Marine Hospital Service the report on these experiments has been forwarded, with a view of testing their value.

## DANGER IN THE TURKISH BATH.

So many advantages are presented by the ever-agreeable Turkish bath that we are apt to overlook the danger that may lurk in the indulgence of one if our physical condition or the aërostatic state of the bath itself be, for the time being, unsuitable. Cases of death in the bath have sometimes been heard of, and, as a word of precaution, a recent issue of the “Hospital” (London) remarked :

“ The essential peculiarity of the Turkish, as distinct from all other forms of baths, is the very much higher temperature to which the bather is subjected. In the hottest room the temperature may be from 250° to 300° F. ; that is, about the temperature at which an oven is kept for the baking of puff pastry, and considerably higher than is required for ordinary cakes or for baking meat. Under these circumstances, the safety of the bather depends on two things—his power of perspiring and the power possessed by the air in the bath of evaporating his perspiration. To take the latter first, it must never be forgotten that the Turkish bath is not a vapor bath. It is a hot-air bath, and the life of the bather depends on the air remaining far from saturated with watery vapor. If, in consequence of any deficiency of ventilation, this hot air

were to become saturated with moisture, evaporation from the bather's skin would cease, and he would be steamed alive. His safety depends absolutely and entirely on evaporation from the surface of the skin and the bronchial mucous membrane. This being so, it is obvious that the bather will suffer distress, and, in fact, be affected with partial heat-stroke, even when the ventilation is good, if his own capacity for perspiration is diminished."

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### EXPLOSIVE SHELLS OF NATURAL MANUFACTURE.

It is a well-known fact that many kinds of deep-sea fish brought up from the lower depths of the ocean explode when near the surface through want of lung power to resist the unusual quantities of oxygen with which they are brought into contact. But of shell-fish that explode without any such cause, we do not remember any previous mention.

"Walking along the beach on Mobile Bay recently," says "The National Druggist," "a young lady picked up a handful of little shells, left by the tide, and among them several shells of a small marine 'snail,' the largest of which was probably a half-inch in diameter and the smallest some three-eighths inch. She dropped them into her pocket and forgot all about them until several days afterward, when an unpleasant odor in her wardrobe attracted her attention to them. On taking them out of the pocket some fell on the floor, and in recovering them she placed her foot on one. The act was followed by an explosion, quite sharp, and loud enough to be heard all over the floor on which her room is. Astonished, she concluded to try another, and the same result followed. On examination, it was found the mouth of each shell was firmly closed by a membrane of greater or less thickness, formed by the drying of the animal slime. This had probably occurred soon after removal from the moisture of the beach, and the little inhabitant of the shell dying, the gases of decomposition had quite filled its internal space. On exerting a little pressure by squeezing the shell between two blocks of wood, quite a loud explosion was produced, the fragments of the shell being thrown several feet. Subsequently, on trying the experiment, out of a dozen shells only two failed to explode."

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### SCIENTIFIC JOTTINGS.

"PARIS barbers and hairdressers are now obliged, in accordance with police regulations, to employ sanitary measures in carrying on their business," says "The Medical News." "They are required to use only nickel-plated combs, to substitute pulverizers for powder-puffs, to cover the hair cut off with sawdust and have it promptly removed, and to place all metal instruments, razors, shears, combs, clippers, etc., in a sterilizer for ten minutes before they are used."

"It has been found by M. J. Puluje," says "The Electrical World,"



"that substances which fluoresce most brightly under the visible cathode rays give off the greatest amount of Roentgen radiation. M. Puluj believes that Roentgen ether-waves originate in the bombardment by negatively charged molecules from the cathode, and in the abrupt loss of charge in these. He finds that these Roentgen ether-waves may cause fluorescence of calcium sulphid, but believes that invisible as well as visible radiation emanate from a screen of this substance. M. Puluj states that vacuum-tubes of all kinds glow when subjected to the action of Roentgen rays."

"A LARGE Dussand microphonograph, now being constructed for the Paris Exhibition of 1900, is expected to make the voice heard by 10,000 people," says "The Electrical Review." "This form of apparatus is especially designed for the deaf, and for the study of the feeble sounds given out by the organs of the body in health and disease. It magnifies the voice much as a lens magnifies objects to the eye. The register is a modified phonograph, with a diaphragm vibrated by small electro-magnets, receiving currents through a microphone; the repeater is somewhat similar, with a microphone attached to the membrane, the current for this being obtained from one to sixty battery-cells and thence passing to a telephone. The intensity depends upon the amount of current passing. The instrument is being used in the education of deaf-mutes, and has had a marked effect in stimulating the nerves and apparatus of hearing."

ACCORDING to "L'Echo des Mines," Paris, bullets of paper covered with aluminum are the latest thing in ammunition. "This invention, made by a French officer, tends to do away with the seriousness of wounds made by lead balls, or those with steel coverings, owing to the rupture of the bony parts. According to the patent granted to Richard Luders of Grlitz, the precision of fire is in nowise affected, but the passage made by the projectiles through the body is absolutely straight and permits of a rapid closing of the wound."

"ACCORDING to the doctrine of permutations," says "Electricity," "there is a necessary limit to the possible number of arrangements of any given number of units, symbols, words, etc., the logical conclusions being that the time will come when it will be impossible for a composer to make a new tune, for the author to write a new story, or for the physicist to perform a new experiment or obtain a new result. Mr. Fournier D'Albe, according to "The Electrician" (London), has figured out by this means that the total possible number of physical experiments is 3,200. Of these about 2,000 have already been performed, leaving only about 1,200 more to complete the history of physical science. This is scarcely enough to go around, and those who would participate in putting on the finishing touches to science should bestir themselves. Mr. D'Albe, however, probably did not consider how vastly the number of permutations would be increased by the addition of a single element.

## Book Notices.

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SOCIALISM AND CATHOLICISM, from the Italian of Count Edward Soderini. By Richard Jennery-Shee. Longmans, Green & Co. 1896. Pp. x., 343.

It is easy to formulate the Social Question in terms of political science, but through the high-sounding phrase the practical mind discerns the ultimate problem—the stomach question, “How to get on table, if possible, meat—or at least vegetables—at some hour of the day for all of us”—on this clear necessity turns the entire business of the world, as Mr. Ruskin expressed it long ago; and this, at bottom, is *the* social question. The stern fact is more and more deepening into the general consciousness—one might even say conscience—that for thousands of human beings the question is quite insoluble.

That there are multitudes of men and women, especially in our large cities, able and willing to work, who can find no visible means of support, and that of the vast army of toilers a large percentage are insufficiently clad and housed—this has become, and still more and more becomes, an abiding phenomenon of our present social status. And yet, in view of the unfailing bounty of Mother Earth, it is passing strange, at least on first inspection, or when the question is presented in its general terms, that such a problem should at all exist. Yet exist it does, and sooner or later a solution must be found and applied, or the inevitable forces of anarchism will cut the Gordian knot and solve the question by destroying at once the causes, the conditions and the environment which have made such a problem possible and given it birth.

One extreme solution of the difficulty—extreme, yet not extremest, since it falls short of anarchism—has been and is offered by socialism, viz., the abolition of the cause of the existing evil—private capital—and the substitution of collective ownership. “The economic quintessence of the socialistic program, the real aim of the international movement, is as follows: To replace the system of private capital (*i.e.*, the speculative method of production, regulated on behalf of society only by the free competition of private enterprises) by a system of collective capital, that is, by a method of production which would introduce a unified (social or ‘collective’) organization of national labor, on the basis of *collective* or common *ownership* of the *means of production* by all the members of the society. This collective method of production would remove the present competitive system by placing under official administration such departments of production as can be managed collectively (socially or corporatively), as well as the distribution among all of the common produce of all, according to the amount and social utility of the productive labor of each. This represents, says Dr. Schäffle, in the shortest possible formula, the aim of the socialism of to-day, however variously expressed, and in some cases obscurely conceived, may be the proposed methods for attaining it.”<sup>1</sup>

To tell the story of this theory and method, especially in its more re-

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<sup>1</sup> *Quintessence of Socialism*, ci.



cent and so-called scientific form, as devised and advocated by Lasalle and Karl Marx, to show the inadequacy of the system as a solution of the social question, to point to some remedies, and to exhibit the principles and general method by which alone the existing social and economical difficulties can be met—these are the central objects of Count Soderini's work, an English translation of which is here at hand.

The account and refutation of socialistic theories are clear and philosophical. General socialism is an old method of meeting social evils, and has always proved ineffectual because of its advocating extreme measures that conflict with the individual nature of man. On the other hand it contains, especially in its modern scientific form, a certain measure of truth, and a right theory must enucleate the sounder elements and discard the false and worthless. But here comes in the real difficulty—that which calls for great breadth and depth of vision on the part of the social philosopher—viz., the discernment of the province of State intervention, the fixing of the limits between individualism on the one hand and governmental interference and legislation on the other, in matters economical and industrial. It is at this uncertain boundary, of course, that theorists and theories diverge, one claiming a larger liberty for the man, another a restriction of that liberty and a correspondingly larger intervention on the part of the State. The true and just theory here, as elsewhere, lies in the golden mean. The determination of that mean depends on a sound psychology and a proportionately firm ethics—individual and social. After analyzing the subject, Count Soderini establishes his point of view in the oft-quoted analogy of the parental state. "To sum up the whole in one thought," he says, "we hold that the State should be likened to an earnest-minded father of a family whose sons, being of age, that is, knowing how to reason for themselves, require only a guide to direct, in certain cases, their reasoning power. Hereby our severance seems to be well-marked off from the socialists, who desire the State to be like a father of a family, but an absolute and tyrannical parent, whose sons are declared incapable *a priori* of attaining to the age of reasoning" (p. 236).

From this standpoint the author proceeds to enumerate some spheres of State intervention wherefrom "remedies" would be likely to emanate. Amongst these are found legal recognition of labor associations—the Sunday rest—the normal day's work—woman and child labor—guilds—courts of arbitration and conciliation—boards and labor committees—prevention of dishonest speculation—savings banks—assurance societies—profit-sharing—credit institutes, etc. On these and many other points the author presents suggestions, wise and hopeful. But neither in these, any more than in socialism, lies the true—true because complete—answer to the social question. Back of them all, and informing each, must be the vivifying influence of religion—in a "return to Christianity" alone is there hope for society. It is in the emphasizing of this radical remedy, in the exposition of its true inwardness, in the demonstration of its efficacy by appeal to facts, past and present, as well as to the highest authority in political and economic science, that the chief merit of Count Soderini's work consists. It is partly from an aversion to the restraints which religion puts on human passions, partly from a false or defective philosophy of society and economics, that socialists refuse to recognize Christianity as the root solvent of social ills. On the other hand, it is the broad and incisive vision of writers such as Count Soderini that enables these to discern the necessity of supernatural influences, in order to perfect and render possible the thorough application of merely natural remedies. The ways in which Christianity is



felt in the evolution and control of the forces intrinsic to society are eloquently defended by our author. Christianity, he says, "far from interposing obstacles to the development of public well-being, to the perfecting of knowledge, to the discoveries of science and the rational comforts of life, helps forward, and even blesses, every one of those things as such, by rendering it a matter of strict duty to respect the property of others, and by enjoining as an inviolable and universal law the love of labor and the necessity of good order. Christianity lends itself nobly to the splendor of the arts, to the magnificence of cities, to the spirit of association, to the advancement of industry and of agriculture, and, furthermore, to the production of wealth.

"It superadds, however, the necessity to control, in conformity with reason, all the appetites; to regulate the employment of wealth and restrain indulgence in comforts. It recommends whatever may render labor more profitable, economy more useful, the relations amongst men steadfastly peaceful and brotherly, and ourselves more energetic in the employment of our working powers. It desires, in addition, that wealth and well-being should be better apportioned, not only by means of justice and charity, but also through labor and foresight; that the several social bonds be held in respect, the rights of conscience and human liberty be kept inviolable, all legitimate authority acknowledged and obeyed; that each one in the measure within his sphere should help to advance the welfare of others by quickening himself to that charity which soothes the miseries of some, puts a curb on the selfishness of others, and strengthens the basis of true brotherly love in the name of God" (p. 312).

The passage reads like an extract from the Encyclical *Rerum Novarum* of Leo XIII. And well it may, for the main object of Count Soderini's work is to develop the letter and interpret the spirit of that memorable pronouncement. Propositions of the kind will, of course, to many have little meaning, and will be passed by as a vague theory whose generalities are too remote from realization to deserve patient study. Yet none the less they outline the one radical solution of the social question. It is well they have found so clear, forcible and practical an expositor as Count Soderini. One could wish that the translator had given himself greater freedom from the stiffness of foreign idioms. On the whole, however, the style is translucent, and the English-reading public may well be grateful for this version, even though it be not perfect, of so solid and interesting a contribution to the literature of social and economic science.

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THEOLOGIA FUNDAMENTALIS. Auctore *Ign. Ottiger, S.J.* Tom. I. De Revelatione Supernat. Friburgi: Herder (St. Louis, Mo.). 1897. Pp. xxiv., 928. Price, \$4.

Fundamental theology is defined by Fr. Ottiger as the "scientific defense and demonstration of the Christian-Catholic Church," and from another point of view, "the science which treats thoroughly (*erudite*) of the constitutive and directive principle of the various theological disciplines." It has, therefore, a double function to perform—first, to furnish a systematic apology and demonstration of the divine origin and authority of the Christian religion and its teacher, the Catholic Church; secondly, to lay a solidly scientific basis for special dogmatics. Taken in the rigid sense thus formulated, this department of theological study is comparatively recent, and of all its cognate branches

is the one in which progressive development of matter and method is most apparent.

Though the defenses of Christian faith directed against Jew and Pagan by the apologists of the early centuries, as well as the kindred writings of mediæval times against Islamism and the apologies refutatory of the beginnings of Protestantism, fall within the general scope of fundamental theology, still the science in its present limits and methods can hardly be said to antedate the opening decades of the last century, when the assaults of Deism against the possibility, necessity and knowability of revelation, and the authenticity and veracity of the Sacred Scriptures, aroused Catholic apologists to a systematic defense of the foundations and channels of revealed truth. Ever since that day the army of trained defenders of the faith has been on the increase. No period, however, in the life of this science has been so productive in efficient work as the past and present decades. The works of a popular character on the subject that have recently appeared in German, French, Italian, and last, because least, in English, added to the more didactic expositions in Latin, would, if gathered together, make quite a library. He would take but a superficial view of the scope and importance of this branch of knowledge, and would be ill-acquainted with the varying demands made upon the Christian apologists by the changing modes and phases of the intellectual life of the times, who would question the utility of this theological productiveness. It does not concern us, therefore, here and now to set up an apology for Apologetics. Suffice it to call attention to one of the most thorough contributions to the recent literature of the subject, and to point to the main features which merit for it the recognition of earnest students, especially of those who have completed an ordinary course of theology, or who are engaged in teaching either the science itself, as such, or the various parts of its subject—for the work appeals mainly to the well advanced.

Fr. Ottiger is conscious that, though much has been done by scholars in recent times to bring Apologetics nearer towards ideal perfection, there still remains room for further improvement. The lines on which he himself modestly strives in that direction are, first, towards a rigidly scientific method. This is manifest principally in his recision of subjects not falling strictly within the province of his science, such, viz., as are handled thoroughly either in philosophy, in special dogmatics, or in exegesis. Secondly, in a more exact and thorough development of the *Status Quæstionis* introductory to the central theses. This element has called for an almost entirely new treatment of a number of subjects, such, for instance, as the necessity of a supernatural revelation and the visibility of the Church. Another point of excellence is the full and closely-woven tissue of positive demonstration, and, on the other hand, the careful attention bestowed upon the statement and refutation of the objections urged by the opponents of religion at the present time. No pains, moreover, have been spared, the author assures us, in the verifications of passages from Patristic and other authorities, so that the student may feel safe not only that the citations are authentic, but that they have *per se* in the original sources the demonstrative value claimed for them in their present application, and that the excerpts have been made with no violence to the context whence they have been detached.

Much discussion has been going on during the past year or more in the French reviews regarding the most efficient method to be followed by Catholic apologists. Some writers are for discarding the older, traditional lines of defense and striving to win men to believe



by appealing to those harmonies of Christian faith which are more closely in touch with modern thought and tendencies. From this standpoint some would approach the *demonstratio Catholica* from the side of physical science, others from that of the comparative history of religions, others from the psychological and ethical requirements of human nature. This question of method is of course all-important. It is, however, too large a theme to be discussed just here. In passing, it may be observed that each and all of the new methods proposed are useful, and ought to be followed by writers of Christian apologies. Truth, whether natural or revealed, is many-sided, and they who would gain for it acceptance by the human mind may and should present it in lights the best calculated to manifest its claims and attractiveness. When, however, there is question of the structure of scientific Apologetics as such, no sounder or more logical method of defense and demonstration has yet been devised than that which starts from the idea and possibility of revelation, proves its necessity, its knowability, and the fact of its existence past and present. It adds no little to the student's confidence in the stability of these traditional lines of fundamental theology that so thoroughly equipped a scholar as Fr. Ottiger, after long experience and an all-around study of the subject under old and new lights, should base his present exhaustive work on the well-tried foundations of the past. A portion only, though a large one, of those foundations is laid in the present volume—that, namely, which concerns the theory (Sect. I.) and the fact (Sect. II.) of supernatural revelation.

Two more volumes are promised to complete the work. These will defend and demonstrate the theological doctrine on the Church of Christ, its institution, infallibility, etc. If they equal in matter and form the present volume, as doubtless they will, students of higher theology may justly feel proud of the splendid addition made to the literature of their science.

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THEOLOGIA MORALIS DECALOGALIS ET SACRAMENTATIS. Auctore P. Patritio Sporer, O.S.F. Novis curis edidit P. F. Irenæus Bierbaum, O.S.F. Tom. i., pp. ix., 878. Paderbornæ; Ex Typographia Bonifaciana, 1897.

Sporer was one of the great minds that illuminated the theological world and shed lustre on the family of St. Francis during the latter half of the seventeenth century. His work on the Decalogue and the Sacraments, which originally appeared in three volumes, is classified by so competent an authority as Lehmkuhl amongst the classics of its subject-matter. Pruner speaks of it as beyond praise, and finds the reason of its excellence in its admirable blending of the scholastic with the casuistic method—casuistic in the better sense of the term.

Clearness of presentation with practical application are merits which Scavini found in the work, whilst Hurter commends it for its solidity, erudition and perspicuity. It was one of the favorite authorities of St. Alphonsus, who speaks of the author as "in suis sententiis satis æquus," and, apparently in contrast with the rigorists of Sporer's time, "forte aliquando plus quam par est æquus." Probably one of the best commendations of the author is his deserving to rank in the same grade of theologians as his later brother in religion, Elbel. Few writers on moral theology possess the comprehensiveness, the firm grasp of detail, above all the perfect limpidity of style and felicity of illustration as Elbel. To say of any moralist that he is comparable to such an authority is no small encomium. It is, therefore, a happy idea that has prompted the editor of this new edition of Sporer to clothe the reprint in a



form identical with that in which he had previously presented the re-edited work of Elbel, thus typifying in its outer appearance the close inner resemblance of spirit and method of the two authors. Fr. Bierbaum has based the present edition on the text of the last edition published at Venice in 1756, collating with the latter the preceding Salisbury edition of 1692. The editorial work has consisted in verifying citations and in making such slight changes—designated by asterisks—as were required because of recent authoritative decrees of the Church. A second volume will complete the moral subjects connected with the Decalogue. A third on the Sacraments will terminate the work.

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PRÆLECTIONES DOGMATICÆ QUAS IN COLLEGIO DITTON-HALL. Habebat *Christianus Pesch, S.J.* Tom. iii. (De Sacr. Pœnit., Extr. Uctione, Ordine, Matrim.) Friburgi: Herder (St. Louis, Mo.). 1897. Pp. xiii., 432.

With the present volume Fr. Pesch brings his splendid series of volumes on "Dogmatic Theology" within one-fourth of completion. The fifth volume on Grace, pretermitted in the regular issue, is promised to appear next. An eighth volume, to be devoted to the Virtues, Sin, and *de Novissimis*, will bring the series to its close.

The present volume deals with subjects of the most deeply vital interest in the life of the Church and of individual souls—subjects in which the student of theology, including the clergy engaged in the practical exercise of the ministry, must needs be thoroughly grounded. The moral and devotional meaning and relations of the sacraments are based on the dogmatic teaching of the Church, and that teaching must be explained with all solidity and clarity if it is to fructify in practice. Solidity and clarity, it has been observed in our notices of the preceding volumes of the course, are the striking perfections of Fr. Pesch's prelections. The same remark holds good of the present volume.

The time has happily gone by when there is sufficient excuse for using an imperfectly-digested compendium as a text-book of dogma. The number of excellent *cursor*s, such as the one at hand, recently published, give ample material from which the professor of theology may make easy selection. It would be well, however, if the author of so extended a course as this prepared a synopsis which could be made the basis of the technical work of the class-room. The student could then make more efficient use of the extended work for filling out by reading and reference the compendious information obtained from the digest. Such a synopsis can, of course, be made by professors, or even exceptionally good students; but, on the whole, an author is best qualified for abridging his own work. With such a compend the present course would be better adapted for use in our seminaries, where but little more than an hour a day can be given to the study of dogma.

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POEMS, with other selections from the writings of *Sister M. Genevieve Todd*, of the Sisters of Providence. Introduction by the *Rt. Rev. F. S. Chatard, D.D.*, Bishop of Vincennes. New York: P. J. Kennedy.

Sacred poetry, like sermon-writing, seems easy and attractive to the tyro, and only difficult to the finished artist. The *infinitus numerus* rushes in where the angel might fear to tread. And so it happens that a religious title to a poem is usually considered a sign-post frankly and conscientiously set up in the highways of literature to warn the multitude away. For, indeed, very little of such poetry has either artistic

delicacy or devotional inspiration to recommend it. But let not the angel fear to tread that sublime pathway—"we will run after thee to the odour of thy ointments!" The words with which the Rt. Rev. Bishop begins his Introduction have but anticipated and assured our own judgment. "Charming, pure, fragrant as a lily" were the words that came as if spontaneously from our lips, as we finished reading the poems of Sister Mary Genevieve, a few days after she had passed to the bourne for which her soul had yearned." The poems combine artistic delicacy of form and finish with tender but solid piety. The poems "To My Soul" and "The Holy Family in Egypt" impressed us with special force. In the former the love-sigh of St. Paul, "Cupio dissolvi," blends with that other of St. M. Magdalen de Pazzi, "Non mori sed pati":

My eager soul, "be still,"  
Bide thou His time nor yet so ardent sigh,  
Nor beat like prisoned bird the dreary bars,  
That shut thee from the sky.

More sweet to creep the earth  
If there God's purpose lieth, than to shine  
A saint in glory, burning at His feet  
Enrapt in love divine.

Swan-like, when comes the hour,  
Shall break thy song and rise on heavenward wing—  
Love's perfect song that oft thy wistful lips  
Have tried, but ne'er could sing.

The other poem just mentioned introduces a very sweet lyric, "Sleep, sleep, sleep," somewhat similar in structure to the old Christmas carol, "Sleep, Holy Babe." "Lost to the world, but gathered to her God," we look with reverence on "the cast mantle she hath left behind her."

H. T. H.

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CATHOLIC SUMMER AND WINTER SCHOOL LIBRARY: LECTURES ON LITERATURE.  
By *Richard Malcolm Johnston*. Akron, O.: D. H. McBride & Co. Pp. 269.  
Price, 50 cents.

Small books on large subjects are not always great evils. They are not so when made by the masterly and artistic hand—by the mind that takes in a full survey of its theme, and, having at the same time the true instinct of proportion and perspective, is able to select those parts and features and arrange them in such positions and relations as will give the reader a clear and distinct idea of the subject presented. Books of this kind are demanded in this busy age, and when rightly made deserve a welcome. Such is the bright little booklet here at hand—bright in that winsomeness of form which is the marked characteristic of the Summer and Winter School series—a form here most apposite to the matter and spirit of the content.

To tell the story of English, French and Spanish literature within the diminutive bounds of this volume calls for a finished narrator, or else must end in a bald catalogue of bookish names and titles—the skeleton of a sketch, fleshless, bloodless, lifeless. When it is said that the task has been attempted by so accomplished a master of his art as Mr. Johnston—the friends of the venerable litterateur had rather we called him Colonel—it need not be said that the story lives and breathes with a human—a truly humane—instinct. Mr. Johnston has



not, of course, sought to crowd all even of the greatest literary figures and events into his short trilogy. This would certainly have been confounding confusion. In each story he has singled out salient points—special features or marked actors in the events—of the facts, and made his narrative there converge. Thus in English Literature the Drama is the focus, in French Literature the leading figures in the lettered Age of Louis XIV. and the later Encyclopædists are most prominent, whilst in Spanish the Ballad and the Drama are especially emphasized. Around these central points he has gathered many an interesting fact and suggestion, infused with a living sympathy, and clad in that chaste simplicity and easy grace of style which constitute so much of the charm of Colonel Johnston's spoken lectures.

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THOUGHTS FOR ALL TIMES. By the *Right Rev. Mgr. John S. Vaughan*. With a Preface by the Right Rev. J. C. Hedley, D.D., O.S.B., Bishop of Newport. Roxburgh Press, 15 Victoria Street, Westminster.

We welcome these essays of Monsignor Vaughan as a real addition to Catholic literature. Several of them we recognized as old friends, read years ago in Catholic magazines, and from the preface we learn that most of them have already appeared in print. We are glad to see them thus gathered together in one book. As we were delighted with those we then read, so we are sure that our readers will be. The book, which contains twenty essays, is divided into three parts. In the first part are six: Infinite Love, Thoughts on the Nature of God, Thoughts on the Simplicity of God, Thoughts on the Wisdom of God, The Blessed Trinity Reflected in Man, Vestiges of the Blessed Trinity in Irrational Creatures. In the second part we have Thoughts on the Blessed Eucharist, Transubstantiation and Multiplication, The Shadow of Sin, or the Reasonableness of the Doctrine of Purgatory; "Languishing Love," or the Pains of Purgatory; The Secret Workings of Divine Grace, Union with God. In the third part: The Riddle of Life, Dust to Dust, Ashes to Ashes, Man, a Microcosm; On Pain, Considered as a Motive; Nerves, True and False; Inconsistency, Our Faith and Our Practice; Unity of Faith, The Religion of Protestants, Theology and Vivisection, to which is added a note by Father Gerard, S.J., on the Rights of Animals. Our readers can see from the titles of these essays that they treat of intensely practical questions. Monsignor Vaughan has done well to thus gather them together. They are solid in learning, most apt in illustration, and strong examples of apologetic reasoning. To both clergy and laity they ought to be welcome. The book is beautifully published by the Roxburgh Press. For sale by Benziger Brothers.

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THE PHILOSOPHY OF ANCIENT INDIA. By *Richard Garbe*. Chicago: The Open Court Publishing Co. 1897. Pp. 89. Price, 50 cents.

The author of this booklet is professor in the University of Tübingen. He has here epitomized the history of Indian Philosophy (pp. 1-31), pointed out some connections between Greek and Indian philosophy (pp. 32-56), and discussed the question as to who were the authors of Hindu Monism—priests or warriors (pp. 57-85). The latter problem he solves in favor of the warriors. The solution may be correct; but why does he go out of his way, in a work of this kind, to have a fling at the *priesthood* generally? "Intellectual enlightenment," he says, "is opposed by its natural enemy, the priesthood, until it has



become too strong in the people to be successfully opposed any longer. Then the priest, too, professes the new ideas, and tries to harmonize them as far as possible with his hollow shams" (p. 79). The passage needs no comment. It is itself, however, a suggestive comment on the bent of Prof. Garbe's mind, and throws a side-light on his readiness to turn into "an exceedingly happy idea," something stronger than "a mere supposition," the conjecture—put forth "with great caution," and "without intending in the least to settle the question"—that the Indian conception of the *vāch* (a feminine noun meaning voice, speech, word) "may have had some influence upon the idea of the *λόγος*, which appears in Neo-Platonism, and passed from there into the Gospel of St. John" (p. 53). Apart from this anti-Christian bias of the author, the book is interesting, clear in style, and tasteful in appearance.

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INSTITUTIONES THEOLOGICÆ DE SACRAMENTIS ECCLESIAE. Auctore *Joan Bapt. Sasse, S.J.* Vol. i. De Sacrt. in genere, Baptismo, Confirm, Euch. Friburgi (Herder: St. Louis, Mo.) 1897. Pp. xv., 590. Price, \$2.90.

DE RELIGIONE REVELATA. Libri V. Auctore *Guil. Wilmer, S.J.* Ratisbonæ Pustet. (New York.) 1897. Pp. iv., 686. Price, \$2.50.

Reviews of these two substantial additions to the bibliography of theology will appear in our next issue.

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THE NEW TESTAMENT; translated from the Latin Vulgate, with annotations, references, and an historical and chronological index, with 100 illustrations. New York, Cincinnati, Chicago: Benziger Brothers. Price, 60 cents.

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THE ROMAN MISSAL adapted to the use of the laity, from the Missale Romanum, with English and other appendices, and a collection of prayers. R. Washbourne, Paternoster Row, London. Received from Benziger Brothers.

THE LIFE OF CHRIST. By the *Rev. J. Duggan*, Catholic priest of Maidstone. London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner & Co., Ltd. Received from B. Herder, 17 South Broadway, St. Louis, Mo. Price, \$1.50 net.

SHORT INSTRUCTIONS FOR THE SUNDAYS AND FESTIVALS. From the French, by *Rev. Thomas F. Ward*, Church of St. Charles Borromeo, Brooklyn, N. Y. New York: Benziger Brothers.

LIFE OF CHRIST. By the *Rev. J. Duggan*, Catholic priest of Maidstone. London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner & Co., Ltd. New York: Benziger Brothers.

DISUNION AND REUNION. By *W. J. Madden*, sometime Rector R. C. Cathedral, Auckland. London: Burns & Oates, Ltd.

AM I OF THE CHOSEN? A Series of Conferences spoken by the Rev. Henry Aloysius Barry. Boston: Angel Guardian Press.

SUMMER TALKS ABOUT LOURDES. By *Cecilia Mary Caddell*. London: Burns & Oates, Ltd.

A FAMOUS CONVENT SCHOOL. By *Marion J. Brunows*. New York: The Meany Company.

PASTORAL THEOLOGY. By *Rev. William Stang, D.D.* New York: Benziger Brothers.

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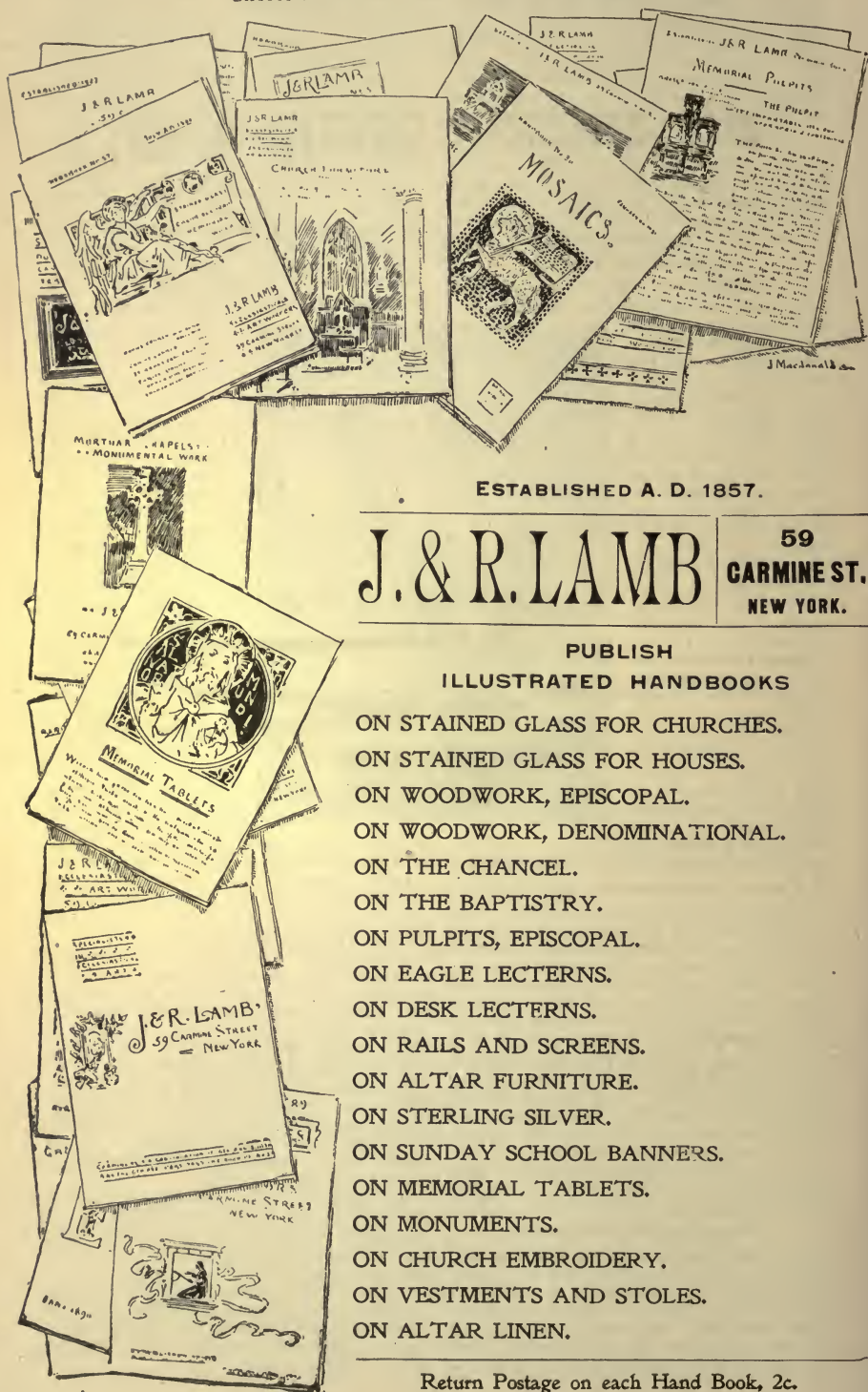
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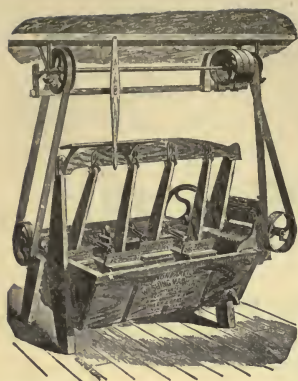
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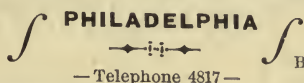
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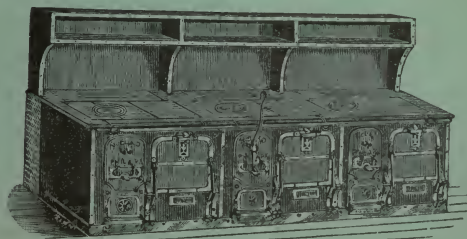
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